In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Proceedings of the
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION

UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT, AHMEDABAD

November 6-8, 1985

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
POONA 411 004, INDIA
1987

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Proceedings of the
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION
UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT, AHMEDABAD

November 6-8, 1985

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
POONA 411 004, INDIA
1987

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT, AHMEDABAD
NOVEMBER 1985

Edited and published by
R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 411 004, India

Price Rs. 175=00

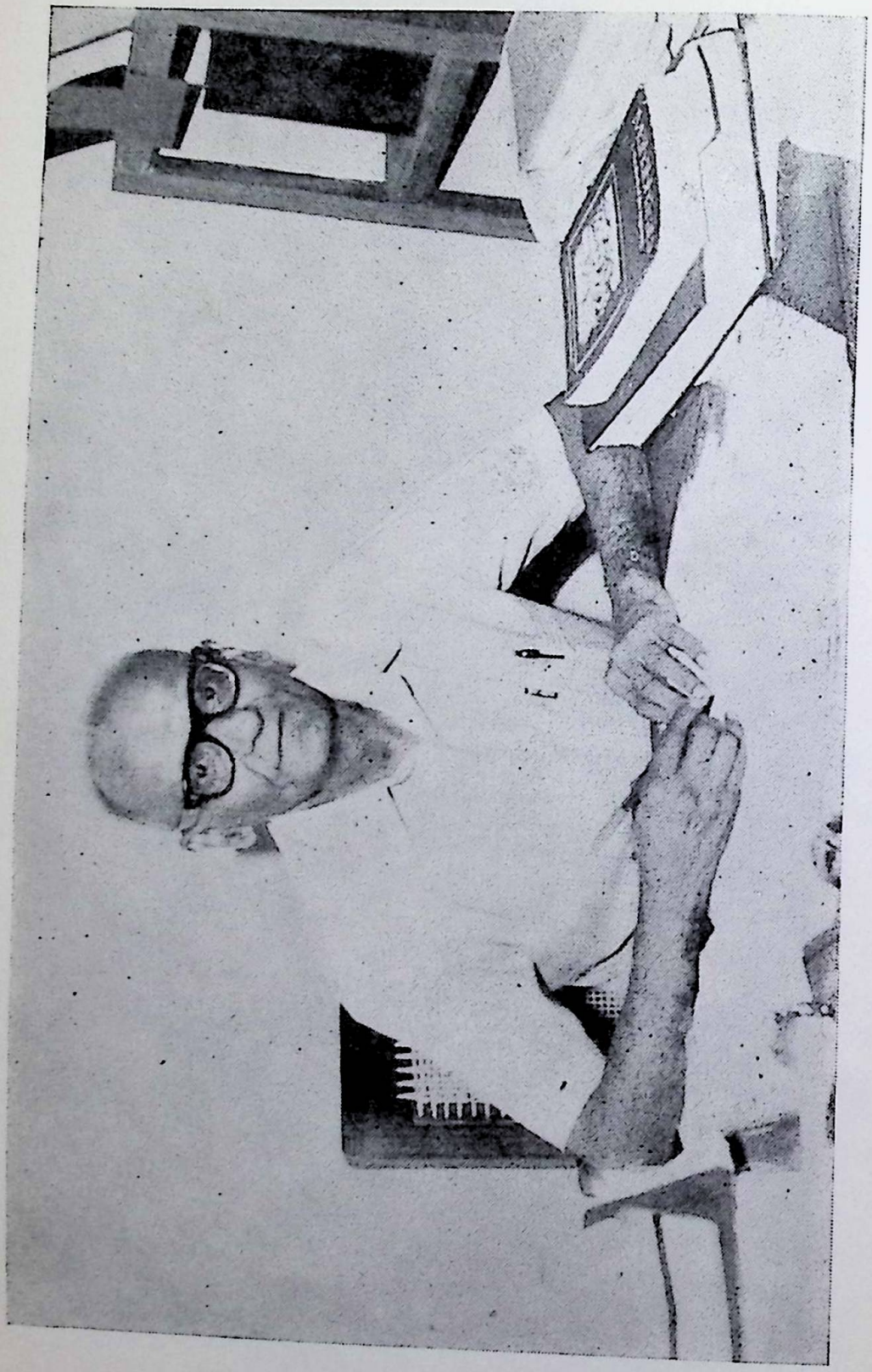
Printed at
Bhandarkar Institute Press
Poona 411 004 (India)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.



Professor A. M. GHATAGE

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

[Regd. under Act XXI of 1860]

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

POONA 411 004 (INDIA)

32ND SESSION, 1985

UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT, AHMEDABAD

President

Prof. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, Madras
(died on November 5, 1983)

Prof. A. M. GHATAGE

Vice-President

Prof. A. M. GHATAGE, Poona

Treasurer

Prof. S. D. JOSHI
C. A. S. S., University of Poona, Poona

General Secretary

Prof. R. N. DANDEKAR
Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona

Joint Secretary

Prof. R. C. DWIVEDI, Jaipur

Local Secretary

Prof. E. A. SOLOMON, Ahmedabad

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PREFACE

For the last so many years I have scrupulously seen to it that the volume of the *Proceedings* of any session of the All-India Oriental Conference was published before the succeeding session. I am sorry that this was not possible in the case of the *Proceedings* of the 32nd session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad on November 6-8, 1985. And this for the simple reason that the interval between the 32nd session and the 33rd session was less than one year instead of the usual two years.

At the Ahmedabad session of the All-India Oriental Conference (1985), I relinquished the office of the General Secretary of the Conference which it had been my proud privilege to hold for the last so many years. I regard my long association with the Conference as one of the most stimulating and gratifying aspects of my academic life. During this period of time, I have seen the Conference grow considerably in respect of the number of participants, the variety of subjects treated and discussed, and the general organizational efficiency. But I should like to take this opportunity to urge that we must ensure that the scholastic quality of the Conference does in no way suffer on account of the inevitably increasing quantity.

I am too profoundly overwhelmed by the unanimous resolution (p. 527) which my colleagues were kind enough to pass about me at the Concluding Meeting (November 8, 1985) at Ahmedabad to be able to express adequately my sense of sincere gratitude to them. They have all along treated me with affectionate deference, which fact I shall ever continue to cherish.

This is the last volume of the *Proceedings* of the All-India Oriental Conference which I shall be editing and publishing. As always in the past, so even this time, my co-workers at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute have been very helpful in this my work. To them all, and in particular to Shri. V. L. Manjul, I offer my best thanks.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
Poona
December 17, 1987

R. N. Dandekar

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

CONTENTS

			Pages
Preface			
General President's Address		: A. M. Ghatage	1–17
Sectional Presidents' Addresses			
I.	Vedic	: Prabhu Dayal Agnihotri	19–27
II.	Islamic Studies Section	: Abdul Ali	29–40
III.	Pali and Buddhism (Including Tibetology)	: K. K. Mishra	41–64
IV.	Prakrit and Jainism	: Vidhata Mishra	65–73
V.	History	: V. S. Pathak	75–90
VI.	Archaeology	: V. S. Wakankar	91–98
VII.	Dravidian Studies	: P. G. Lalye	99–115
VIII.	Philosophy and Religion	: Jayamanta Mishra	117–128
IX.	पण्डित परिषद्	: बालकृष्ण पञ्चोली	129–140
X.	Culture of Ancient and Medieval Gujarat	: H. G. Shastri	141–149

Select Papers

Vedic Sectioon

1. *Ukhā* – Variations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
   By S. A. Dange 151–157
2. Some Remarks on Atharva-veda 19. 53 & 54
   By S. G. Kantawala 159–162
3. Some non-Vedic Rituals in the Vedic Tradition
   By Sindhu S. Dange 163–168
4. *Uśijaḥ* in the Ṛgveda
   By G. V. Davane 169–175

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

5. About the Redressing Rite after the Rājasūya — Pages
By Madhavi Kolhatkar — 177–185

6. Yāska as a Pioneer of the Philosohy of Becoming
By Satya Prakash Singh — 187–192

7. Abhicāra-rites and Mīmāṁsā
By G. U. Thite — 193–196

8. Padapradīpikā – A newly discovered Treatise on the Padapāṭha of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda-Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
N. V. P. Unithiri — 197–202

9. Meaning of the Term Śāradī in Ṛgveda
By H. V. Dixit — 203–213

Iranian Section

1. A Zoroastrian (Avestan) Prayer-formula in a Buddhist (Sogdian) Manuscript
By S. N. Doctor — 215–227

2. Zaranumantem Sūrəm of XᵛaršetMīhīr Nyaiš and Sūtrātman Doctrine of Hindu Tradition
By Faribourz Nariman — 229–232

Classical Sanskrit Section

1. Indumatī-Svayaṁvara — An Appraisal
By C. Pandurang Bhatta — 233–235

2. Dhūrtasamāgama — A Rediscovery
By B. Narasimha Charyulu — 237–245

3. गीतगणेशम् — एक अप्रकाशित काव्य
आर. सी. चावडा — 247–251

4. Poetic Form in Kuntaka and Abhinava
By Rajendra I. Nanavaty — 253–256

5. The Nītiśataka Stanza नमस्यामो देवान् ... A Satire on the Mīmāṁsakas
By P. D. Navathe — 257–259

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

6. दसवी शताब्दी के पूर्वकालिक कला-साहित्य-समीक्षा — Pages
कमल अभ्यंकर — 261–265

7. संस्कृत की नयी कविता की पृष्ठभूमि
भारतेन्दु मिश्र — 267–271

8. The three Appayya Dīkṣitas
S. Jagadisan — 273–277

9. Śukasaṁdeśa – The first Message-poem from the South
By N. P. Unni — 279–281

Islamic Studies Section

1. A Critical Study of tahrīḍu 'ahl al-'īman 'alā jihādi 'abdat al-ṣulbān
By K. M. Mohamed — 283–288

Pali and Buddhism Section

1. बौद्ध अपभ्रंश चर्यापदो के कापालिक संदर्भों की व्याख्या
नागेन्द्रनाथ उपाध्याय — 289–296

2. Notes on the *Śākyasīṁhajātaka*
By Michael Hahn — 297–306

3. बौद्ध तथा जयन्तभट्ट का प्रमाणस्वरूप
महेश झा — 307–312

4. Restored text of Bodhipathāpradīpa of Ācārya Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna : A Review and its Restitution for the second time from Tibetan Source
By Gangopadhyaya — 313–317

Prakrit and Jainism Section

1. A Jaina View of Kīcaka-episode in the *Mahābhārata*
By Neelima Narayan Mone — 319–325

2. Refutation of Advaita Vedānta in Major Jain Works
By Yajneswar S. Shastri — 327–338

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Pages

3. प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र की प्राचीन विषयवस्तु की खोज
सागरमल जैन 339–351

4. Mahāparinnā : the lost chapter in the Ācārāṅgasūtra
By B. Bhatt 353–357

History Section

1. Some interesting Results of recent Research in Ancient History of Gujarat
By H. G. Shastri 359–367

2. Vedic Philosophy and Ritual of Nomadism and Settlement
By S. N. Misra 369–372

3. A Study of Land-system in the Copper-plate Grants of the Maitraka kings of Gujarat (circa 470 A. D. to 788 A. D.)
By Yatindra I. Dixit 373–377

Archaeology Section

1. The Churches of Ahmedabad built during the British Period : A Historical and Archaeological Study
By Thomas B. Parmar 379–382

2. Images of Incarnatory Forms of Viṣṇu in Bihar
By S. S. Lall 383–390

Indian Linguistics Section

1. Structural and Semantic Aspect of the *Dvandva*-compound
By V. V. Bhandare 391–398

2. पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीरचनाप्रणाल्याः स्थूलस्वरूपविवेचनम्
के ए. कृष्णमाचार्युलु 399–402

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

3. The Indefinite Pronoun in Old and New Indo-Aryan (with special reference to Early Vrajabhāṣā) Pages

By Gilbert Pollet 403-406

Dravidian Studies Section

1. A Cultural Study of Aare Folk-songs

By Pervaram Jagannadham 407-413

Philosophy and Religion Section

1. Bhagavadgītā and Brahmasūtra : A Critique

By Uma Deshpande 415-419

2. On Occurrence-exacting Relations

By V. N. Jha 421-430

3. A New plausible Explanation of Sāṅkhya-kārikā

By Y. Wadhwani-Shah 431-442

4. On the Nine Categories of Yogin

By Shrikant S. Bahulkar 443-450

5. Nāgārjuna — A Mahāyānist

By Y. S. Shastri 451-458

Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section

1. Perfumery in Ancient India

By Radha Krishnamurthy 459-467

2. Cobacīnī

By N. Gangadharan 469-473

West-Asian Studies Section

1. Development of short story in Arabic

By Fayyazul Haqq 475-485

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Gujarat Culture Section	Pages
1. Three Śakti-Pīṭhas of Gujarat By V. T. Padmaja	487–493
2. Style of Jain or Hindu Architecture By Panubhai Bhatt	495–499
3. Chronology of Uttarakhaṇḍa of Padmapurāṇa By R. N. Mehta and Rasesh Jamindar	501–506
पण्डित-परिषद्	
1. रसनिष्पत्तिप्रक्रिया हरिप्रसाद मेहता :	507–510
2. कविकुलगुरोः कानिचन सूक्तानि बटुकनाथशास्त्री खिस्ते	511–514
Appendix A : Minutes of the Business Meetings	515–527
Appendix B : Statement of Accounts	528–539

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

General President's Address

Let me begin by thanking you all for electing me the general president of the 32nd session of the All-India Oriental Conference, an honour which is as much pleasing as demanding for me. The choice of a topic for an address to be delivered to a learned gathering like this, in which each one is an expert in one or more branches of Oriental Learning, thus covering a vast field, proved to be a very hard task and to satisfy you all even to a small extent will prove harder still. A topic which will interest most of you was not easy to get and after some deliberation I took courage to formulate a new subject to which I would like to give the name of 'interpretation' which, along with categories, Aristotle made the basis of his logic.

All branches of Oriental Studies, and more particularly the classical ones among them, involve two types of approach which are known as philological in a wider sense and linguistic in a more restricted sense. They are otherwise known as classical philology and historical linguistics, which together cover nearly all the ususally pursued Oriental Studies. The subject of interpretation is common to both and forms their basis, being a necessary prerequisite. Without a valid theory and a careful practice of the process of interpretation, neither classical philology nor historical linguistics can make progress and will not have any acceptable validity.

Both these studies were carried on from early days in India as well as in Europe, first without any sharp demarcation between them, but becoming more and more distinct in course of time. Today they show difference in their scope, aims and methodology. Classical philology has a larger scope and deals with all aspects of culture which developed in classical times and is limited only by the cultural unity which it represents. This unity is also reflected in a given classical language and hence we speak of Sanskrit, Greek or Latin philology and sometimes even in a reconstructed language as in the case of Indo-European philology. An intermediate position is occupied by studies like Germanic or Slavic philologies. On the other hand linguistics is not limited to a given language or even to a group of languages but deals with language in all its forms. Its scope includes all languages and even some semi-linguistic systems because it aims at an explanation of the nature of language as such and to clarify the basic assumptions underlying it. If philology leans more towards historical studies, linguistics is inclined more towards axiomatics.

The aim of philology is the study and description of the cultural aspects of civilization like religion, ritual, philosophy, literature, law and other scientific

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

subjects based on the oral or written records bearing on them and then to explain their peculiarities and trace their origins with the help of other classical civilizations, mostly by the process of comparison and contrast. On the other hand, the aims of linguistics are to ascertain the systematic nature of language, describe the past and present languages of the world, study their growth with the historical material and comparative method and clarify its nature with the help of sciences like psychology, anthropology, logic, acoustics and others in so far as they relate to the formation of thought and its expression in language. The more recent tendency to formulate universally valid principles of language has made it necessary for the linguist to utilise all possible languages without any restriction.

The methodology of linguistics is well developed both in the field of synchronic and diachronic studies. It takes for granted that the meanings of utterances are already known or given and concentrates its attempts on the way in which they are expressed in words, in other words what their correspondances are. Of the physical and mental components of language, the first is studied in detail with the methods of modern science. But some amount of analysis of the thought-contents is also necessary before the two are related to each other in a systematic and coherent manner, in accordance with the basic structure of the language used. On the other hand, philology takes for granted that the principles of the grammar of the classical languages are already known and concentrates more on the nature, contents and the value of the classical works in order to clarify and assess the different aspects of its culture. Naturally it uses to a great extent the comparative method by drawing on all the cultural and historical disciplines.

These two methodologies are not mutually exclusive but depend upon each other and get intermingled at every stage. This is clearly the source of the antagonism which is seen between classical philology and linguistics during the last 150 years. With the rapid growth of linguistics, it was taken as a rival science by the older philologists. The situation was aggravated by the way the linguists handled the classical material with imperfect preparation and to the neglect of the long-standing tradition. But a little thought will show that cooperation more than conflict is what is needed and is desirable. In fact both studies have their own proper fields in which they are supreme. They have also a large common field which must be treated uniformly with a methodology proper for it. To this we should now turn under the name of ' interpretation.' Without a correct and unbiased interpretation of the written documents, neither philology nor linguistics can do its work properly and arrive at valid results.

The process of interpretation of a classical text demands the following preparation :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

1. constitution of a correct text
2. thorough understanding of the language used
3. detailed knowledge of the vocabulary of that language
4. historical background of the text studied
5. its cultural milieu, and
6. its evaluation and explanation in the light of all available evidence.

These aspects of interpretation have been studied from early days and each one has developed into an academic branch with its own name. To obtain a correct text needs the use of the method of textual criticism. The science of grammar takes note of the second, while the semantic analysis of words develops into the science of lexicology. The evolutionary aspect is taken care of by the study of the history of that subject and the material contents of culture form a part and parcel of the cultural milieu. What is, however, not generally realised is the fact that each one of them draws on the results of the one or more of the other aspects and cannot carry out its task without constant help from them. Their interdepedence is obvious. Hence the further necessity of adjusting their claims with each other by the process of proper evaluation which is the concluding aspect of interpretation.

Instead of building up a complicated theoretical scheme of the mutual interdependence of these aspects and the way in which they should be adjusted and revalued, it may prove more useful to analyse a series of examples where their apparent conflict is met with. This is also imperative because more than two aspects often get involved and hence a neat correlation between any two at a time cannot be easily attempted.

A correct text is essential for interpretation because it is often possible to assign some plausible sense to an incorrect text which thus gives rise to a ghost word or a fictitious meaning. An unusually striking example is supplied by the Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in its entry *aṇḍakāṣṭha*. The phrase *asārataratvaṁ kāyasya* can be understood to some extent by the idea of fragility and hence *aṇḍakāṣṭha* can be made to yield the meaning of an egg-shell which satisfies the condition. In the text, however, which runs as *hirodakasikatāpiṇḍairaṇḍakāṣṭhebhyo'pi asārataratvaṁ kāyasyāvekṣya* the words are *sikatāpiṇḍa* and *eraṇḍakāṣṭha* and not *sikatāpiṇḍaiḥ* and *aṇḍakāṣṭha*. The *eraṇḍa* tree is well-known for being *asāra* 'without a core'. The ending of the ablative plural also confirms that at least three objects are referred to, which are *hirodaka* etc. While *hirodaka* itself remains obscure, the other two are often used in such a context.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

When a text gives no satisfactory meaning it is often emended so as to give some sense. Such an emendation cannot be regarded as certain as long as some textual evidence is not available. An emendation is suggested on the ground that at least the meaning intended is certain and the doubt pertains only to the wording. Hence in such a case the conflict is really between two meanings – one of which is said to be intented and the other not. But there is no unique way to resolve the conflict of such a nature and hence some external evidence must be sought to decide whether the unusual meaning of the words actually used is intended or not. A good example of this type is supplied by a passage from the *Īśvarasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya (p. 77) which runs : *adhiṣṭhānakriyākarmabhūtasya dehasya adhiṣṭhātṛdehānupraveśo 'nupapannaḥ, yugapadekakriyāyām ekasya karmakartṛtvavirodhāt.* Thinking that *dehānupraveśa*, in its literal sense, does not suit the context, the editors of a recent edition (Madras 1972, p. 96) change it to *adhiṣṭhātṛdaśānupraveśa*, the intended sense being in their own words 'cannot intelligibly be included in the very body(?) of the definition of the controller'. But this summary decision bypasses an important stylistic consideration.

A peculiar feature of the style of the late Nyāya works is the tendency to shorten words and phrases, particularly long compounds which are required to be repeated again and again with the addition of a word or two. The shortening is done in such a way as to remind the reader of the earlier statement which was already given and discussed in full. This is abbreviated as ending in the last word after which the addition begins. Another type of abbreviation is one in which only a part of the expression is used and the suppressed part has to be supplied, at least mentally, by the reader. A constant use of this procedure makes the word actually used get an additional meaning of the elements which are dropped. This may lead to some kind of misunderstanding and unnecessary correction. If one compares expressions like *lakṣaṇaśarīrapraviṣṭasya* (*Maṇidarpaṇa* 3. 6), *śabdapadasya lakṣaṇapraveśe* (4. 3), *janakatvasya lakṣaṇāpraveśāt* (*Maṇisāra* 8. 9) *ata eva bahuviśeṣaṇapraveśe'pyevaṁ na syāt* (10. 23) one can easily see that the full expression *lakṣaṇaśarīrapraveśa* which means 'addition of a word to the scope of the definition given' gets shortened into *lakṣaṇapraveśa, śarīrapraveśa* or simply *praveśa,* all having the same meaning as of the original expression. *Adhiṣṭhātṛdehānupraveśa* really stands for *adhiṣṭhātṛlakṣaṇadehānupraveśa* which is clear enough and no emendation of *deha* into *daśā* is called for. In fact, a traditional commentator, who has a feeling for such usage, paraphrases it as *adhiṣṭhātṛtāvacchedakaghaṭakatā,* which means the same thing. Based on such stylistic considerations interpretation must make a distinction between the literal meaning of a word and its pregnant meaning due to the context. Such abbreviations also occur in the ordinary usage of a language

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

though rarely. A descriptive name for a porcupine in Sanskrit is *śvāvicchalākā* 'whose darts can pierce a dog'. It is shortened into either *śvāvidh* or *śalākā* which latter develops into Marathi *sāḷvī*.

An example which involves the separation of words and also consideration of grammar and rhetorics is fonnd in a verse attributed to a poet Dharaṇīdhara and cited in the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* 18. 21 and *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* 89. 30 both early anthologies. In the edition of the HOS it is printed as follows :

punaruktāvadhi vāsaram etasyāḥ kitava paśya gaṇayantyāḥ /
iyam iva karajaḥ kṣīṇas tvam iva kaṭhorāṇi parvāṇi //

Prof. Ingalls translates 'Look, deceiver, as she counts the days ever and again, the finger is as thin as she, the knuckles hard as you.' He has added no notes by way of explanation.

This stanza, apparently simple and straightforward, implies a number of problems in its accurate interpretation. The main point is how to divide the phrase *punaruktāvadhi vāsaram* with which it begins. The edition separates *vāsaram* from *adhi*. One can also separate it as *punaruktau* and *adhivāsaram*. The reading of the text *punaruktāvadhi* admits of two divisions : the whole as one compound word or two words *punar* and *uktāvadhi*. Interpretation has to decide which one is valid and under what conditions.

Proceeding from what is clear to what is doubtful, we may first note that the speaker of the stanza is a Dūtī because it is included in the section called *dūtīvacanavrajyā*. It is addressed to a Nāyaka as is clear from the use of the vocative *kitava*. She says that her nail is worn out (or finger is thin) like this one and the finger-joints have become stiff like you (i. e. the Nāyaka). That the poet intends a comparison between the Nāyikā and her nail or finger is not acceptable because a comparison between a person and his limb is regarded as banal. Because the joints are compared with the Nāyaka and the nail is compared with the Nāyikā, it follows that they belong to the Dūtī and not to the heroine. As these are the effects of constant counting it is also necessary to take the word *gaṇayantyāḥ* to refer to the Dūtī and not the Nāyikā. Once this is accepted, the gist of the stanza becomes clear. The Dūtī is speaking to the Nāyaka and telling him that he should see for himself how her nails are worn out and the finger-joints have become stiff by constantly counting the repeated utterances of the Nāyikā (at the same time spreading her hands before him). What is counted now depends upon the interpretation of the remaining words of the stanza. To take the word *vāsara* as being counted goes against its singular number and leaves the remaining expression unexplained. Taking it with *avadhi* as one word leads us to imagine that it is the *avadhivāsara* which her lover had

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

often given to her but not kept. But it cannot be connected with *gaṇayantyāḥ* which refers to the counting of many days. We are thus left with the other alternative that *adhivāsaram* is an adverb meaning 'day by day' and *punaruktau* is used as a locative of reference, the repetition of her lover's name uttered by the Nāyikā. Whatever interpretation is regarded as more appealing, there is no doubt that they are far apart from each other and a choice has to be made by taking into consideration the difficulties in grammar and poetics which each one encounters.

Compared with these small points, interpretation of books dealing with Vedic ritual is a matter of greater importance and also of nicer judgment. The present-day performance of the ritual acts may or may not agree with the ritual texts due to changes and developments towards greater elaboration and adjustment to newer practices and ideas. On the other hand the meaning of the ritual text remains to some extent uncertain due to changes in the meaning of words used therein. This situation is further complicated by the traditional interpretation which often attempts to adjust the meanings of words with a later practice and thereby conceals a change in the ritual. No simple mechanical procedure can be used to detect such mutually dependent changes and there is usually no external control available. Hence a careful assessment of the evidence must be made to get at the real facts in their historical perspective. A limited problem of such a nature is supplied by the use of the word *gataśrī* often found in ritual literature. Its importance lies in its bearing on the question of deciding whether the Vedic Aryans used some kind of thanks-giving offering for favour obtained.

The word occurs both in the Vedic literature and in Classical Sanskrit but with quite different and opposite meanings. Examples from classical works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* 5. 18. 25 *rāmo gataśrīr vanagocaraḥ*, *Mahābhārata* 1. 192. 23 *gataśrīr api pārthivaḥ*, *Buddhacarita* 8. 3. *gataśrīr iva tena varjitaḥ*, *Kumārasaṁbhava* 13. 14 *gataśri vanam*, *Bhāgavata* 3. 2. 7 *gataśrīṣu gṛheṣu* and many others make it obvious that the word is used in an unfavourable sence 'one who has lost his prosperity, glory or beauty'. It is thus a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *niṣṭhā* as its first member with an *udātta* on it, as per the rules of Pāṇini 2. 2. 36 and 6. 2. 1. Only works dealing with the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā* appear to use it in an exactly opposite meaning 'one who has attained prosperity' and consider it as a technical term in this sense. Khaṇḍadeva in his *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (3.175.21) writes *gataśritvaṁ tantraratne prāptaśritvam iti vyākhyātam*. Obviously they have taken the word and its meaning from works dealing with the Vedic ritual.

In the Vedic literature the word occurs from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* onwards and is found in the *Maitrāyaṇī* and *Kāṭhaka*, in the *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Jaiminīya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and most of the Śrautasūtras. Its negative form *agataśrī*, however, occurs once each in the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Śrautasūtras of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. The reading in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 10-39.1 is uncertain and is often given as *āgataśrī* which is against accent and must be corrected to *gataśrī*. No independent occurence of *āgataśrī* is noted.

Even with the reading *gataśrī* the commentators on the Vedic works and the Śrautasūtras continue to assign it the meaning 'who has attained prosperity' by explaining it in a number of ways : *gatā prāptā śrīr yenāsau, gatā śrīr yam, gatā prāptā śrīr yasya* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound and rarely as *śriyaṁ gataḥ* as a *tatpuruṣa*. Thus the most usual way to explain the word is to assign to *gata* the meaning of *prāpta*, which is valid only for a few senses of *gata* and not all.

It is now necessary to examine the contexts in which the word is found in the ritual literature to ascertain whether its normal meaning suits them or not. Most of the occurrences of the word are confined to a few definite situations. Some specific oblation, or some alternative procedure is enjoined to one who is a *gataśrī* and as such they are not decisive in fixing the meaning. We are told that a *gataśrī* should milk the two front udders of the cow for the Agnihotra, twentyone sāmidhenī verses should be recited for him, he should offer a cake on eleven potsherds to Indra or one on eight to Agni, he should use a level Devayajana, he should maintain the Āhavanīya fire continuously, he should offer to Mahendra as his special deity, or the sacred waters should be brought in the sacrificial hall through the eastern entrance.

There are, however, a couple of passages in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* which should help us to decide or at least to surmise what the original meaning of this word was : 2.1.3.4 reads *indrāya vṛtrature lalāmaṁ prāśṛṅgam ā labheta gataśrīḥ pratiṣṭhākāmaḥ* and 7.2.7.2 *śukrāgrān gṛhṇīta gataśrīḥ pratiṣṭhākāmaḥ*. These are alternative practices and are meant to bring *pratiṣṭhā* if the performer is a *gataśrī* which here should naturally mean 'who has lost his prosperity' and hence wants to regain it. A comparison of the second passage with that of *Kāṭhaka* 30.3 further points out that very often the word *pratiṣṭhākāmaḥ* is dropped in this context, being implied by the situation. Thus whenever an act is prescribed to a *gataśrī* it is meant that he will regain his prosperity which he has lost. It is the interpretation given by the later commentators which makes scholars take the word in the unusual sense. In the absence of any remark on the part of these commentators as in the case of *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 2.1.3.4, KEITH naturally translates it as 'he whose prosperity is gone' but in other places of the same *Saṁhitā*, where the remarks of the commentators are available, he translates 'who has attained prosperity'. Even Bhaṭṭabhāskara is not quite unambiguous when he says *gataśrīḥ kecid āhuḥ śuśruvān grāmaṇī rājanyo veti*. He is clearly referring to *TaiS*. 2.5.4.4 where the context speaks

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of an *agataśrī*. What is meant is that a *gataśrī* should not mean any one who has lost his prosperity but only one who is either a learned Brahmin, a village headman or a petty chief, who will be entitled to the various alternatives to regain their lost prosperity.

This passage is important because it also indicates how the tradition has come to assign the unusual meaning to this word in the ritual. It states that one who is not a *gataśrī* should not sacrifice to Mahendra. These three types of persons have Mahendra as their deity. He who over-sacrifices (*ati-yajate*) will not reach prosperity but will come to harm. To explain this passage tradition makes two assumptions viz. *gataśrī* applies to these three types of persons only and that no one other than these is allowed to sacrifice to Mahendra. Both of them are of doubtful validity. In reality the word *gataśrī* should restrict the members of these three types by qualifying them as those who have lost their prosperity. If any one of these three, who has not lost their prosperity, should again sacrifice to Mahendra he is not justified to do so and commits *ati-yajana*.

An external control in this case is supplied by the exact meaning of the verb *ati-yaj-*. The traditional explanation *ātmīyāṁ devatām atikramya yajate* has no authority and is unique. There is no other passage in Vedic ritual where it is used in this sense. But another form of the verb *yaj-* with the prefix *anu* is used to mean to perform an *anuyāga* and with *ati* further added to it, it is used repeatedly in the *Śatapatha* 3. 8. 5. 1 where the context is quite clear to mean 'in addition, more, excessive', the other meaning of *ati*. Hence *svāṁ devatām atiyajate* means 'he sacrifices to his deity excessively or unnecessarily' because he is in no need of *pratiṣṭhā* as he has not lost it. We thus come to the conclusion that *gataśrī* has the same meaning both in Vedic ritual and classical Sanskrit, and there is no trace of a thanks-giving offering in the Vedic ritual.

A change in practice can also be detected by the use of a careful interpretation. The traditional ritual method of immolating an animal victim involves no use of a sharp instrument to kill it. In its place some kind of strangulation is used to achieve the same end. The description of the texts on this point of ritual are found in the *TaiS.* and *ŚatBr.* but are not sufficiently explicit to make the mode of immolation quite clear. Hence it has led to some amount of speculation which involves both historical and linguistic evidence for the justification of a given interpretation. Linguistic taboo and a shift in the practice are involved and hence a proper interpretation of the evidence becomes crucial.

Three important moments in this part of the ritual must be carefully considered. They are the tying of the victim to the sacrificial post, the way in which the animal is put to death and the cutting up of its parts for the purpose of offering them to the deitities. As regards the first, the description of the texts

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

like the *TaiS* and the Śrautasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana is not very precise and hence it is difficult to visualise the details of the act. What is clear is the fact that this method was different from the one used in the ordinary killing of an animal for secular use, which consisted of throwing a rope round the neck of the victim over its head when it faced the butcher. The ritual procedure required that the rope be first tied to the right front foot of the animal which faced the Adhvaryu and then taken across the front of the animal, carried over the head and then encircling the right horn be fastened to the sacrificial post. What is not clear is whether the cord went behing the left horn or in front of it. That it was tied to the right foot and the right horn is clear and its purpose can only be to have the animal and its head remain attached to the post even when it is severed. The view of Śālīki was different, according to which the rope was fastened round the neck like a noose. This was however too close to the ordinary way and hence was rejected.

As regards the act of killing the victim, linguistic taboo appears to have led to the use of euphemistic terms for the act itself. The Vedic works use a number of verbs for it : *ālabh-* to take hold of, *anu-bandh-* to tie down, *śamay-* to pacify, *saṁjñapa-* to make it agree and *tamay-* to make it suffer or languish. These works avoided the use of verbs like *han-* to kill, *māray-* to make die, *chid-* to cut etc. It must be emphasised that this refers to the avoidance of the use of the words which directly mean to kill and does not refer to the act of dealing with the victim. When the word refers to the act independently, the texts use words like *han-*, *viśas-* etc. Hence this is purely a linguistic taboo and not necessarily a taboo on the act of killing the victim by beheading.

The practice followed by the tradition is stated clearly first in the *ŚatBr.* 3. 8. 1. It lays down that the victim should not be killed by striking it with a frontal bone (*kūṭena*), nor behind the ear, its mouth should be taken hold of and it should be made to suffer. It should not be allowed to make a noise and if it does an expiatory offering is prescribed. The text also states that the animal is loosened from the *yūpa* and taken to a place where the *śāmitra* fire is established. Kātyāyana follows this procedure closely. An alternative procedure is also stated and attributed to Śālīki, in which a noose (*veṣka*) is used to kill the animal. It is thus a continuation of the mode of tying the victim to the yūpa. After the animal is killed, its various parts are cut off with a sharp instrument called *śāsa* and then offered to the deities. In this all authorities agree.

A change of practice appears to be involved. The alternative procedure of using a *pāśa* or *veṣka* appears to keep the original sequence of acts like tying the animal to the post and killing it with a noose, for the very reason that this alternative was not favoured in practice and hence was not subject to change.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The description of the *ŚatBr.* can be easily seen to have been expanded or modified by inserting a number of other acts between the preparation of the weapon for killing (section 5) and its use to kill the victim (sections 14–16). Two linguistic peculiarities appear to indicate the original procedure. In the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas this act is called *krūrī-kṛ-* and *apa-han-* repeatedly, which refer to a bloody way of killing. Other texts also use the word *krūra* in the same sense. Secondly the use of the verb *śam-* in its causative or transitive form appears to show a difference in usage. While *śamayati* is consistently used to refer to the act of appeasing or pacifying or expiating a lapse, the form *śamāyate* is confined to the act of killing. The PW is right in setting up two roots of the form *śam-* one in the Ātmanepada with the meaning of to exert, to labour and the other in the Parasmaipada in the sense to pacify. However PW is wrong in deriving the noun *śamitṛ* from the second, which really comes from the first. *Śamāyate* is thus a denominative formation based on the activity of the *śamitṛ* which is to kill the victim involving great labour. We must thus give up the idea of an euphemistic use of *śam-* to quieten and hence to kill, however attractive it may seem to us. One is reminded of the philosophical etymology of the word education from *ex ducere* 'to draw out' though really it comes from the commonplace verb *edere* to eat or nourish.

One of the peculiarities of Sanskrit literature is the way in which it gets divided into various schools and disciplines. A writer of a particular branch follows its tradition and even when he deals with different branches he keeps them carefully apart. The result has been that words used by one school are also used by others but often with different ideas associated with them. Thus the technical vocabulary of Sanskrit develops a bewildering polysemy and it is necessary to distinguish between its divergent uses. A word like *pudgala* in Buddhism has a different meaning from the one given to it in Jainism. Though the word keeps its basic semantic component the same, and in this it is helped by its etymological meaning, its associations differ and we cannot shift them from one school to the other. While giving a formal definition of sacrifice the Mīmāṁsakas and some Śrautasūtras discern three elements in it which are named as *dravya*, *devatā* and *tyāga* (cf. *KātyāŚS.* 1. 2. 1). The last, being a common word, has different associations in different schools. In the legal terminology as seen in the Dharmasūtras, it means giving up one's claim of legal ownership of an object when some gift is made. In this sense it is used in the definition of a sacrifice where the sacrificer gives up his ownership of the *dravya* which is offered to the deity, so that it now becomes the property of the deity in the fullest sense. This is what the usual formula like *agnaye idaṁ na mama* means. To read in it the philosophical idea of renunciation of one's desired fruit of an action done, the theory of *niṣkāmakarman* as expounded in the *Gītā* as Prof. STAAL

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

does, is not justified. Even the grammar of the sentence, the dative of the deity and the genitive of the owner, is against it. Hence it is strange to read STAAL's justification that 'the reader should not jump to the conclusion, therefore, that unfamiliar forms are mistakes, even if elementary rules of language seem to be disregarded, as for example in *agnaye idaṁ na mama* this is for Agni, not for me.'

Interpretation of some details of Vedic ritual for the purpose of drawing conclusions of anthropological or ethnological nature is a matter of great importance but at the same time a matter of great caution. Two types of approaches are met with here : either the material is used to draw historical conclusions about their origins or an attempt is made to ascertain their structural value in the ethos in which it is embedded. This runs to some extent parallel to the synchronic and diachronic approaches in linguistics. Like them, these are not really opposed to each other and they must be synthesised by proper evaluation. The weakness of the early anthropologists like Bachhofen, De Morgan, Westermarck etc. was to draw hasty historical conclusions without properly interpreting the evidence in its structural context. More recently attempts have been made to interpret the Vedic ritual and sacrifice in such a way as to suggest that their origins are to be found in a series of political and social conflicts and violence among the early Aryan tribes. For this purpose the evidence of punarādhāna and saṁsava is used and interpreted in a peculiar manner.

The ritual of punarādhāna is explained by Dr. KRICK as an indication of the agonistic situation that prevailed before it. The establishment of the fire is made to represent the enthronement of a victor in a conflict and the punarādhāna is a kind of replacement of the earlier yajamāna and his hotṛ by their successful rivals by the process of elimination. The period between the two is one of long conflict or war. This appears to be nothing but an interpretation based on the famous custom in the shrine of Nemi in the Alban mountains near Roma as investigated by FRAZER in his famous work the *Golden Bough*. A statement about the destruction of a *bhrātṛvya* by the utterance of the *vaṣaṭ*-call, thought to be a *vajra*, can hardly bear such an explanation as against the explicit description of the practice at Nemi.

The use of Saṁsava for such a purpose is equally unconvincing. Saṁsava is a situation which arises when two Soma pressings are performed in close proximity by two different sacrificers. It is briefly referred to in the *Kāṭhaka* and in the *Taittirīya* and *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇas*. But a more detailed statement is found in the *Pañcaviṁśa* and it is summarised in the *Drāhyāyaṇa* and *Baudhāyana* Sūtras. The gist of the whole act is that when two sacrificers want to perform the Soma pressing for Indra close to each other, it is thought necessary

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

to win Indra over to one's side before the other party wins him. The means used are a very early recitation of the *prātaranuvāka* in the midnight itself, the use of specific epithets to attract Indra, the use of special Śastras and Sāmans etc. A more elaborate sacrifice is perferred to the sacrifice of the other party. The Sāman called Taurāśvasa and the Śastra called Vihavya preserve the memory of a priestly rivalry between Turāśvas and Pārāvatas, and between Jamadagni and the other sages. As it is impossible to think that there could be only one Soma pressing in the whole country at a given time, *saṁsava* is defined as involving the use of two close places except when they are separated by a big mountain, a large river, a distance which a chariot can cover in one day, a strong wind, or a boundary line between two friendly countries, or when no enmity is felt between the two sacrificers. All these details lead one to believe that it is due to the intention of having no overlap of two sacrifices and to avoid the resulting confusion. To think of a conflict between two kingdoms or tribes and on its basis to suggest that such conflicts were the norm, which gave rise to all sacrifices and further to interpret such a situation between the rituals of Agnyādhāna and Punarādhāna is something which was never envisaged by the tradition. The details which are preserved do not justify such a construction. Of course the question of the origin of sacrifice as an institution in conflict and violence or otherwise is a different one which may or may not be true. What is clear is that this detail of Vedic ritual has nothing to do with it.

Now and then interpretation faces a peculiar problem in that a well known word with a precise meaning is found used or explained by a reputed author in such a way that one has to consider it as incorrect or even wrong. In a situation like this interpretation has to take a further step of finding out the reasons which prompted the author to do so, because a lapse or wilful distortion is excluded. Such a case is supplied to us by a verse in the *Saṁkṣepaśārīraka* (I. 259) and its explanation by Madhusūdanasarasvatī in his commentary.

While explaning the usual definition of Brahman, Sarvajñātman discusses the various types of *lakṣaṇas* and then tries to prove that the highest reality cannot be considered as being different from either the material world or the individual souls. After having shown that the material world is not different from the Supreme Soul he states the *prima facie* view that it may be at least different from the numerous individual souls or Jīvas because of the relation of *adhiṣṭhātṛ-adhiṣṭheya* between the two. All the other commentators and an alternative explanation of Madhusūdāna himself take it to mean the relation of *niyamya-niyāmaka* in which the *adhiṣṭhātṛ* stands for the *niyāmaka* and the *adhiṣṭheya* for the *niyamya*. This is in full agreement with grammar because the suffix *tṛ* can only be used in an active sense. However Madhusūdana gives his first

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

explanation in a different manner. He takes *adhiṣṭhātṛ* in the sense of *adhiṣṭhāna* with the suffix in the sense of *karman-adhikaraṇa* or *bhāva*. This is grammatically unjustifiable, because *tṛ* can never give such a meaning. It is under the influence of his philosophical views, that the relation between the Absolute and the Individual Soul is that of *adhyāsa*, which is also a kind of *ādhārādheyabhāva*, that he flouts grammar and puts forth the equation *adhiṣṭhātṛ* is *adhiṣṭhāna*. For him the philosophically acceptable position must supercede grammar. But the task of interpretation cannot be confined to this judgement only. It must also explain this indifferent attitude towards grammatical correctness which is also reflected in the writings of Kumārila. In the present case two considerations may have weighed with Madhusūdana in admitting such an equation. The word *adhiṣṭhāna*, though formally a *bhāva* formation, has been used in other senses like that of *karman* or *adhikaraṇa*, both of which become identical with the use of *adhi* with the verbs *sthā-*, *śī-* and *ās-*. But on many occasions in the philosophical writings *adhiṣṭhāna* and its abstract *adhiṣṭhānatva* are used in the sense of a controller and control. In this sense the equation is valid and hence it is taken as valid for the other senses of *adhiṣṭhāna* also. The second reason is the peculiar construction of the stanza of Sarvajñātman. The two types of causes of the Jīvas are given in the order *yoni* and *nimitta*. All agree in taking *yoni* 'source' to stand for the *upādānakāraṇa* 'material cause' and *nimitta* has the usual meaning of an instrumental cause including the *kartṛ* 'doer'. All the other commentators who take *adhiṣṭhātṛ* in the active sense connect it with the *nimitta* and the *adhiṣṭheya* naturally stands for the *yoni*. Thus the order of the two pairs in the stanza is not the same. Madhusūdāna bases his interpretation on the supposition that the two pairs are in the same order, leading to what is known as *yathāsaṁkhyānvaya*. He feels justified in setting up his equation on this basis. In the final analysis, the order of words in a Sanskrit stanza can not be allowed to set aside the rules of grammar and hence Madhusūdana's priorities are not correct. A lexicographer is bound to assign the word *adhiṣṭhātṛ* an active meaning as being intended by the author Sarvajñātman.

In some cases the situation appears to have been reversed. The context is so definite and strong that it compels us to admit a meaning of a word which appears quite unknown and unjustified. It is only a complex psychological association which can explain it. The negative particle *a* has to be admitted in a word like *agha* as it occurs in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on I. 28 in the sense 'very solid, impenetrable'. Yaśomitra in his *Sphuṭārthā* tries to explain it as follows : *ati atyarthaṁ hanti hanyate veti agham / nairuktena vidhinā atyarthaśabdasya akārādeśaḥ kṛtaḥ hanteś ca ghādeśaḥ*. That *gh* can take the place of *h* is well known and is due to the original sound which was a velar voiced

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

aspirated stop. But that *ati* or *atyartha* should be substitied by *a* is not easy to comprehend. Nor can we set up another *a* as a prefix in this sense.

A possible solution to this problem lies in some kind of association between the two, the negative *a* (coming from the sonant *ṛ*) and *ati*, usually with the sense of 'more'. A clue to this association can be found in the works on medicine like the *Carakasaṁhitā* or the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*, the language of which often shows striking similarities with Buddhist writings in Sanskrit. For instance in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* (I. 27) we read *saṁśodhanauṣadhāni āgneyamārutāni atisaumyāni atimātrāṇi ca alpasattvam āturam alpabalaṁ vātipātayeyuḥ*. Here, and in other places, *ati* as a prefix has the meaning 'not' and hence *atisaumyāni* means 'not mild, rather strong'. This change of meaning of *ati* is explainable as due to the other meaning of this prefix *atikrānta* 'getting beyond' and therefore not what is expressed by the following noun or adjective. For example *atimṛtyu* means 'beyond death, deathless'. Once this association is formed in the mind of the writers they feel that both can be used in other senses as well and *a* develops the meaning of *ati* 'excessive'.

Interpretation is involved in the very process of assigning meaning to a given word. This is a process which can best be described as a series of adjustments, each better than the preceding one, leading finally to an acceptable position. The usual procedure used for the classical languages is to fix the meaning of a word by examining the contexts in which it is used. But very often the context itself depends upon the meaning we assign to the word, or it is not sufficiently specific to decide the meaning to the precision needed. Hence other principles like etymology or relation to other words must be brought into play. This often leads to a better result but involves a number of other aspects of interpretation. Such a situation can be profitably discussed with a concrete example. A curious word like *adhyāma* is often used in a number of contexts which are not specific enough to decide its meaning. Apparently it is a negative form of *dhyāma* which itself is of limited use. The Kośas assign to it the meaning like 'a kind of grass' or 'name of a plant' which cannot be explained on the basis of its derivation. We can only divide it into a root having the shape *dhyai-* or *dhyā-* and a primary suffix *ma*. But no semantic relation can be established between them. *Dhyāma* is used as an adjective in the sense of 'black, dark' and its derivative verb *dhyāmī-kṛ-* means to darken. This use is confined to the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit works like the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara* and *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. But in this sense its etymology is not clear. *Dhyai-* in its usual sense 'to think or medidate' being useless, we may venture to set forth a new root like *dhyām-* and assign to it the meaning 'to darken or blacken'. But this is not possible in view of the fact that this is the meaning of its derivative verbal form

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

dhyāmī-kṛ- because of the force of the rule *abhūtatadbhāva* necessary for such a formation. Hence it must be some activity which can be connected with the dark colour in some indirect way or may imply some figurative usage. Uses like (*Mahāvastu* 1. 42) *dhyāmāni ca abhūnsuḥ mārabhavanāni*, (I. 68) *kramau muneḥ dhyāmatām upāgatau*, (1. 314) *māraḥ svakaṁ balaṁ dhyāmabalaṁ saṁjānāti* are not such as to aollow us to guess its basic or original meaning. Nor is its use as an attribute of an army reconcilable with its use as an attribute of a house or a foot.

The negative form *adhyāma* is often used by the Jain writes and it is always found compounded with a noun which it qualifies. In the *Prabhāvaka-carita* we come across expressions like *dhiyām adhyāmadhāmabhuḥ* (said of Siddharṣi 121. 1) *dadhyau adhyāmacaitanyaṁ* (209. 210), in the *Jinaśataka* expressions like *adhyāmatejā ya jinavaraḥ* (1. 15), *tattvārthaṁ satvaraṁ yaḥ tvarayatu sa gurur boddhum adhyāmārūpam* (3. 11), in the *Samarā-dityasaṁkṣepa*, *nītaś ca caṇḍikāveśmamadhyam adhyāmamānasaḥ* (6. 148). In all these cases the context may lead to a number of meanings like big, great, bright, clear, composed etc. because of its connection with *dhāma*, *tejas*, *caitanya*, *upaśama*, *mānasa* and *rūpa* but their interrelation remains vague.

A secondary derivative from *dhyāma* is found in *dhyāmala* which, along with its negative form *adhyāmala*, is used in the *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Things are described as having a *dhyāmala* or *adhyāmala* nature in the two evolutionary stages called Sadāśiva and Īśvara (II. 229. 6); *dhyāmala* is also used to qualify the *bhāvacakra* which is *antaḥkaraṇaikavedyam iva* and *unmīlitamātracittakalpam* (II. 219. 5) which Bhāskara explains as *asphuṭa* 'not clear' which will make *adhyāmala* to mean 'clear'. They are also translated as 'soiled' and 'pure'. In the classical works like the *Nalacampū* and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, *dhyāma* and *dhyāmala* have variant readings *śyāma* and *śyāmala* with the usual meaning 'dark, black' etc.

When we consider that this word is mostly used in BHS, Jain writings, and by Abhinavagupta, it is but natural to suspect that the word and its derivative may be influenced by Pali and Prakrits. Again it is exclusively used as an adjective, while *ma*-formations are either action-nouns with both abstract and concrete meanings, or rarely agent-nouns. Sanskrit grammarians, however, preserve a *ma*-formation as a past passive participle used as an adjective *kṣāma* from the root *kṣai-* in Pāṇini 8. 3. 53 *kṣāyo maḥ*. Its negative form *akṣāma* has a range of meanings which resembles that of *adhyāma* in many ways. In the Jain works *akṣāma* is used in the very books in which we find *adhyāma* and nearly in the same contexts. In the *Prabhāvakacarita* we read *akṣāmacaritra-pavitraḥ* (said of Sūra 160. 19), *prāguktanijavṛttāntaṁ sa ākhyād akṣāmaduḥ-*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

khabhṛt (204. 23), *yatir eko yuvā tasmai śikṣām akṣāmadhīr dadau* (54. 19). In fact at 202. 31 both the words are used side by side in

sūreḥ śrīhemacandrasya guṇagauravasaurabham |
ākhyād akṣāmavidyaugham adhyāmopaśamaśriyam ||

Additional examples are found in the *Prabandhakośa* (89. 4) *subhikṣam akṣāmam*, (15. 3) *saṅghasamakṣam akṣāmasvareṇa babhāṇa*, in the *Samarāditysaṁkṣepa* (I. 324) *akṣāmabhāvanaḥ*, *Pāṇḍavacarita* (6. 783) *akṣāmadhīḥ*, (7. 248) *akṣāmanidra*, (9. 46) *akṣāmabhujasthāman*, *Udayasundarīkathā* (126. 4) *akṣāmavikrama* etc. All these cases give us the general sense of big, great, bright, clear etc. as in the case of *adhyāma*. This should also include the use of the word *akṣāma* in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* (I. 27) and *Carakasaṁhitā* (I. 10. 6) in the sense of a medicine which makes one strong or fat. There is one more occurrence of *akṣāma* in EI II. 415. 24 *akṣāmārāmadāmā dharaṇisurataruḥ* where it means 'not dried up', a meaning which must be set apart from the others.

A comparison of the meanings of these two words *adhyāma* and *akṣāma* would easily show that both have a major semantic component which is identical, while each one has its individual component as well. This situation can be reasonably explained on the basis that a Middle Indo-Aryan word like *jhāma* is at the root of both these words, which is also the source of the verb *jhāmeti* or *jhāmei*. But this is not all. The doubt raised by Edgerton about the lack of semantic link must also be explained. The original meaning of the root *kṣai-* (*kṣāyati*) is no doubt to burn and its participle *kṣāma* means burnt. From this developed the two meanings black and dried up. All these senses are found in *dhyāma* as well. In the sense dark it is often replaced in classical Sanskrit by the words *śyāma* and *śyāmala*.

Kṣāma developed the meaning 'weak, emaciated' first in its negative form as found in the *Carakasaṁhitā* and was later extended to the simplex as well. Thus developed the other shades of meaning not weak, strong, big, complete, full etc. That this line of semantic development started with the meaning 'dried up' is possible but some amount of influence from the other word *kṣīṇa* is also present. In the *Niryukti* of Bhadrabāhu on the *Uttarādhyayana*, we find an early attempt made to associate *adhyayana* with *akṣīṇa* which suggests the way this influence must have worked with the Jain writers. The meaning clear and loud are due to this influence. There is a parallel to this in the meaning of the Latin word *serēnus* 'clear, bright, fair' etc. from the verb *seresco* to dry, but is probably to be judged as an accident. When we speak of the influence of one word on the other we reach the boundary-line between what can be proved and what is of the nature of an imaginative suggestion.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Before I conclude I find it necessary to add a few general observations, if only to avoid possible misunderstanding.

When interpretation is called a science it must be emphasised that it is a classificatory or taxonominal science and not prescriptive or predictive. Of course the demarcating line between a classification and an explanation is hard to draw and one merges into the other. I am reminded of my bewilderment some fifty years ago when I started reading the Jain canonical work *Nandīsūtra* which states *se kiṁ taṁ paccakkham / paccakkhaṁ duvihaṁ paṇṇattam / indiyapaccakkhaṁ noindiyapaccakkhaṁ ca* and so on to the very end of the work. Today it does not appear to me so very incongruous. The *Nyāya* system distinguishes between *uddeśa*, *lakṣaṇa* and *parīkṣā* but rarely follows it in practice. They are really not so different or better not mutually exclusive.

In the field of interpretation we do not speak of true or false, not even of accurate or inaccurate but only of better or worse. Here the scale of evaluation is a sliding one and the results asymptotic. It is best to avoid words which smack of finality.

By the very nature of the case I had to take up for discussion a few examples which have come to my notice. Naturally the view of some scholars have come for criticism, which may be a little improper. But let me emphasise that no disrespect is implied and no finality is claimed for the interpretations offered. To do so would amount to self-contradiction.

Not all or even the major aspects of the subject could be illustrated in an address like this. I had to confine myself to a few examples to get a glimpse of the topic. Let me frankly state that there is nothing very new in all this, and I know all of you are also engaged in interpretation in your research in Oriental Studies. Let me recall at this moment the words of Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Nyāyamañjarī* :

kuto vā nūtanaṁ vastu vayam utprekṣituṁ kṣamāḥ

which is not merely an expression of modesty but embodies a profound truth. I add to it a metrically inelegant second line :

pūrvasūrivicārāṇām viśleṣa eva nūtanaḥ.

Let me conclude, ladies and gentlemen, by thanking you for giving me a patient hearing.

A. M. Ghatage

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

PRABHU DAYAL AGNIHOTRI

Honoured Scholars,

It is about three years now that we are meeting in this historical town of India. The year that has passed has been a painful experience not only for this city and state but for all the thinking persons of the entire country. This anguish is further aggravated when we feel that this is the same place wherefrom the apostle of peace and non-violence Mahatma Gandhi gave a clarion call for a revolution based on *Satyāgraha* or civil Disobedience. It is this place wherefrom he embarked upon his historical Dāṇḍī March and it is here he planted the sapling of free national education in the shape of the Gujrat Vidyapeeth. The inhuman display of violence in this very town has not only bowed our head with shame but has also increased the duration of our meeting by one year.

Friends, there has been a tradition of giving an account of the important research works and publications in the field since the last session by the Chairman of the Vedic Section. At least I have been observing that since past many years. But I would beg your pardon for deviating from this tradition. According to me, earlier, it was both necessary as well as possible, when the number of the study and research centres was limited and the scholars engaged in this job could be distinguished unmistakably like the morning bright stars. The ininerants of the Vedic way attracted the attention of the people perforce. Today, leave alone the foreign countries, in India itself, there are about 150 universities and hundreds of important colleges attached to them in which the process of study and research is continuing uninterrupted. Besides, there are a number of public research institutes and hundreds of publication houses. The information regarding the achievements of all these insitutions is available to the interested persons through the media of advertisements and many other media-sources. The important research work being carried out in a corner of the world reaches the other corner without any delay. These days sympose too, have become important instruments for the exchange of the latest information and their organization continues almost throughout the year. Under such circumstances, I did not think it proper to draw upon the time of

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

scholars like you for such a work. Otherwise also, the lists and the catalogues are no less a boring proposition.

In the last century when the work for the Vedic rejuvination started, Gujrat was source of inspiration in India like the west Germany in Europe. After all, the boy Mool-Shankar who later on became renowned as Swami Dayanand was born here. It was he who declared that the Vedas are the books of true knowledge and that the study, teaching, reciting and hearing the Vedas is the true religion for all the Āryas. The Swamiji tried to explain the Vedic Saṁhitās (compilations of Vedic Hymns) accepting them as of divine origin and having ultimate truths or axioms. Though he did not live to complete this work of his, yet his ideas left a deep impression on the Āryas of North India. The *Nirukta* (a treatise on etymology) of Yāska and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini are the basis for his interpretation of the Vedas. He refuted history, idol-worship, the theory of incarnation or polytheism in Vedas. He was an ardent supporter of Monism. *This refutation of his* was an attack on those theories which having been expounded by Max Müller and his followers were entering India or were established above all in India itself through the camouflage of Purāṇas which had engulfed the entire Vedic Dharma. The Swamiji wanted to present Hindu religion or Ārya Dharma as scientific, rational and free from orthodoxy for which the establishment of Monism was very essential in India. Those believers who were comparatively conservative expressed their agreement with him on matters like divine origin of the Vedas but opposed him on matters like idol-worship or theory of incarnation. Though the ideas of Swamiji and his interpretation of Vedas could not get acceptance in the world of scholars, but his movement gave a great philip to the study and teaching of Vedas in India. He brought out Vedas from the narrow shackles of the priestly class and made it available to the comman man. To-day in this land of Vaiṣṇvas, Gujrat, it is but natural that we remember this brilliant Vedic ascetic when we are discussing the study and research of Vedas. We bow with veneration to this great protoganist of Vedic culture.

Ever since the beginning of Vedic renascence, there were two distinct streams of Vedic studies — foreign and domestic. Those who belonged to the domestic school had faith in Vedas and took them as inseparable part of their life. In their eyes, they were sacred books, a lagacy which they got due to their great pious deeds. Even now, the general Hindu population of India, majority of whom have not even seen the Vedic books stands firm on this conviction. In the modern Indian languages, the word *Veda-vākya* is used in the sense of an undisputed truth which needs no proof. Biginning from Swami Dayanand, many scholars up to Yogiraj Arvind were supporters of

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

this concept and they enriched Vedic liturature with their important interpretations. The names of Acharya Girdhar Sharma Chaturvedi, Pandit Madhusudan Ojha, Acharya Vishwabandhu and Swami Karpatriji deserve special mention in this regard. These Indian scholars spread over the entire country had no facilities of large libraries nor they had any other means. Their devotion was their sole companion and with its help whatever these dedicated scholars contributed to the treasure house of Vedic studies after their life-long hard-work is an invaluable link of the rich tradition on the strength of which these Śrutis could be preserved without any change whatsover in their texture for thousands of years.

On the other hand the foreign scholare had the facilities of big manuscript museums, large libraries, sufficient money and endless means which enable greater out-put in less time. Their vision was like that of an observer standing at a distance — the detached vision of a person intending to observe and understand in a comparative way the environment opening around him while he is standing on a vantage point. They were impatient to visualize and express that most ancient form of language, culture and society whose doors were thrown before them by *Ṛgveda* and *Avesta*. They had the eyes of a true researcher and honest devotion to their work. Dozens of scholars like Max Müller, Oldenberg, Shröder, Weber, Bloomfield, Macdonell, Keith, Roth and Whitney etc. spread over Germany, France, England and America turned out a series of well-editted texts, interpretations, translations, critiques comments and the historical works. Some of them had in fact assimilated the entire Vedic literature; while a few of them had not only wonderful control over the Vedic language but also on its phonetic system. One cannot help wondering at the astonishing precise understanding, the deep insight and extensive knowledge of the details of sacrificical rituals exhibited by those scholars some of whom were like the Ṛṣis in their behaviour.

When the teaching of Sanskrit as an optional subject and of Vedic literature as a part of it started in Indian universities, its medium was English. When the persons belonging to the Indian elite evinced interest in Indian literature, the literature that came in their hands was the one written by these scholars in English. The works of Indian scholars written in Sanskrit or regional language could not reach both these fields. Consequently, there was no option before them but to approach these western scholars. The new reading public did not know Sanskrit. That is why they were incapable of getting their opinion settled. The western scholars did not pay attention to any such work which was not in English exept perhaps the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* of Pandit Shankar Balkrishna Dixit. As a result of this the country was divided into two sections in so far as the study of Vedic

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

literature is concerned. The elite or those belonging to high society started looking at it through the eyes of western scholars and the common men termed as backward in the modern terminology, confined themselves to the works written in Indian languages. The result of this bifurcation of Vedtc studies in two sections with two different objects was not really healthy for India. Those elements of Vedic culture which could keep the moral of Indian people high and upon whose strength it could stand face to face with the most prosperous, capable, nation of the world, remained outside the ambit of the common Indian and whatever he could get had a foreign stamp like imported goods. The result of this situation was certainly not good for India who had lost her self-confidence due to the slavery of centuries.

Today when I go through a book or a thesis of any Indian scholar on the subject of Vedic theme, philosophy or culture, I am prima-facie faced with two things. Firstly, it is based more on the western interpretations of Vedas rather than on the original texts and the author has no self-confidence to discard the crutches of foreign writers and state a thing with clear conviction. Secondly, if we ignore the geographical boundaries (the Vedic thinkers did not accept these boundaries), we will have to admit that what is so natural to the foreign writers may not be the same for the Indian authors. Take, for example, the caste-system or the patriarchal nature of families. When a foreign writer discusses these subjects, he presupposes readers who are completely ignorant of it but the position of an Indian writer is entirely different. His reader is familiar with all these things or their background. He does not require so many details. The Indian students of Vedic literature should well understand that the Vedic civilization is a rural civilization based essentially on agriculture and even now it has not undergone much change. If we leave the cosmopolitan towns, even today, it is alive in rural form or in the form of orthodox urban families in some way or the other. That is why we cannot expect that dispassonate neutrality from a reader or critic of Vedic literature which is so natural for a foreigner. It may be a virtue with them. This does not mean that the Indian writer should support everything contained in Vedic literature. It is not proper in any research but while performing the surgery the fingers should have the feel of affinity.

What a paradox, as the interest in the Vedic studies is increasing in India day by day, the condition of those traditional class of priests and persons who had been instrumental in keeping intact this literature and culture for centuries is getting poorer and poorer! For this, to some extent, this class itself is responsible. Because of their greater importance to pronounced words rather than its meaning, these scholars gradually degenerated

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

into lifeless parrots, their vision got narrowed and the Brāhmaṇa, Kalpa Sūtra and even Saṁhitās to some extent remained as assets only of priests or ritualistic Pandits and the Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣads of the old house-holders waiting their deaths or of the ascetics. Even after this admission, one cannot help feeling that the research-policy of the universities is no less at fault for this state of affairs.

Let us now have a look at the state of Vedic study and reserch in India and the problems connected therewith. For last few decades, some good theses have been presented on the Vedic Saṁhitās. The main work has been done on *Ṛgveda*; occasionally the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurueda has also been touched. The study of *Atharvaveda* has been limited to its portion dealing with Āyurveda or medical science. The *Sāmaveda* is almost untouched. Whatever studies have been presented in India on *Ṛgveda* are based on Vedic deities, ṛṣis, philosophical elements, natural beauty or the chronology of the Sūktas. All theee works have been done taking into account the positive side of the Saṁhitās. According to one, whatever might be the period of the compilation of these Saṁhitās, their hymns and the prose-portion is much older. This can be understood from the language, the way of narration and the use of words in these sūktas. This is also true that the practical application of these hymns started systematically in Brāhmaṇas after their compilation and at that time the ṛṣi, the deity, the metre and the employment (*viniyoga*) of every hymn was settled. The word ṛṣi, means a clan of ṛṣis or a caste sub-section (*gotra*) wherefrom the compiler inherited the *mantras*. Therefore, where the name of a particular ṛṣi is attached with a *mantra*, it does not mean the name of an individual but that of their first ancestor. In the meantime the *mantras* intuited by the subsquent ṛṣis also got compiled in the name of the original ṛṣi or the *gotra*. This is also possible that the creater of all the *mantras* in a sūkta may not be a ṛṣi but many members of his family and those too may not be of one single generation. If we observe closely, it is felt distinctly that there is a great interval in time and place between the various *mantras*. Dr. H. R. Divekar had done some original work on the chronology of Ṛgvedic sūktas. It is very unfortunate that any work done outside the common rut of the universities is not looked upon seriously by us. If this is kept in mind, a comparative study of the ṛṣis and deities mentioned in *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* might be quite interesting today. It is quite likely that it may prove helpful in solving the problem of cronology. For example :

अर्चनानस्, असित, गय, दाक्षायण, नोधस्, पुरु हनुमान्, प्रतीबोध, बृहत्साम, मुद्गल, वीतहव्य, वैयश्व, वैरूप, व्यश्व, शाम्बु and सोभरि etc. Atharvanik ṛṣis and अंश, अज, अजएकपाद, अजिर, अजाश्व, अप्वा, अर्बुदि, न्यर्बुदि, त्रिषन्धि, अविष्यवः, असुनीति, एकाष्टका,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

काम, काल, कुबेर, क्षेत्रपति, गन्धर्व, ग्राहि, त्विषि, नभस्पति, निर्ऋति, पुष्टपति, ब्रह्मचारी, वाचस्पति, मधुकशा, मन्यु, रोहित, वसोष्पति, वास्तोष्पति, विचृत्, विद्युत्, त्रायमाण, वृषाकपि, व्याकृति, वेन, व्रात्य, शकधूम, शुभस्पति, श्येन, संसिच्, समृध्, सरस्वती, सूषा, सुषणा, स्कम्म, स्मर and हेति etc. deities may be taken. Whatever work has been done relating to the Āyurveda based on the *Atharvaveda* is also not complete. This has been from the point of veiw of a common Sanskritist. In fact, the experiment of the *Atharvaveda* should be examined from the point of veiw of medical science. Not to talk of their experiment on diseases, many of those herbs have not been identified so far. Sāyaṇa has called जङ्गिड as very popular in Varanasi. But even the specialists of the Āyurveda college of Varanasi cannot identify this herb. There are many such herbs and diseases which have not been identified so far. The Vedic people did include *Atharvaveda* among the Vedas with reservations. Even today the Vedic scholars look at it with disinterest whereas this Veda is the only means of knowing the most ancient social structure of India. Maṇibandha, witch-craft, black magic, sorcery, treatment for snake-bite are scores of subjects which are described only in this Veda. There is no need to say that if *Ṛgveda* presents the picture of the cultured elite of ancient India, the *Atharvaveda*, that of the illiterate common society spread over thousands of villages. We should not forget that old remnants of ancient Vedic culture are found even now in large quantities. Those hundreds of classes of snakes which have been mentioned by name in the *Atharvaveda* can be identified today. Some serious research on the *Atharvaveda* still remains to be done.

There should be no hesitation in admitting that a good portion of the Saṁhitās is either very dry or absolutely useless under the conditions of today. There is some portion which is neither proper nor useful to life. This is that portion which has been created for the purpose of sacrificial rituals. Those hymns which have come out spontenously attract the mind even now. Hundreds of sūktas present solutions to the deep problems of life or subtle philosophical questions. They propound fundamental truths and help move the society forward. Such portions of every Veda should be culled out and published with their translations in regional languages so that the Vedas may be accessible to the common men and may not just remain a 'closed black hole' for them. The general impression created after the study of the Brāhmaṇas is that those books do not explain the *mantras* as their name suggests but very cleverly use them for raising the state of clergy and priestly class at the top position in the society. Their object appears to represent the rituals of vast and long sessions of various 'sacrifices' in such a complicated way that a common house-holder must need the help of a priest for the redressal of his misfortunes or for his future prosperity. Take

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

any Brāhmaṇa book, it appears as if its author considers the worshipper (*yajamāna*) or the reader a fool and goes on stating whatever he wants. It is really startling to see their etymology of words. For that matter, even Yāska had opened the way that there should be an etymology of every word and no word should be left without it.

तद् येषु पदेषु स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ स्यातां तथा तानि निर्ब्रूयात्। अथानन्वितेऽर्थेऽप्रादेशिके विकारेऽर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत केनचिद् वृत्तिसामान्येनाविद्यमाने सामान्येऽप्यक्षरवर्णसामान्यान्निर्ब्रूयान्न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात् न संस्कारमाद्रियेत। निरुक्त २. १.

Brāhmaṇas are a step ahead. In *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* Atharvan is derived from अथ अर्वाक्, Aṅgiras from अङ्गाराः (येऽङ्गारास्तेऽङ्गिरसोऽभवन्) or squeezing out the sap (रस) from the limbs of मृत्यु (अङ्गि-रसः) — भृगुरिव वै सर्वेषु लोकेषु भाति तद् भृगोर्भृगुत्वम्, येऽङ्गिरसः स रसो येऽथर्वाणस्तद् भेषजम्। *Gopatha* is full of such absurd etymologies, and just as you open ऐतरेय you come across such statements as—तद् यद् घृतं तत् स्त्रियै पयः। पयः शोणितम्। प्रजनार्थाद् वयतेः करणेऽसुन्। वकारस्य पकारः। सप्तदश सामिधेनीरनुब्रूयात्। सप्तदशो वै प्रजापतिः। प्रजापतिः संवत्सर उच्यते। द्वादश मासाः पञ्चर्तवः। हेमन्तशिशिरयोः समासेन।

Now somebody may ask them whether a month or a season is naturally in independent unit of Saṁvatsara? Then, why Hemanta and Śiśira should be taken as one. How Saṁvatsara is Prajāpati?

Similarly आहूतयो वै नामैताः यदाहुतयः। एताभिर्वै यजमानो देवान् ह्वयति। तदाहुतीनामाहूतित्वम्। ऊतयः खलु वैता नाम। In this way, the Brāhmaṇas are replete with arbitrary and irrational etymologies, anecdotes and chit-chats. *Śatapatha* is pioneer among them.

Let us take *Sāma Vidhāna* which says ब्रह्म ह वा इदमग्र आसीत्। तस्य तेजो रसोऽत्यरिच्यत। स ब्रह्माऽभवत्। स तूष्णीं मनसाऽध्यायत्। तस्य यन्मन आसीत् स प्रजापतिरभवत्। तस्मात् प्राजापत्यां मनसा जुहोति। मनो हि प्रजापतिः। Now compare these lines with the above lines of *Aitareya*. And look at the definition of Sāma here ; समा उ ह वा अस्मिंश्छन्दांसि साम्यादिति साम्नः समत्वम्।

At every step स्वर्गं लोकं जयति य एवं वेद। सर्वेषु लोकेषु शातो भवति। अमृतत्वमेति। हिरण्यद्रोणं लभते। बहुपशुधनधान्यो भवति। सहस्रं लभते। ग्रामं लभते। or the like allurements to the Yajamāna can be found on almost every alternate page. They appear like the assurance of lollypop given to their children by parents.

In the Kalpa Sūtras this tendency went to the extent of being ridiculous. The *mantras* which have no connection whatsoever with the specific actions were arbitrarily correlated with these actions, though even in Saṁhitās, some irrelevant and stray *mantras* are found in the sūktas.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

As for example in connection with the marriage of Sūrya, *RV* 10. 85. 18–19, *Atharva*. 14. 1. 23–24 and the unnecessarily converted seventeenth *mantra* the original of which is elsewhere. Many such instances can be found out. At places the order has been disturbed. But in the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-sūtras where the question of meaningful application of the *mantras* is concerned, this is rather too disturbing. The selection of such *mantras* in a systematic way can be useful. Similarly, the study of etymologies of the words, be it confusing, will be quite useful. Then there are hundreds of words which will enrich our vocabulary. There is lot useful in the vocabulary of Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-sūtras. The same thing can be told about the Ākhyānas or anecdotes. They might be absolutely imaginary even then their compilation at one place might be quite interesting and may throw some light on the current thinking. Besides, the process of gradual philosophical development can also be seen in these great works. This thinking is also the foundation of Upaniṣadas. Then the prose is equally important. The Sanskrit prose developed from Brāhmaṇas only. A large edition of the Brāhmaṇa books useful for the present day readers should be published.

2. The *Śrauta-sūtras* are the amplification of Brāhmaṇas but during their period the women and the Śūdras were declared unworthy of sacrificial worship. In the very beginning of *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* अङ्गहीनाक्षत्रिय-षण्ढशूद्रवर्जम्। ब्राह्मणराजन्यवैश्यानां श्रुतेः by these sūtras only the three higher *varṇas* have been declared as eligible for the *Śrauta yajñas*. The wife could participate in the *yajña* only with her husband स्त्री चाविशेषात्।

Even so, so much of difference was done at the time of initiation itself that while a girdle (*mekhalā*) was tied around the waist of the husband, the yoktra was tied in the waist of the wife. Karkācārya has written मेखलया यजमानं दीक्षयति योक्त्रेण पत्नीम्।

Besides the three *varṇas* the maker of the chariot (*rathakāra*) was authorised in *Ādhāna* and the *Niṣāda-sthapati* (the mason or blacksmith), in *Gāvedhuka*— रथकारस्याधाने। निषादस्थपतिर्गावेधुकेऽधिकृतः।

On the first twelve Sūtras of *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, there is detailed discussion in the commentary of Karkācārya and Yājñikadeva. The selection of all the sacrificial standards was done on the basis of their economic prosperity which was the basis of their social status. Ultimately this profession had to see its bad days once.

Whenever I have heard the Sāmagāna from the scholars of Southern tradition, I have been reminded of the strains of the folk-songs of the illiterate population of the North India living in villages. These songs have also been a part of the Yajñas.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

I am deeply pained to note that in this country of Somayājakas we do not have even a single Vaidika of the purest tradition, not at least in Northern India and the condition of the priestly class is still worse. As a result of this the faith of the people in various Saṁskāras is getting eroded. They are not only getting substanceless, they are being ignored also. The two legs of the tripod of Hindu Dharma i. e. *varṇa* and *āśrama* have already crumbled and the third one is also getting old and dilapidated.

For all these reasons my suggestions are —

(1) Simple, easily understandable and cheap editions of the Vaidika Saṁhitās useful for the common man should be published. They should include Sūktas like सांमनस्य, संज्ञान, शिवसंकल्प, पृथ्वी, विवाह etc. This edition should be published equally in all regional languages.

(2) The ritual book of sixteen Saṁskāras based only on Vaidika *mantras* should be created. It may be acceptable equally throughout the country and it should have the approval of all prominent scholars.

(3) A Vedic gallery should be established in the central museum of every state in which the exhibits should include various Yajña-vedis (like *kaṅkaciti*, *śyenaciti* etc.) and yajña-śastras apart from the equipment reflecting the common life. The yajña-vedis have been the origin of mathematics, geometry and architecture. The Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona has done a great work of public interest in this direction. Bigger Vedic institution can also take up this work.

(4) A record of about half an hour, attracting the taste of the common man, should be made of the Sūktas from *ṚV-*, *Yajus-* and *Atharvavedas*. They should be attuned to the melodious music prescribed in the Śāstra.

Similarly, an hour-long record of Sāmagānas (*Grāma*, *Āraṇyaka*) should be so made which can manifest all the qualities of the Sāmagīti. Then there should be arrangements for the proper display of these records.

I believe that the want of funds will not come in the way of these works.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

ABDUL ALI

The Arabian peninsula has been the cradle of the semitic race. It is said to have nursed those peoples who later migrated into the Fertile Crescent and subsequently became the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. But it is unfortunate that of all the ancient peoples the pre-Islamic Arabs seem to have been the most grossly misrepresented by both Orientalists and Arab scholars.

It is true that the pre-Islamic Arabs, especially the northern Arabians were a nomadic and haughty people. They lived mostly as wanderers from place to place in search of water and pasturage. They had no settled government. It is also said that they remained confined to the peninsular deserts, and that they never came into contact with civilized nations of the world.

They were full of vanity. They prided themselves on raiding and plundering their enemy tribes. To them blood called for blood. No punishment other than that of vengeance was acceptable to them. Their inter-tribal hostilities known as *Ayyām-ul-'Arab* generally arose from disputes over cattle, pasture lands or springs. In some cases they lasted for a very long time. For example, the Basūs War between the *Banū Bakr* and the *Banu Taghlib* lasted for as many as forty years.

They also paid boundless and unconditional loyalty to their tribe under all circumstances. They supported their tribesmen in all matters irrespective of the fact whether they were right or wrong. This tribal zeal is elaborately expressed by the pre-Islamic poet Durayd bin Ṣimmah in the following lines :

"هل انا الاّ من غزية ان غوت
غويتُ وان ترشد غزية أرشد"[1]

(I am naught but a member of the Ghaziyyah tribe. If it goes astray, I shall also go astray ; and if it goes aright, I shall also go aright).

1. *Diwan-ul-Hamasah*, compiled by Mohd. Izar Ali, Deoband, p. 115.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Besides, they worshipped idols, drank wine, committed fornication and practised immorality of various sorts. Some tribes even buried their daughters alive in order to escape the responsibility of bringing them up. The Qurān has referred to this in the following words :

"... لا تقتلوا اولادكم خشية إملاق ..."[2]

(Do not slaughter your children due to fear of poverty).

There is no denying the fact all these vices were rampant among the pre-Islamic Arabs. This has been adequately described by both orientalists and Arab historians. But this is only one side of the coin. Like all other peoples the ancient Arabs also had some virtues and good qualities which, unfortunately, have not been given their due importance by historians.

It is sad to note that while seeking to emphasize the importance of Islam in transforming the life of the pre-Islamic Arabs, even prominent Arab scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad ʿAbduhu, ʿAbbās al- ʿAqqād and Muḥammad Hasan al-Bāqūrī, etc., have painted them in the blackest of colours.[3] They have gone to the extreme ends in exaggerating their vices in gross neglect of the fact that they had some virtues, good qualities and positive points also. Thus they have done gross injustice to their ancestors by throwing light only on the negative side of their life. The impression one gets from their accounts of this people is that they were a wretched, misguided, idolatrous and despised people, that they were a foolish lot who had no connection whatsoever with intellect and knowledge, and also that they were morally and intellectually bankrupt. Consider, for example, the following quotations :

Ibn Khaldūn :

"... انّ جملة العرب كانوا اهل بغى وإلحاد وقطع للأرحام، وتنافس فى الردى، واعراض عن ذكر الله، فكانت عبادتهم الأوثان والحجارة، و اكلهم العقارب والخنافس والحيات والجعلان ..."[4]

(The Arabs in general were a people of tyranny and heterodoxy. They severed their ties of kinship, and strived for death and perdition. They

2. *The Quran* : XVII. 31.

3. الدكتور رشاد محمد خليل : "تحامل المؤرخين العرب على العرب قبل الإسلام" فى مجلة "اللسان العربى" المجلد الرابع عشر الجزء الأول، ص 95

4. *Tarikh Ibn Khaldun*, Vol. II, pp. 167-68, quoted by Dr. Rashad.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

deviated from the worship of Allah, worshipped idols and stones, and fed on scorpions, buprestes, snakes and blackbeetles).

Muḥammed 'Abduhu :

« قد بلغ العرب من سخافة العقل حدا صنعوا
فيه أصنامهم من الحلوى ثم عبدوها، فلما
جاعوا أكلوها، وبلغوا من تضعضع الأخلاق
وهنا قتلوا فيه بناتهم تخلصا من عار حياتهن،
او تنصلا من نفقات معيشتهن وبلغ الفحش
فيه مبلغا لم يعد معه للعفاف قيمة. » 5

(The Arabs were so weak-minded and foolish that they made their idols out of sweetmeats and worshipped them. But when they felt hungry, they ate them. And morally, they had become so down-trodden that they slaughtered their daughters to get rid of the disgrace of their life as well as to be saved from the responsibility of bringing them up. Immorality had become so rife among them that chastity was of no value to them).

Muḥammad Hasan al-Baquri :

« عاشت امة جاهلية فكانت فى جملتها أذل الناس
ذلا، واشقاهم عيشا، وابينهم ضلالة، واعراهم جلودا
واجوعهم بطونا... حتى جاء القرآن فنقلهم
من الذلة الى العزة، ومن الشقاء الى السعادة. » 6

(The Arabs were an ignorant people. They were the most contemptible, the most wretched, the most misguided, the most naked and the most hungry of all the peoples of the world. But when Islam came, it changed their baseness into glory and misery into prosperity).

But a critical and objective study of their literary and linguistic heritage clearly reveals that, in spite of all the vices and faults that may be numbered against them, at no stage of their history they had been morally and intellectually bankrupt. It is worthy of mention in this context that in Islamic parlance they were called *jahil* (ignorant) not because of their stupidity or ignorance but because of their haughtiness and war-like attitude. An attempt has been made in this paper to throw light on some hitherto little known aspects of the positive and constructive side of their life.

---

5. Muhammad Abduhu : *Rosalat-ul-Tawhid*, p. 180, quoted by Dr. Rashad, *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

6. Dr. Rashad, *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri Rashtrapati Bhavan Collection, New Delhi

Contacts with Foreign Peoples :

Far from remaining confined to the peninsular deserts, the pre-Islamic Arabs used to voyage fearlessly in the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They were the pioneers of maritime trade and acted as commercial intermediaries between the East and the West. They sailed on the Indian Ocean right upto the Pacific Ocean and reached China. They had their permanent settlements on the western coast of India, in Ceylon, in Indo-China and China proper, which played a laudable role in spreading the message of Islam in different parts of the world.

The coast of Yemen was a great centre of maritime trade in the pre-Islamic period. It used to be crowded by Arab, Greek and Roman traders. The Arabs were in constant contact with Somalia, Ethiopia, India and Iran. The port of Aden was an important centre for the exchange of commercial goods between India and Egypt. The presence of a large number of Greek and Roman traders in the city led to the foundation of a Christian church in it. This might have been one of the reasons responsible for the introduction of Christianity in the pre-Islamic Arabia.[7]

That the pre-Islamic Arabs were good navigators is further evidenced by such minute descriptions of the sea, the ships and their movement as are found in the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Take, for example, the following lines from the *muállaqah* (Ode) of the poet Ṭarafah, who lived in the third quarter of the sixth century A. D. in Behrain on the eastern coast of the peninsula. While comparing the camels' travelling to the tacking and sailing of ships, he says :

« كأن حدوج المالكية غدوة
خلايا سفين بالنواصف من دد
عدولية او من سفين بن يامن
يجور بها الملاح طورا ويهتدى
يشق حباب الماء حيزومها بها
كما قسم الترب المفائل باليد »

(As if the Malikian camels, with the howdahs on the morning of her departure in the water-tracts of the village of Dad, were the big ships of

7. الدكتور رياض محمود : العرب والملاحة ، في مجلة العربي ، الكويت ، اكتوبر ، 1971 ، ص 46

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Adoal, or the vessels of Ibn Yamin, which the sailors at times steer out of the straight course, and at times guide straight. Their bows cleave the ripples of the sea, as the divider of the sand-heaps separates the dust with his hand).[8]

The above lines clearly indicate that such minute description of the ship sailing on the sea would not have been possible for the poet, had he not experienced the voyage himself.

Another pre-Islamic poet and warrior, 'Amr bin Kulthūm boasts of his domination on land and sea in the following lines :

« ملأنا البر حتّى ضاق عنّا
وظهر البحر نملأه سفينا »

(We have filled the land so that it has become narrow for us and have filled the sea with our ships).

Besides, there are numerous Quranic references to the sea and its tempests. They not only give credence to early maritime activities of the Arabs, but also indicate that they were fully acquainted with the different situations of sailing in both normal and tempestuous conditions of the sea. This is clear from the following verses :

« وله الجوار المنشأت فى البحر كالأعلام »
(LV : 24)

(His are the ships displayed upon the sea like mountains).[10]

« وترى الفلك مواخر فيه ولتبتغوا من
فضله ولعلكم تشكرون ». (XVI : 14)

(And thou seest the ships ploughing it (the sea) that ye mankind may seek of His bounty, and that haply ye may give thanks).[11]

8. The Seven Poems suspended in the Temple at Mecca translated by Capt. F. E. Johnson, pp. 32-33.

9. *The Muallaoah* by 'Amr bin Kulthum.

10. M. M. Pickthall : *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, p. 382.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

« ربكم الذى يزجى لكم الفلك فى البحر لتبتغوا
من فضله انه كان بكم رحيما - و اذا
مسكم الضر فى البحر ضلّ من تدعون
الّا إياه ، فلما نجّيكم الى البر أعرضتم
وكان الأنسان كفورا - » (XVII:66-67)

(O mankind, your Lord is He Who driveth for you the ship upon the sea that ye may seek of His bounty. Lo! He was ever Merciful towards you. And when harm toucheth you upon the sea, all unto whom ye cry for succour fail save Him alone, but when He bringeth you safe to land, ye turn away, for man was ever thankless).[12]

« ... او كظلمات فى بحر لجّى يغشاه موج
من فوقه موج من فوقه سحاب ، ظلمات
بعضها فوق بعض - » (XXIV:40)

(... Or as darkness on a vast, abysmal sea. There covereth him a wave, above which is a wave, above which is a cloud. Layer upon layer of darkness),[13]

Their Religious Thought :

In spite of the fact that the pre-Islamic Arabs worshipped idols, they were idolators only in a limited sense. In the depth of their heart they believed not only in the unity of Allah, but also in some of His attributes describing Him as Almighty, Creator, Compassionate, Forgiving and Rewarding, etc. They did not ascribe to their idols any divine powers. They were looked upnn only as intercessors with Allah. They believed that the absolute authority to create, to benefit, to harm or to dispose of the affairs of the univers rested with Allah alone. Numerous instances can be quoted in support of this point from both the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry as well as the Quranic references to their religious thought. The following lines by the pre-Islamic poets clearly sohw different aspects of their perception of, and faith in, Allah :

12. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Zuhair :

« فلا تكتمن الله ما فى نفوسكم
ليخفى و مهما يكتم الله يعلم
يؤخر فيوضع فى كتاب فيدخر
ليوم الحساب او يعجل فينقم »[14]

(Do not conceal the secrets of your heart from Allah with a view to keeping them hidden, for whatever is concealed from Him, He is already aware of it.

You must be punished for your sin sooner or later. There is no escape from it. The punishment will befall you either soon in this very world, or in case of delay it will be recorded in a book for the Day of Judgement).

Hātim :

« اما والذى لا يعلم الغيب غيره
ويحيى العظام البيض و هى رميم »[15]

(By Him none except Whom knoms the hidden and Who revives the white bones when they have rotted away).

'Ubaid bin al-Abraṣ :

« والله ليس له شريك
علام ما اخفت القلوب »[16]

(Allah has taken unto Him no partner. He is fully aware of whatever is hidden in the hearts of peaple).

« من يسأل الناس يحرموه
وسائل الله لا يخيب »[17]

(He who asks people for snmething, he is kept deprived of it; but if he asks Allah, he is not disappointed).

14. *The Mu'allaqah* ly Zuhayr.
15. *Dīwān Ḥātim*, quoted by Dr. Raṣhād.
16. The Muallaqah by Ubaid bin al-Abras, quoted by Dr, Rashad.
17. *Mukhtar*, quoted by Dr. Raṣhād. p. 98.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Nābighah al-Dhubyānī :

« الم تران الله أعطاك سورة
ترى كل ملك دونها يتذبذب » [18]

(Do you not see that Allah has granted you a dignity, in the face of which every king keeps wavering ?).

Likewise, the picture of their religious thought as gleaned from the Quranic references to it further establishes that the pre-Islamic Arabs had faith in the unity of Allah as well as in His attributes of perfection long before the advent of Islam. The Quran has recorded their faith in Allah as their Creator in the following words :

« ولئن سألتهم من خلقهم ليقولن الله
فأنى يؤفكون ». (XLIII : 87)

(And if thou ask them who created them, they will surely say : Allah. How then are they turned away ?)[19].

They also had faith in Allah as the Supreme Ruler who disposed of all affaiars of the universe according to His will. It was to Him alone that they turned for succour in the event of calamities. This is fully corroborated by the following verse :

« هو الذى يسيركم فى البر والبحر، حتى اذا كنتم
فى الفلك وجرين بهم بريح طيبة وفرحوا
بها جاءتها ريح عاصف وجاءهم الموج من
كل مكان وظنوا انهم احيط بهم دعوا الله
مخلصين له الدين، لئن أنجيتنا من هذه
لنكونن من الشاكرين ». (X : 23)

(He it is who maketh you to go on the land and the sea till, when ye are in the ships and they sail with them with a fair breeze and they are glad therein, a storm-wind reacheth them and the wave cometh nnto them from every side and they deem that they are overwhelmed therein; then they cry unto Allah, making their faith pure for Him only; if Thou deliver us from this, we truly will be of the thankful).[20]

18. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
19. M. M. Pickthall, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

That they accorded merely an intermediary status to their idols is clearly mentioned in the following verses :

"ويعبدون من دون الله ما لا يضرهم ولا ينفعهم ويقولون هؤلاء شفعاؤنا عند الله." (X:19)

(They worship beside Allah that which neither hurteth them nor profiteth them, and they say : These are our intercessors with Allah).[21]

"والذين اتخذوا من دونه اولياء ما نعبدهم الا ليقربونا الى الله زلفى..." (XXXIX:2)

(And those who choose protecting friends beside Him say : We worship them only that they may bring us near unto Allah).[22]

It is interesting to note that the words Allah (the One God) and *Rabb* (Lord) are used in the Quran almost exactly in the same sense as perceived and used by the Arabs. The word Allah is used in the Quran about 2820 times, while the word *Rabb* is used about 976 times.[23]

The above verses clearly show that the Arabs did not believe in polytheism in a real sense of the term. They neither associated equally competent and independent gods with Allah, nor did they recognize any eternal entity for their idols. As such they cannot be put on par with the other poletheist nations like the Indians, the Romans and the Zoroastrians, etc.

Besides, there existed in Arabia a group of monotheists, who felt disgust at idol-worship and forsook it. They longed for the religion of Abraham and tried to find out what had been its teaching. Such seekers of the truth were known as *Ḥunafā* (the upright). They held Allah to be perfect from all points of view Who has taken neither wife nor son nor partner. Of them mention may be made of the following :

Zayd bin Umar bin Nafil; Arbab bin Riab; Suwayd bin Amir al-Mustlaqi; Asad abu Karb al-Hamiri; Kaba bin Salmah bin Zuhair; Abu Qays Sarhah bin abi Anas; Abd-ul-Tanijah bin Tha lab bin Wabrah; Allah bin Shihab al-Tamimi; Umayyah ibn-abi-al-Salt; and Waraqah ibn Nawfal, etc. The noblest of them Prophet Muḥmmad also belonged to this group.[24]

21. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
23. Dr. Raṣhād in *al-Lisān-ul-Arabī*, Vol, XVIII, Part I, p. 120.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

As regards the source of their religious thought, it should be remembered that they had inherited their monotheistic religious ideas from their ancestors by virtue of being the descendants of the prophets Abraham and Ishmail. It was Abraham who had built in Mecca the Grand Mosque, the Kabah, for the worship of Allah. Moreover, Islam never claimed to preach a new religion. It only revived the religion of Abraham and gave it a final shape through Prophet Muḥammad. The Quran has referred to this fact in the following verses :

"وقالوا كونوا هودا او نصارى تهتدوا، قل بل ملة ابراهيم
حنيفا، وما كان من المشركين۔" (II : 135)

(And they say: Be Jews or Christians, then ye will be rightly guided. Say unto them, O Muḥammad: Nay, but we follow the religion of Abraham, the upright, and he was not of the idolators).[25]

"ثم اوحينا إليك ان اتبع ملة ابراهيم
حنيفا، وما كان من المشركين" (XVI : 123)

(And afterward we inspired Thee, O Muḥammad: Follow the religion of Abraham, as one by nature upright. He was not of the idolators).[26]

"ومن أحسن دينا ممن أسلم وجهه
لله وهو محسن وّ اتبع ملّة ابراهيم حنيفا
واتخذ الله ابراهيم خليلا۔" (IV : 125)

(Who is better in reiigion then he who surrendereth his purpose to Allah while doing good to men and followeth the tradition of Abraham, the upright? Allah Himself chose Abraham for friend).[27]

Linguistic Evidence of their Intellectual Awakening :

The very language of the Arabs reveals that they were a wise, eloquent and scientific people. They had a very rich language. It was in its perfect and highly finished form long before the advent of Islam. No other language seems capable of exercising over the minds of its users such irresistible influence as Arabic. They were rightly proud of their eloquent tongue which was quite capable of scientific expression. As described by the renowned Arab scholar al-Jāḥiz,

25. M. M. Pickthall, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

" Wisdom has alighted on three things : the brain of the Franks, the hands of the Chinese and the tongue of the Arabs. "[28]

Arabic language is based on durabie, firm and flexrble structures that have enabled it to live for over fifteen centuries in its classical form not only as language of the religion of Islam, but also as language of the Arab mass media. No other language can compare with it in this respect. Its unique quality to retain its basic structure and vitality is described by a modern Western philologist Jaroslav Stetkevych in the following words :

> " It has lived for one million and a half essentially unchanged; usually gaining, never completely losing. Venus-like it was born in a perfect state of beauty, and it has preserved that beauty in spite of all the hazards of history and all the corrosive forces of time···. It has known austerity, holy ecstacy and voluptuousness, bloom and decadence. It exuberated in times of splendour and persisted through times of adversity in state of near-hybernation. But when it awoke again, it was the same language."[29]

Arabic is a most logically developed language. It is still one of the unsolved misteries of philology as to how this language as developed and perfected by the pre-Islamic Arabs could acquire the capacity of adapting itself to the needs of a highly urbanized and articulate culture without getting distorted. The French Orientalist Ernest Renan, who is otherwise known to be a biased critic of Arab legacy and culture, has expressed this mistery as follows :

> " One of the strongest events in human history and whose mistery is difficult to unravel, is the spread of the Arabic language. This language was unknown at the beginning, then all of a sudden it reached the height of excellence ..., and there has occurred no important change in it until now. It has no childhood and no old age. It appeared for the first time complete and consolidated ... One of the amazing things about this national language is that it was born and reached the degree of existence in the midst of deserts and in a nomadic nation, and excelled its sister languages in vocabulary, precision of meanings, and beauty of its structure."[30]

The literary heritage left by the pre-Islamic Arabs also throws sufficient light on their vividness of imagination, power of expression and minute observation. The elaborate form and technical perfection of their poems and odes

28. P. K. Hitti : *History of the Arabs*, pp. 90-91.

29. Prof. M. A. Saleem Khan : Arals, Arabic and the Future in *al-Lisān-ul-Arabī*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. XXIX.

30. *Ibid*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

fully establish that they are works of highly finished art. They are regarded by Arab linguists as models of unapproachable excellence. Sir Charles Lyall has commented on the form and matter of these highly developed productions in the following words :

> " The number and complexity of the measures which they use, their established laws of quantity and rhyme, and the uniform manner in which they introduce the subject of their poems, notwithstanding the distance which often separated one composer from another, all point to a long previous study and cultivation of the art of expression and the capacities of their language, a study of which no record now remains."[31]

Prof. Gibb has expressed his appreciation of the pre-Islamic poems in the following words :

> " At one moment Arabia seems in a literary sense empty and dumb except for some votive and businesslike inscriptions in a variety of dialects. At the next, companies of poets spring up all over Northern Arabia, reciting complex odes, qasidas, in which a series of themes are elaborated with unsurpassed vigour, vividness of imagination, and precision of imagery, in an infinitely rich and highly articulated language, showing no traces of dialect and cast into complex and flexible metrical schemes that rhyme throughout the poem."[32]

From what has been discussed above it is quite clear that the pre-Islamic Arabs were an eloquent, energetic, brave and scientific people with tremendous capacity for observation, assimilation and acclimatization as well as making sacrifices for the sake of the ideals cherished by them. They had been inheritors of the religion of Abraham with the difference that in the course of time it had become distorted with the addition of superstitions, idol-worship and folklore. What harmed them most was their haughtiness, inter-tribal rivalry and war-like spirit rather than their ignorance and stupidity. In short, they had all the ingredients of a powerful nation which needed to be tamed, sharpened and channelized by a civilizing force. That was the main reason why it did not take them much time to emerge as a cultured and strong nation under the banner of Islam. As is well-known, within a century after their rise they not only became the masters of a big empire, an empire greater than that of Rome at its zenith, but also contributed a great deal to the cause of knowledge and learning.

---

31. R. A. Nicholson : *History of the Arabs*, pp. 75-76.
32. Prof. M. A. Saleem Rhan, *Op. cit.*, p. XXIX.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION
(Including Tibetology)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

K. K. MISHRA

Learned Fellow Delegates,

I am highly grateful to the authorities and Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the great honour bestowed upon me by electing me the president of the Pali and Buddhism (including Tibetology) Section of the XXXII Session of the Conference that is being held at Ahmedabad. I am conscious of my shortcomings and feel that I hardly deserve the honour to preside over this learned gathering of scholars, particularly when I think of the galaxy of the stalwarts like Prof. P. V. Bapat, Prof. V. V. Gokhale and Prof. Anant Lal Thakur, who have occupied this chair in the past. Yet, I could not resist this tempting honour and dare to refuse the responsibility assigned to me, because I consider it to be the spontaneous expression of my freinds and learned scholars and their kind confidence in me. However, I am confident, that with the kind cooperation of all of you, I shall be able to humbly discharge my duties of conducting the business of this Section to the satisfaction of all concerned. I cordially welcome you all in the Pali and Buddhism Section of the XXXII AIOC.

Let us now pray for the departed souls of the following savants whose scholarly contribution in the field of Buddist Studies would continue to be remembered for long :

(1) Professor Lal Mani Joshi (1935–84), Research Professor of Buddhist Studies, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, (Varanasi).

Prof. Lal Mani Joshi passed away on 16th July, 1984 at the prime of his life leaving the Indian Buddhist Studies poorer by his sudden demise. He was just 49 years. We had great expectations from this young scholar of great potentialities. He was born on 27th July 1935 in Kumaon Hills, UP. After completing his M. A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture and also in Pali he worked for his doctorate on " Buddhist Culture

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

in India duing the 7th and 8th centuries" and obtained Ph. D. in 1964. He started his career as Assistant Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Gorakhpur University (1961–67). Dr. Joshi joined the Department of Religious Studies in Panjab University, Patiala as Associate Professor in Buddhist Studies and became Professor and Head of the Department as well as the Dean of Faculty of Religious Studies, Punjab University (1980–81). He was offered Post-Doctoral visiting fellwship in Comparative Religion in the Centre for Study of World Religions, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA (1969–70). He was also invited as Henry R. Luce Visiting Professor of Comparative Religious Ethics, Amherst College USA and Margret Guest Visiting Professor of the Comparative Religion at Haverford College, USA.

Prof. Joshi's publications are : *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* (Delhi, 1967); *Dhammapada Pali Text in Gurumukhi Script* (Patiala, 1969); *Brahmanism, Buddhism and Hinduism* (Kandy, 1970); *An Introduction to Indian Religions* (Patiala, 1970); *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* with the commentary of Asaṅga and its translation in Hindi (Sarnath, 1978); *Vimalakirtinirdeśa-Sūtra* critically edited with Sanskrit restoration and Hindi translation with Bhikṣu Prasadika (Sarnath, 1981) and *Facets of Jain Religiousness Comparative Light* (Ahmedabad, 1981).

His last work published before his death, *Discerning the Buddha* : A Study of Buddhism and of the Brahmanical Hindu Attitude to it' (Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1983) shows his penetrating analysis of traditional Brahmanical approach towards Buddhism in a historical perspective.

The late Prof. Joshi also contributed a chapter on "The Monastic Contribution to Buddhist Art and Architecture" to "The World of Buddhism" edited by Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich (London, 1983). He wrote review articles in the Journal of Religious Studies of which he was one of the editors. He was a member of the Board of Editors of *Tibet* Journal (Dharmśālā, India) and the Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies (Madison, Wisconsin, USA). He also contributed reviews to the Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies, Journal of American Oriental Society etc. Prof. Joshi was also associated with various Universities in India and abroad in different capacities.

Professor Joshi was not only a first-rate scholar but was also deeply involved in promotion of Buddhist Studies and Buddhist cause in India. He took keen interest in the establishment of the Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies in the Banaras Hindu University. Sudden demise of such a promising life is our great misfortune.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(2) Lama Anagarika Govinda (E. L. Hoffmann) 1898–1985 : Mr. Lama Govinda passed away on 14th January 1985. He was born at Waldheim in the old Kingdom of Saxony on 17th May 1898. Having been invalided out of World War I with T. B., he studied Philosophy and Architecture at the University of Freiburg. He subsequently also studied Archaeology and his researches in this field took him on extensive journeys in the Mediterranean and North African areas. He was mainly interested in prehistoric burial tumuli and similar structures — an interest that led on quite naturally to his later interest in the structure and symbolism of Buddhist stūpa, a subject upon which he wrote a number of monographs. He possessed considerable artistic talent and for a time he was a member of the artistic community on Capri.

His best known works in English include : *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (1960); *The Psychological Attitude of Early Philosophy* (1937); *The Way of the White Clouds* (his inner biography–1966); *Creative Meditation and Multidimensional Consciousness*; *The Psycho-cosmic Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa* (1976); and *The Inner Structure of the I-ching* (1981).

(3) Ven. Tsondu Tenpai Gyaltsen, a prominent Bunpo Lama passed away on May 12, 1985 at the Tibetan Bumpo Foundation Dholonji, Himachal Pradesh after a brief illness. He was 72. Born and religiously trained in Eastern Tibet, he became the Head of the Monastery's School of Dialectics at the age of 25. Later on he visited as Head of the School of Dialectics of the Bumpo Monastery at Gungyam. With the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 he came to India like other Tibetans. He stayed at Manali and Ladakh areas till 1967 when he shifted to the Tibetan Bumpo Settlement in Dholonji. During his stay there Ven. Tsondu as Head of the Dialectics School was teaching a number of students. His contribution in keeping alive the Bumpo tradition will remain memorable.

(4) Ven. Dhamma Ratna, a great Indian scholar of Buddhism of Sinhalese origin died in London in August 1985. He has been the editor of *Mahābodhi* Journal published by the Mahabodhi Society of India, from Calcutta. Earlier he edited the Hindi Monthly Journal *Dharma Doot*.

The Buddha served the cause of humanity during his life-time and left his immortal message to us which has been inspiring us for centuries and will be a source of inspiration for centuries to come. His teachings are undoubtedly, valuable for the people of all the nations. After attaining enlightenment he went from place to place preaching his simple doctrine of making an end of suffering. He had compassion on the people so he

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

preached for the welfare and happiness of the common people, the masses (*bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya*). All his teachings were to show a way to the cessation of suffering and realisation of Nibbāṇa, but his teachings were not committed to writing during his life-time so the exact nature of his message is difficult to understand as his message has reached us now through the different traditions in different countries in different languages.

The concrete basis of Buddhism was laid by Gautama Buddha in the 6th Century B. C. It gathered strength in the land of its origin upto the time of Ashoka, the great (274–232 B. C.) and it was during his rule that the Bauddha Dharma spread beyond the boundaries of India. The messengers and missionaries sent by Ashoka crossed the mountains and seas and preached the message of Buddha to the different countries of the world. In course of time, Buddhism assumed different forms in different lands. Three versions of "Buddha Vacana" in Pali, Chinese and Tibetan claim originality. Among these, the Pali canon occupies the foremost position. During his lifetime, the Buddha propagated his message in the language of the masses which was a form of Prakrit to be understood by the people of those regions (Nepala-tarai, Magadha and Kosala). He turned down the proposal of translating his sermons in Sanskrit. In course of time, the "Buddha Vacana" become translated into Sanskrit and different versions and different sub-schools came into being. Buddhist Sanskrit work spread northwards in different channels and their translations were prepared in Chinese, Mangolian, Japanese and Tibetan.

In modern times, there has been a growing interest in Buddhist studies not only in India, South–east Asia and the Far East but also in the Western countries where special attention has been paid by the scholars. Pali and Buddhist Studies cover a wide range of subjects such as Philosophy, Ethics, Psychology, Mysticism, Yoga, Meditation, History, Tantra, Literature, Art, Archaeology, Sculpture etc. The study of Pali and Buddhim is carried out in various branches such as Pali, Sanskrit, Buddhism, Tibetology etc. The central place is occupied by the interpretation of the teachings of the venerable 'Tathāgata' represented in the Pali Tipiṭakas.

Pali is not only the main source of Buddhism but also an important link in the linguistic, cultural and religious history of India. The study of history, culture, religion and philosophy in ancient India cannot be properly done unless we tap the source materials available in the Buddhist texts. In modern times, Pali studies have been given due attention in the second half of 19th century in the West as well as in India. The Pali text Society, London has been doing commendable work. Due to the efforts of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, Prof. P. V. Bapat, Acharya Buddharakshita, D. Kosambi and other scholars, Pali

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

studies have been popularised in India at Calcutta, Nalanda, Varanasi, Delhi, Poona and Bangalore. The Nalanda Pali Institute (Nava Nalanda Mahavihar) has brought out 41 Vols. of Pali Tipiṭaka in Devanagari Script under the Chief-Editorship of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, the doyen of Pali studies in India. The publication was financed by the Government of India on the occasion of 2500th anniversary of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. The Institute is continuing its work of publishing Pali Atthakathās and other important works.

Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga (Bihar) has published a series of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in 25 Volumes. The Buddhist publications Board of India, Bauddha Dharmankuravihara, Calcutta also deserves mention regarding significant publications on Buddhist Studies.

The Tibetan Studies received a scholarly impetus after Mahapandita Rahul Sankrityayana had secured from Tibet a large number of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in original or in photographs. K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna has utilised these for scholarly editions of the Buddhist texts. The Central Institute of higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, under the able guidance of the eminent Tibetologist Rev. Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche as its director is doing significant work of reconstruction of ancient Mahāyāna Buddhist texts surviving in their Tibetan translations. The Tibetan translations are the main basis of reconstructing the lost original texts which are not available to us in their original form. The Institute has also taken up translation of some important Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. Besides publishing studies, books, commentaries, the Institute also organises Symposiums and Seminars on Buddhist Studies. The Tibet House, New Delhi with Rev. Prof. Doboom Tulku as Director has been doing commendable work on Tibetan Studies. The Encyclopaedia Tibetica in 137 Vols. deserves special mention here. Worthmentioning work is being carried out in this field at the Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim), at Dharmashala under the able guidance of H. H. the Dalai Lama, Saraswati Vihar, New Delhi under the guidonce of Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Deptt. of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, Nagarjuna Bauddha Bharati Tattva Vidyanusandhanapitha, Gorakhpur and by other institutions and individual scholars like Prof. Jagannath Upadhyaya, Nehru Fellow, Dr. N. H. Samtani, Dr. Mahesh Tiwari etc. It is neither desirable nor possible to give details of all the works done by the abovementioned institutions.

Generally, a Sectional President is supposed to present a survey of the major work done in his field during the period between the current and the preceding Sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference. Therefore, I would like

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

to report before you the major achievments and activities in the field of Pali and Buddhism including Tibetology during 1982–85.

Activities of Institutions and Individual Scholars

The Deptt. of Pali and Buddhist Studies was created in the Banaras Hindu University on July 31, 1982 though the postgraduate teaching of Pali was introduced in 1950 in the Department of Sanskrit and Pali on the inspiration of Acharya Narendra Dev, the then Vice-Chancellor who was himself an eminent scholar on Buddhism. With the creation of a full-fledged Deptt. and Dr. N. H. Samtani as its Head, the Buddhist Studies were accelerated in BHU. Besides conducting postgraduate teaching with the four groups of Specialization (A—Pali Literature, B—Abhidhamma Literature, C—Buddhist Sanskrit Literature including Mahāyāna and D— Buddhist History and Culture) the Deptt. is engaged in conducting researches and organising Seminars and teachers of eminent experts from India and abroad for strengthening the cause of Pali and Buddhist Studies.

Dr. N. H. Samtani (who retired in June 1984 as Head of the Deptt.) is working on (i) Comparative Dictionary of Buddhist Technical Terms based on Pali and Sanskrit Sources; (ii) Tranalation of the Arthaviniścayasūtra and its Nibandhana (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1971). Dr. Samtani attended the following Conferences during the period under report :

(i) XXXI International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and Africa, Tokyo and Kyoto (August 31 – September 7, 1983) and chaired one session Section III "Spread of Buddhism and Hindu Culture in Asia";

(ii) Seventh International Conference of Buddhist Studies (IABS) in Bologna, (Italy), (July 8–13, 1985) and presented a paper on "Pali and Sanskrit Commentaries on Some Aspects of Buddhist Terminology";

(iii) Intra-religions Conference on Buddhism in Chiengmai, Thailand (August 5–10, 1985) and presented a paper on "Right thought in Noble Eight-fold Path : A Mahāyāna View".

Dr. H. S. Shukla (a specialist in Theravada Buddhism) of the Deptt. has received a grant to complete his book entitled "Pali Sāhitya kā ālocanatmaka adhyayana" under the University level book-writing programme of UGC.

Saeng Chandra-Nagrme, A Senior Buddhist Scholar and authority on Thai Buddhism was associated with the Deptt. of Pali & Buddhist Studies, BHU

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

for three months from February–April, 1983 for lectures and his research project.

A fourday All-India Seminar on "Early Buddhism & Mahāyāna" was organised by the Deptt. from 10–13 November, 1983 with the financial assistance provided by the UGC.

Prof. R. Gombrich, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford and Hon. Secretary of Pali Text Society, London visited BHU under the auspices of the British Council and the UGC. His lecture on "Social Background of Buddhism" was arranged by the Deptt. on 4th February,1984 in which the learned scholar discussed the rise of Early Buddhism in India.

The Deptt. also arranged six lectures delivered by Prof. David Waterhouse on different topics related to Buddhist Studies on April 3–6, 1984.

Prof. A. K. Narain, Professorof History in the Deptt. of South Asian Studies in the University of Wisconsin, USA and Editor-in-Chief of Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies delivered a lecture on 'Latest Trends in Buddhist Studies in the West'. Prof. Narain also presented Pali Tripitaka in Devanagari and Sinhali scripts to the Deptt. of Pali and Buddhist Studies, BHU.

It is quite amusing to report that in BHU even a scholar of Medical Science has devoted himself to Pali and Buddhist Studies. The name of Prof. Jyotirmitra, Deptt. of Basic Principles, I. M. S., BHU is worth mentioning here. He has published recently a book (with the financial support provided by the ICHR, New Delhi), entitled *A Critical Appraisal of Ayurvedic Material in Buddhist Literature with special reference to Tripitaka.*

A Ph. D. thesis entitled "Mahāyāna Sāhitya men nihita Āyurvedīya Sāmagrī kā Adhyayana" has been prepared by Dr. R. N. Tripathi under the guidance of Prof. Jyotirmitra (BHU–1982). This thesis is to be published shortly with the grant-in-aid sanctioned by the ICHR, New Delhi.

Deptt. of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi is doing commendable work in the field of Buddhist Studies and Tibetology. Two significant projects are in progress under Prof. Mahesh Tiwari and one under Dr. G. G. Gyatso. These are :

(i) 'Compilation of Encyclopaedia of Pali Abhidhammic Terms' financed by UGC. Project-Director : Prof. Mahesh Tiwari. The Project is nearing completion.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(ii) 'A Critical Study of Abhidharmāvatāra' financed by Ministry of Education. Project-Incharge : Prof. Mahesh Tiwari. The Project has just been started.

(iii) 'A Tibetan – Sanskrit Dictionary of the Buddhist Tantric Terms' financed by UGC. Project-Director : Dr. G. G. Gyatso. This Project has been started in March, 1985 and is expected to be completed in three years.

Dr. (Mrs.) Kalpana Upreti, Research Scientist 'A' in the Buddhist Studies Deptt. is working on a Project entitled "Historical Bearings of the Mahāyāna Sūtras". Dr. (Mrs.) Swati Ganguli, a Research Associate (UGC) in the Deptt. is working on a Chinese Text written by Hsuan Tsang. Her topic of research is entitled 'A Critical Study of Ch'eng wei-shib lun'.

A good number of research students have completed their research works for Ph. D. as well as M. Phil. degrees in the Buddhist Studies. The following researchers have obtained Ph. D degree in the year mentioned against their names :

1. Dr. Lalita Joshi — "The Concept of Soul in Upanishads and early Buddhist Literature", 1982.
2. Dr. Indu Gupta — "A Comparative Study of Buddhism and Vedānta based on a Comparison between Mūlamādhyamikakārikā of Nāgārjuna and Māṇḍukyakārikā of Gauḍapāda", 1982.
3. Dr. Jeremy H. L. S. Davidson — "An Shyhgan : The Man and his Translations", 1982.
4. Dr. D. L. Ramteke — "A Study of the Revival of Buddhism in the Twentieth Century India", 1983.
5. Dr. Rie Hisamitsu — "A Critical Study of Paramatthavinicchaya", 1983.
6. Dr. Harcharan Singh Sobti — "The Concept of Nibbana in early Buddhism", 1983.
7. Dr. Alka Aggarwal — "An Analytical Study of Majjhimanikāya", 1983.
8. Dr. Indu Mala Sharma — "A Comparative Study in Buddhism and Gandhian Thought", 1984.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Three research students have submitted their theses for the degree of Ph. D :

1. Miss Veena Gaur — "Buddhist Doctrine in Sanskrit Mahākāvyas".
2. Miss Vidya — "A Psycho-Ethical Analysis of the Concept of Satyāgraha in Buddha's and Gandhi's Thought".
3. Mr. Phuntsok Tsering — "A Study of the Sects of Buddhism in Tibet (800 to 1600 A. D.)".

A large number of students (more than 65) are engaged in research for the degree of Ph.D. Their names and their topics of research have been published by the Deptt. in a booklet dated 30th September, 1984. More than fiftyfour students have successfully completed their dissertations and have obtained their M.Phil. degree in Buddhist Studies during 1982–85. Their names and their topics have been published by the Deptt. in booklet dated 30th September, 1984.

It is also worth mentioning here that a young scholar of Sanskrit Mr. Bishan Swarup Rustogi, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Delhi University has been awarded "Mombusho Fellowship" under the Cultural Exchange Programme between Delhi University and Tokyo University to work on "The Art of Debate in Buddhist Logic" in Tokyo. The scholar is well-versed in Japanese as well as in Sanskrit and has already left for Tokyo on 14th October, 1985.

Recently serveral scholars of Delhi University participated in the 7th Conference of International Association of Buddhist Studies held at Bologna (Italy) on 8–13 July, 1985 and presented their papers there. They include Prof. K. K. Mittal (Buddhism and Materialism), Miss Latika Lahiri (A Historical Background for the Popularity of Mahāyāna Buddhism, 3rd century, 7th century : A Critical Analysis) of the Deptt. of Buddhist Studies and Dr. T. R. Sharma (The Concept of Śūnyatā as depicted in the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā) of Sanskrit Deptt. Khalsa College, University of Delhi. Dr. (Miss) Sushma R. Kulshreshtaa, Sanskrit Deptt. Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi also contributed her paper entitled "Music and Dance in Buddhist Literature".

Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda is a premier centre of Pali and Buddhist Studies in the country.

Prof. C. S. Upasaka, Ex-Director, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara has done the following significant works :

1. Edited *Dhammapadatthakathā* in 3 Volumes,
2. Edited *Saṁkkhitta Tipiṭaka* in 2 Volumes,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

3. Prepared Encyclopaedic Dictionary entitled "Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms" based on Pali Texts.

Some Atthakathās edited by different scholars are published by Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda during 1982–85. They are :

(i) Itivuttakatthakathā ed. by Dr. M. Prasad,

(ii) Papañcasudani Vol. I, ed. by Dr. U. Dhammaratana and Dr. U. Zagarabhivansa,

(iii) Sankhitta Pali Tipitaka Vol. II, ed. by Dr. C. S. Upasaka,

(iv) Theragāthā Atthakathā Vol. I, ed. by Dr. A. Chaudhary,

(v) Theragāthā Atthakathā Vol. II, ed. by Dr. A. Chaudhary,

(vi) Manoratha Pūranī (Anguttara Nikāyatthakathā) Vol. I, ed. by Dr. N. K. Prasad,

(vii) Buddhavamsatthakathā ed. by Dr. P. N. Sinha,

(viii) Jātakatthakathā Vol. I, Dr. M. Sharma,

(ix) Paramatthajotikā (Khuddakapathakathā) ed. by Dr. N. K. Upadhyaya,

(x) Nalanda Past & Present ed. by Dr. C. S. Upasaka,

(xi) Nava Nalanda Mahāvihara ed. by Dr. C. S. Upasaka Research Publication, Vol. IV.

Dr. Angraj Chaudhary, Professor, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara along with his three colleagues participated in the International Conference on 'Buddhism and National Cultures' held in New Delhi in October, 1984. ICCR and ICPR are jointly publishing the selected articles read in this conference. Dr. Chaudhary is one of the editors of the proceedings of the conference. Some of the Professors of Nava Nalanda Mahavihara have participated in All-India Seminars held in Varanasi, Delhi, Santiniketan and Kanpur. Dr. A. Chaudhary has participated in all these Seminars. Scholars of the Mahavihara have contributed their papers in different journals like "The Mahābodhi", "Prajña Bharati", "Bihara Puratattva Parisad Patrika".

A number of research scholars are working on different topics. Some topics worth mentioning are listed here —

1. The Concept of *Mara* as found in Pali Literature
2. Characteristics of a True Brahmin according to Buddha

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

3. Aṅguttara Nikāya kā Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayana
4. Psychology of Vipassana
5. Political Condition of Ancient India according to Pali Literature
6. Role of Indian Religions in moulding the religious life of South-East Asia
7. Defence and War in Ancient India
8. Satyadvaya – Ālocanātmaka Adhyayana
9. Acharya Buddhaghosa kī kritiyon kā Adhyayana
10. Buddhaghosa kī kritiyon men Mahāyāna ke tattva
11. Abhidhamma kī Manonaitikavyākhyā

Sanskrit College, Calcutta is rendering praiseworthy service to the cause of Pali by preparing terms in the *Critical Pali Dictionary* revised and enlarged, first initiated by Trencner, in collaboration with the Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen. It is an International Project, where several countries of the world collaborate and the Indian centre under the Directorship of Prof. Heramba Chatterjee Sastri happens to be the only centre for such dictionary work in the eastern countries. This scheme is patronised by the Govt. of India, Ministry of Education. Already a part containing articles from the collaborators of the Indian centre has been published from Copenhagen and others are in progress.

Sanskrit College, Calcutta is rich in conducting researches and publications in Pali Buddhism. Prof. Heramba Chatterjee Sastri has published a book entitled *Sugatadarśanam* under the auspices of the Govt. of West Bengal in the Sanskrit College Research Series. Five students are carrying out researches under Prof. Chatterjee of whom one is a Japanese student from the University of Kyoto, Japan, uamed Yamashita whose Ph. D. thesis on 'Comparative Study of Mind in Yoga Systeme as also in the Pali texts' is ready for submission. Prof. H. Chatterjee has to his credit several articles on Buddhism published in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* published under the auspices of the Govt. of Sri Lanka.

Deptt. of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Rani Durgavati University, Jabalpur has been conducting the following research works besides postgraduate teaching in Pali :

1. Research Project "Bhagavān Buddha ka Samajadarshan, Mahavira aura Karl Marx ke sandarbha men", Project-Director : Dr. Vimal Prakash Jain, Prof. and Head of the Deptt.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. Research work for Ph. D. in Pali Literature — Dr. N. J. Bagmare obtained his Ph. D. in 1983 on his thesis entitled "Pali Vāṅgmaya men Karmasiddhānta" under the supervision of Dr. Vimal Prakash Jain.

3. Research Papers published by Dr. N. J. Baghmare.

(i) "Pali sāhitya men karma kā mahattva" in the journal *Nikāya*.

(ii) "Buddapūrva evam samasāmayika vicārika karmaviṣaya avadhārana" in a Marathi Journal *Kalyāṇamitta*.

International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi is doing commendable work under the guidance of Prof. Lokesh Chandra. The Academy has published a number of works related to Buddhist Literature and Tibetology. Prof. Lokesh Chandra participated in the 7th International Conference of Buddhist Studies held at Bologna (Italy) in July, 1985. He chaired one of the Sections there. Prof. Lokesh Chandra delivered his address to the International Conferance on "Buddhism and National Cultures" (held at New Delhi in October, 1984) on 15th October, 1984.

Nagarjuna Buddhist Foundation, Gorakhpur is doing considerable work on Buddhist Studies. Besides organising Seminers, ihe Foundation is regularly publishing a research Journal entitled *Prajñāloka*. Its founder Dr. Karunesh Shukla (Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Gorakhpur University) is actively engaged in publishing a series of 12 Buddhist unpublished texts through the Foundation.

The Foundation has been arranging lectures by scholars of repute from time to time. A few are mentioned here —

(1) "Buddhism in South India", "Buddhism in South Indian Literature" and "Impact of Buddhism on South Indian Religions" by Prof. R. N. Sampath on 27–29, May, 1983.

(2) "Cit, Acit and Īśvara in Indian Thought" by Prof. Ram Vadan Shukla in April, 1985.

(3) "Bharatiya Sanskriti ko Bauddha Dharma kI dena" by Ven. Bhadanta Ananda Kausalyayana on 30. 9. 1985.

The Foundation has purchased originel Buddhist manuscripts. Zerox, microfilms and photoprints of manuscripts have also been aquired. Microfilms of 33 of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts have been aquired from the Central Library, Baroda and the Cambridge University, Library. Photocopies

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of Buddhist manuscripts have also been aquired from the Central Library, Baroda. The Foundation has intended to take up this project of Preservation of Manuscripts on a larger scale during 1985–86 and subsequent years. The total number of manuscripts thus aquired number 810 till 31st March, 1985.

The Foundation is actively engaged in editing the manuscripts and bringing out different publications details of which are given in a booklet entitled 'Introduction and Activities by the Foundation.

Prof. Mahaprabhulal Goswami of Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi has edited with Hindi Translation the *Ratnāvali* of Nagarjuna published under Pracya Bharati Granthamala by Tara Printing Works, Varanasi in 1985. Sri Vijay Shankar Chaubey, a research scholar is working on "Dharmasamuccayasya samīkṣātmakam adhyayanam" for the Vidyāvāridhi degree of Sanskrit Univerity under the supervision of Prof. Goswami.

Dr. Umashankar Sharma Ṛṣi, Reader, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Patna University has undertaken an English Translation of Dharmakirtis *Pramāṇa-vārtika* (an important work on Buddhist Logic) with commentaries. A thesis entitled 'Cultural Study of the Epics of Aśvaghoṣa' prepared under the supervision of Dr. Sharma has been accepted for the Ph. D. degree of Patna University. Another scholar is working on the philosophical leanings of Aśvaghoṣa under his supervision.

Dr. (Miss) Pushpa Niyogi, Professor Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University has presented / published the following research papers in this field—

(i) "Śīlabhadra" and "Śāntideva" in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta University, Vol. XIII in 1983.

(ii) "Buddhism as gleaned from landgrants of South-East Bengal" in the *Varenda Research Society Journal*.

(iii) "Accounts of Foreign Travellers on Organisation of Monasteries in ancient Bengal and Bihar" presented at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference held at Philadelphia in October, 1984.

Established in 1965, by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, Tibet House is recognised as a unique Centre of Tibetan Culture in the Indian Capital. The Centre has brought out voluminous publications. It organises different programmes. Some are mentioned here —

1. October 1982—The first ever Tibetan Childrens painting Competition-cum-exhibition was held at the Centre. Over 500 children from 18 Tibetan Schools in India and Nepal participated.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. December, 1982 — "Tibetan Medicine Week" was organised in collaboration with "Tibetan Medical Centre" Dharmashala.

3. March, 1983 — A five-day discourse on "Four Contemplations" was conducted by Kyabje Ling Rinpoche, Senior Tutor to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and throneholder of Lama Tsongkhapa. Each day, Kyabje Rinpoche's sermon was followed by meditation and discussion sessions. Over 100 Western and Indian aspirants attended the programme.

Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, (Varanasi) is doing tremendous work under the able Directorship of Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche. This Institute imparts post-graduate teaching and conducts researches in the field of Buddhism and Tibetology. The Institute is equipped with all necessary modern facilities and techniques of research. It has published a good number of works.

The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, State University of New York at Stony Brook, New York, 11794, USA is also doing significant contribution to the study of Pali, Buddhism and Tibetology in its Various programmes such as —

(1) Publications— (i) Basic Buddhism Series
(ii) Bibliographic periodicals: BTI (Buddhist Text Information)
(iii) IASWR Library Catalogues IASWR Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts Part I and II
(iv) IASWR Series (Books on Sanskrit and Tibetan)

(2) Translation— English translation of selected Chinese-Buddhist texts, and Tibetan-Buddhist texts

(3) Information Service— (i) Buddhist Research Information
(ii) Buddhist Text Information

(4) Microfiche editions— (i) Cambodian Buddhist materials
(ii) Chinese Buddhist materials
(iii) Sanskrit Buddhist materials
(iv) Tibetan Buddhist materials

(5) Institutional Relations Liaison work with other Institutions like —
(i) Institute of Buddhist Studies (Berkeley, California)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(ii) Numata Centre for Buddhist Translation and Reserch (Berkeley, California)

Conferences and Seminars

Now, I am mentioning some of the National and International Conferences, Seminars and other significant activities during the period under report.

All-India Seminar on Early Buddhism and Mahāyāna

A four-day All-India Seminar on "Early Buddhism and Mahāyāna" was organised by the Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi with the financial assistance of UGC on 10–13 November 1983. About 60 scholars from India, Tibet, Bangla Desh, Bhutan and USA participated in the Seminar. Dr. N. H. Samtani, Head of the Deptt. of Pali and Buddhist Studies was the Director of the Seminar. About 45 papers were presented in Six Sessions. The distinguished scholars who spoke on this occasion are Prof. Jagannath Upadhyaya, Jawahar Lal Nehru Fellow, Ven. S. Rinpoche, Director, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Bhadant Ananda Kausalyayana and Prof. Ram Rahul of Jawahar Lal Nehru University.

International Round Table Conference of Buddhists to realise thier aspiration against threat of Nuclear War.

The two-day conference was held at New Delhi on May 20–21 1984. This was the first International Conference of Buddhists held in India at this crucial juncture when existance of mankind is threatened as a result of acceleration of arms race and manufacturing of new weapons of mass distruction.

The conference was attended by Buddhist monks, scholars and distinguished personalities from USSR, Mangolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kanpuchia, Sri Lanka, Bangla Desh, Bhutan, Japan, Democratic Peoples' Republic of Koria, Tibetan Residents in India, Burma etc.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama inaugurated the Conference. Nearly one thousand Buddhists participated in the inaugural ceremoney held in Himachal Bhawan at New Delhi. His Holiness the Dalai Lama emphasised the role of Lord Buddha's teachings on peace amity and compassion.

National Seminar on Nature of Bondage and Liberation in Buddhist Systems

A five-day National Seminar on "Nature of Bondage and Liberation in Buddhist Systems" was organised by the Nagarjuna Buddhist Foundation, Gorakhpur in May, 1984. The prominent Scholars who attended the Seminar are — Prof. Anant Lal Thakur (Calcutta), Prof. Vishwa Narain Sastri

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(Gauhati), Dr. Suniti Kumar Pathak (Shantiniketan), Dr. Harsh Narayan (Aligarh) besides Prof. Karunesh Shukla, the founder of the Institute.

The Foundation also organised in May 1985 a three-day National Symposium on "Preservation of Manuscripts" (Pandulipi-Samraksana).

Conference of Kampuchean Buddhist Monks

In July, 1984, a Conference of Kampuchean Buddhist Monks and believers was held in Phnom Penh, the capital of the peoples Republic of Kampuchea.

14th General Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists

The 14th General Conference of the world fellowship of Buddhists was convened in Augast 1984, in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Delegates from 34 countries attended the General Conference. The opening and closing ceremonies of the Conference were also attended by H. E. Mr. G. R. Jayavardhane, President and H. E. Mr. G. R. Premedose, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

Visit of Indian Buddhists to Mangolia

An Indian Delegation of Buddhist scholars headed by most venerable Kushik Bakula, Vice-President, Ancient Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) and President of the ABCP Indian National Centre paid a friendly visit to Mangolia from 17th-21st September, 1984 at the invitation of the ABCP Mangolian National Centre and the ABCP Headquarter.

7th ABCP General Conference to be held in February, 1986 in Vientiane

Executive Council of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) took decision to hold the 7th ABCP General Conference in February, 1986 in Vientiane, the Capital of LPDR.

International Conference on Buddhism and National Cultures

An International Conference on "Buddhism and National Cultures" was held in New Delhi in October 1984 under the Joint auspices of Indian Council of Cultural Relations, Indian Council of Historical Reaearch and University of Delhi.

The VIth World Sanskrit Conference, USA

The VIth World Sanskrit Conference was organised at Philadelphia, USA on October 13-20, 1984 by the International Association for Sanskrit Studies (IASS) under the Joint auspices of the American Oriental Society and the Department of South Asia Regional Studies, Pennsylvania University, Philadelphia. About three hundred delegates from different countries attended the Conference. Scholars presented their research papers in thirty-five sectional

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

meetings out of which three were devoted to Buddhist Studies (i. e. No. 3 Buddhist Philosophy. No. 10, Buddhist and Jain Studies I and No. 17. Buddhist and Jain Studies II).

International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in Tokyo, Japan

As a follow-up to the first such Seminar held in Hawai in 1983, the Second International Seminar on ' Buddhism and Leadership for Peace ' was held on December 1–6, 1984 in Tokyo, Japan under the auspices of the Soka Gakkai International.

It was attended by representatives from India, Indonesia, Japan, Sri Lanka, Mangolia, USSR, Peopeles Republic of China, USA, Thiland, Korea (South) and Taiwan. As special guests Dr. Johan Gultung, Rector of Universite Nouvelle Transnationale in Paris, his wife Mrs. Fumico Nishimira from the free University Berlin sponsors of the first Seminar Abbot Dal won Ki and Mrs. Soon Hu Chung from Honolulu, Hawai, were Present.

Each of the participants in the Seminar presented a report on the spread of Buddhism in their respective countries, its role and impact on the Social, Cultural and Political life of the country both in the past and today. They also exchanged opinions on different schools and trends of Buddhism. Buddhist philosophy and thinking, their relevance to the rapidly changing domestic and international situation with the needs and challenges involved.

The 7th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

The 7th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist studies (IABS) was held at Convento San Domenico, Bologna (Italy) on 8–13 July, 1985. Besides three Plenary Sessions, the work of the Conference was divided into twenty sections in which research papers were presented and discussed at length. A number of Indian Scholors participated in this conference and presented their papers.

Conference on Tibetan Religioa and Culture

A Conference on the 'Tibetan Religion and Culture' was held in Switzerland in July, 1985.

International Conference on Ahiṁsā, Animal-Protection and Human Nutrition, New Delhi

A five-day International Conference on Ahiṁsā, Animal Protection and Human Nutrition was organised at New Delhi on October 31 – November 4, 1985 by Loka Kalyana Parishad. About 1000 delegates including 50 from

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

abroad enrolled for attending the Conference. Different aspects of the three essentials for the survival namely Ahiṁsā, Animal-Protection and Human Nutrition were discussed in 16 Sessions of the Conference. Dr. D. C. Jain, Head of the Deptt. of Neurology, Sufdarjung Hospital was its General Secretary. Shri K. C. Pant, Union Minister for Steel and Mines, Govt. of India inaugurated the Conference on 31st October, 1985.

Dhamma Contests – 1984

Singapore Buddha Yana Organisation has organised the Dhamma Contest 1984 in conjunction with the Singapore National Day celebrationa. This contest was open to Buddhist Youth in Asian countries including Burma and Sri Lanka. Under this programme, an essay contest was organised for those under 35 years of age (as on 9th August, 1984). The topic for the easay was 'Use of Dhamma as a Raft to Cross the Ocean'. Buddhist Art Contest was organised for those under 16 years of age (as on 9th August, 1984). The theme for this contest was to portray Prince Rahul's life as a child under the influence of his mother Princess Yashodhara or of his grandfather King Shuddhodhana.

Books Published – 1982–85

A large number of books on Pali, Buddhism and Tibetology have been published by different Agencies during 1982–85. Their list is given in the Appendix.

Research Journals

Some research Journals of National and International repute devoted fully to Pali, Buddhism and Tibetology are published regularly in India and abroad. Some of these are :

1. The Mahabodhi, an International Buddhist Monthly, Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.
2. Isipatan, Buddhist Quarterly Hindi Magazine Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Varanasi.
3. Prajnaloka, a Buddhist Hindi Magazine, Nagarjuna Buddhist Foundation, Gorakhpur.
4. World Fellowship of Buddhist Review, 33, Sukhumvit Rd, Phna Kuanong, Bangkok.
5. Voice of Buddhism, 123, Jalan Barhala Brickfields, Kuala Lampur, Malaysia.
6. The Young Buddhist (an annual), The Singapore Buddha Yana Organisation Publication C/o 22A, South Canal Road, Singapore.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

7. Unisains Buddhist – An Annual, Persatano Pelojain Buddhist University Sans Malaysia.

8. Vesak Sirisara – An Annual Sri Saddhamadana Semitya Saranapalaramaya, Walana, Panadura, Sri Lanka.

9. Buddhists for Peace – Quarterly Journal of the Asian Buddhist Conference for peace. ABCP Headquarters Gangdanthekchating Monastery, Ulan Bator, Mangolia.

10. Journal of Pali Text Society (London); Ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids, Delhi, Caxton Publications.

Problems and Suggestions

At the end, I would like to point out some of the problems regarding promotion of Buddhist Studies which need kind attention of the scholars and authorities.

(1) A good number of ancient Buddhist Sanskrit texts are unfortunately lost in course of time due to several factors. But these are available in translations in Tibetan, Chinese, Mangolian and Japanese. Their references are also available in allied philosophical systems of Indian thought. For the benefit of the researehers in the field of Buddhist Studies, it is very much needed to undertake reconstruction of the lost texts on the basis of translations preserved in Tibetan and other Asian languages and references available in the other systems of Indian Philosophy.

(2) It is a well-known fact that Buddha preached due to his compassion on the people. All his teachings are meant for the walfare and happiness of the comman people. It is, therefore, desirable that the immortal teachings of the Buddha should be made available in the major Indian languages so that common people may be benefitted.

(3) For proper understanding of other systems of Indian Philosophical thought, stndy of Buddhism is very much beneficial. There has been a continuous give and take between the Buddhist logic and the ancient Nyāya System of Indian Philosophy. So the facility of studying Buddhism (including Pali and Tibetology) should be extended in Sanskrit Institutions also. Unfortunately this need has not been so far realised by the authority of " Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan " inspite of inspirations by scholars like Prof. Mahesh Tiwari. There is no facility of teaching or research in Pali and Buddhism in any of its eight Vidyapeethas. It is, therefore, suggested that proper arrangement of teaching and research in this field should be made either in the existing Vidyapeethas

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi

or a separate Buddhist Vidyapeetha should be established where adequate arrangements for the study of Pali and Buddhism (including Tibetology) is made.

I once again thank you all for a very petient hearing.

APPENDIX

List of Books

1982 — 1985

1. *The Buddha Mīmāṁsā*; The Budda relation to Vedic religion, Ed. Swami Maharaja Yogiraja, 1982.
2. *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary*, Alexander Cosma de Koros, Vol. 1, Enlarged by Anil Gupta, 1980–82.
3. *A Comparative Study of Jainism and Buddhism*, Brahmchari Sital Pasad, 2nd ed., 1982.
4. Nagarjuna : *Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nagarjuna*, Lindiner Chr. Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlog, 1982.
5. *Introduction to Buddhist Tantrik System*, Alex Wayman, 1982,
6. *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (A Study of Madhyamika System), T. R. V. Murti, 1982.
7. *The Tibetan Dhammapada Comp. by Dharmatrata*; Ed. by Beth Lee Simon, New Delhi, Mahayana Publications, 1983.
8. *Lectures on Tibetan Religious Culture*, Vol. II, Geshe Lhumdup Sopa, Dharmashala, 1983.
9. *Buddhist Philosophy of Thaught*, Piatigorsky Alexander Essays in Interpretation, London, 1983.
10. *A Grammar of Tibetan Language*, Alexander Csoma de Koros, Corrected by Anil Gupta, 1983.
11. *Buddhist Concepts, Old and New*, Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe (Articles by G. P. Mallelsekera) Dr. Kurt F. Leideekeer Dr. Shoael Ichimural, 1983.
12. *Ratnakīrti's Udayana-nirākaraṇam*, Deciphered and Critically Ed. by R. N. Pandey, 1983.
13. *A Catalogue Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan Hgyur), 1983.
14. *Tibetan Amulets*, Skorupski, Tadeusz, Bangkok, 1983.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

15. *A Buddhist Doctrine of Experience*, Thomas A Kochumuttom, 1983.

16. *Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment*, Sung Boe Park, 1983.

17. *Buddhist Cosmology*, Randy Kloetzli, 1983.

18 *Early Buddhism and Bhagwadgītā*, K. N. Upadhyaya, 1983.

19. *Hindu Religious Thought*, (Buddhism along with Classical Hinduism), Mosih, 1983.

20. *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Sarat Chandra Das, 1983.

21. *Nagarjuna's Letter to King Gautamiputra*, Jamspal / Chapel / Santina, 1983.

22. *Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidharma*, 1983.

23. *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* (Elimination of All Evil Destinies), Tadelisz Skorupski, 1983.

24. *Dhammapada* (Tr.), Bhikshu Dharmarakshita, 1983.

25. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary 2 Vols.* (Reprint), F. Edgerton, Dec. 1984.

26. *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (Reprint), H. B. Hannah, Dec. 1984.

27. *The Romantic Legand of Sakya Buddha*, Samual Beal. Dec. 1984.

28. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present in Magadha and in Ceylon* Copleston Reginald Stephen (Reprint), 1984.

29. *Saddharma-Puṇḍarika-sūtra* : Sanskrit Manuscript from Tibet from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira, Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1984.

30. *Dalai Lamas of Tibet : Succession of Births*, Inder D. Malik, New Delhi, 1984.

31. *Development of Buddhist Ethics*, G. S. P. Mishra, New Delhi, 1984.

32. *Anu Lalitavistara*, Shantibhikshu Shastri, 1984.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Foundation Delhi.

33. *Late Hinayana Caves of Western India*, M. K. Dhavelikar, Pune, 1984.

34. *Buddhism in Tibetan Tradition : A Guide*, Geshe Kelsang Gyatso Tr. by Tengi P. Phenrbpa : Ed. R. F. Lister and M. R. Lister, London, 1984.

35. *Tattva-saṅgraha with the Commentary of Kamalsila, Santaraksita*, Ed. with an Introduction in Sanskrit by Embar Krishnamacharya Vol. I, Baroda, 1984 (Reprinted).

36. *Major Hetvābhāsas : A Formal Analysis* (*with Reference to Nyāya and Buddhism*), Dr. Raghavendra Pandey, 1984.

37. *Mahābhārata Men Śāntiparva kā Ālocanātmaka Adhyayana* (with a view to find out similarities and differences from Buddhist Thaught), Dr. Sumedha Vidyalankar, 1984, Eastern Book Linkers.

38. *Dharma and Gospel : Two Ways of Seeing*, Ed. G. W. Houston (Articles by John B. Cobb Jr. Roger Gregery Tosi Carless Masaki Honda, Tokiyaki Nobuhraj Jay Me Daniel–Eishin Nishimura and Selichi Yogi), 1984.

39. *Buddhism as a Religion, its Historical Development and its Present Conditions*, H. Hackmann.

40. *Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India*, Kenai Lal Hazna, 1984.

41. *Popular Dictionary of Buddhism*, Christmas Humpherys, Ed. London, 1984.

42. *Six Preparatory Practices Adorning the Buddha's Sublime Doctrine*, Ndagdbang Chosbyor, Tr. by Losung Ganchepa and Karma Leksha Tosma, Dharmashala, 1984.

43. *Prācīna Rājavaṁśa Aur Buddha Dharma*, Achyutanand and Ghildiyal Godavari, Varanasi, 1984.

44. *Buddha Vijñāna* (Thought and Contribution), Radhey Sham Dwivedi Ed. Bhikshu Samdor Rinpoche, 1984.

45. *Buddhism and Science*, Bnddhadas P. Kirthisinghe and Others, 1984.

46. *Buddhist Insight-Essays* by Alex Wayman Ed. and Introduced by George Elder, 1984.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

47. *The Genesis of an Orientalist,* (Thomas William Rhys Davids in Sri Lanka) L. Ananda Wickremeratne, 1984.

48. *Seven Works of Vasubandhu,* Stefan Anacker, 1984.

49. *Early Buddhist Philosophy in the Light of Four Noble Truths,* Alfonso Verdu, August, 1985.

50. *Dialectical Method of Nagarjuna* (*Vigrahavyavartani Text in Roman and Devanagari Scripts*), Tr. K. Bhattacharya. Text Ed. E. D. Johnston and Arnold Kunst, Oct. 1985.

51. *Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa* (Reprint), Ed. E. H. Johnston Oct. 1985.

52 *Pali-mahāvyākaraṇa,* Bhikshu Jagdish Kashyap (Reprint), July, 1985.

53. *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts,* Tr. E. B. Cowell, F. Max Müller and J. Takakusu, Sept. 1985.

54. *Pre-Buddhist India,* Rati Lal N. Mehta (Reprint.), 1985.

55. *Future Buddha* (*Bodhisattva*), Shambhu T. Merani, 1985.

56. *Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms,* Sarat Chandra Das, 1985.

57. *Amitabha and his Family,* Shantipriya Mukhopadhyaya, Delhi, 1985.

58. *Buddhist monuments of China and South-East India,* I. K. Sharma, Delhi, 1985.

59. *Buddhism in Classical Age,* (*c.* 400–750 A.D.), Sudha Sengupta, 1985.

60. *Buddhist Avadānas,* Sharmjshtha Sharma. Socio-Poltical Economic and Cultural Study, Delhi, 1985.

61. *Nibbāṇa in Early Buddhism based on Pali Sources 6th B. C. to 5th A.D.,* Harcharan Singh Sobti, Delhi, 1985.

62. *Anumāna Pramāṇa* (*based on Ancient Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, Buddha-Nyāya, Jain-Nyāya and Navya-Nyāya*), Dr. Bali Ram Shukla, 1985.

63. *A Critical Appraisal of Ayurvedic Material in Buddhist Literature with Special Reference to Tripiṭaka* (Jyotiralok Prakashan, Varanasi), 1985.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi

64. *Abhidharmakośa Bhāṣyam*, Vasubandhu Prathamakoshsthanam (with English Translation) Vasubandhu, Ed. Mahesh Tiwari.

Publications of Nava Nalanda Mahavihara

65. *Itivuttakatthakathā*, Dr. M. Prasad.

66. *Papancasudani*, Vol. I, Dr. U. Dhammaratana and Dr. U. Zagarabhvansa.

67. *Sankhitta Pali Tripiṭaka*, Vol. II, Dr. C. S. Upasak.

68. *Theragāthā Atthakathā*, Vol. I, Dr. A. Chaudhary.

69. *Theragāthā Atthakathā*, Vol. II, Dr. A. Chaudhary.

70. *Manoratha Purani* (*Anguttara Nikayatthakatha*), Vol. I, Dr. N. K. Prasad.

71. *Buddhavaṁśatthakathā*, Dr. P. N. Sinha.

72. *Jatakatthakatha*, Vol. I, Dr. M. Sharma.

73. *Paramatthajyotika* (*Khuddakapathakattha*), Dr. N. K. Upadhyaya.

74. *Nalanda Past and Present*, Dr. C. S. Upasak.

75. *Nava Nalanda Mehavihara Research Publication*, Vol. IV, Dr. C. S. Upasak.

76. *Therigātthā Atthakathā*, Vol. I, Dr. A. Choudhary.

77. *Therigātthā Atthakathā*, Vol. II, Dr. A. Chaudhary.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

VIDHATA MISHRA

Fellow Delegates,

I consider it a proud privilege to get this opportunity of participating as the president of the section of the Prakrit and Jainism at the 32nd session of the All-India Oriental Conference, being held under the auspices of the Gujarat University at Ahmedabad. Ancient texts consider the union of the good and the great with the distinguished as a result or exceptionally good fortune—

satāṁ sadbhiḥ saṁgaḥ katham apı hi puṇyena bhavati.

It is always a pleasure to preside over a section of the conference where erudite scholars of different branches of oriental learning come to exchange their ideas and experiences. But when it is presided and when I compare my humble self with my most eminent predecessors— the past presidents of this section, all of whom have been recognised by posterity as experts contributing to expansion of the horizons of knowledge, I experience a feeling similar to that experienced by Kalidasa, when he attempted to describe the illustrious dynasty of Raghu in his monumental court epic the *Raghuvaṁśam*, by saying that he was going to be as ridiculed, as the dwarf trying to lay his hands upon the fruits capable of being collected by the tall alone, since his efforts were as if to cross the unfathomable ocean with the help of a small raft—

prāṁśulabhye phale lobhād udvāhur iva vāmanaḥ /
titīrṣur dustaraṁ mohāduḍupenāsmi sāgaram //

At the outset I have, on your behalf, to place on record our deep sense of grief at the premature and sudden death of some reputed scholars of Prakrit and Jainism during the last three years. Pandit Bechardas Doshi, who passed away on 11th of October 1982, was a great scholar of Prakrit language and he wrote many original books on different branches of Jaina literature. Pandit Agar chand Nahta, a devoted scholar of Ancient History, Archaeology and Jainology, passed away on 12th of January 1983. He edited a good number of old and rare manuscripts and he founded Abhaya Jaina Granthālaya and Abhaya Jaina Granthamālā, in memory of his brother. The Granthālaya has now books over

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

one lakh. He founded a museum. Shankardas Nahta Kalabhavan in memory of his father, which has valuable collection. He contributed thousands of research articles to reputed journals in India and abroad. Respected Śrī Jinendra Varṇi (Kṣullaka Śrī Siddhānta Sāgaraji Mahārāja), who was a saint scholar, left for heavenly abode on 24th of May 1983. He devoted his whole life to exhaustive study of entire Jaina literature and wrote the *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa* in four volumes consisting of three thousand pages. We have his other publications too on Jaina religion. Justice T. K. Tukaul, who was also the Vice Chancellor of Banglore University, was a great lover of Jaina religion. He tried his best for proper development of Jaina religion in south India. He passed away on 18th of August 1983. Pandit Bamsidhara Sastri of Jaipur, who served the Jaina religion through journalism, breathed his last on 21st of October 1983. Dr. Purusottama Chandra Jaina of Rohtak was a scholar of Jainology, History and Culture and served the society through journalism. He was the editor of *Jaya Gunjara*, a monthly magazine. He died on 17th of January 1984. Dr. Devendra Kumar Jaina, Principal of a post-graduate college at Indore, who served, life-long, for the cause of Jaina religion and culture, passed away in April 1984. Pandit Sri Babulalji Jamadar, who was the General Secretary of Digambar Jaina Trilok Research Institute and the Director of Jambudvipa Jnanajyoti Pravartana Saṁsthana, passed away on 10th of June 1984. Pandit Sasikanta Jha of Bihar, who was the editor of the *Jinavāṇī* and also one of the members of the editorial board which published the *Jaina Dharma kā Maulika Itihāsa*, in three volumes, passed away on 12th of August 1984. Though all these great scholars have departed from us in their bodies they have left behind for us a brilliant record of work which should continue to guide and inspire us in the field of knowledge and research.

Prakrit and Jainology are evidently two different subjects. But sometimes the latter is mistaken for the former with the result that researches in Jainism are often carried within the limit of the Prakrit texts, which constitute only a part of the literary heritage of the Jainas. The illusion, created by the overlapping characters of the two, is too elusive to permit the scholar with a bias towards Prakrit to appreciate the depth and vastness of the contribution of the Jainas to Sanskrit. In fact, the entire literature on Jaina logic developed after the systematization of Jaina thought in Sanskrit language by Umasvati and his successors. The Jaina thinkers had to learn the language to defend their philosophy and logic against the onslaughts of the Buddhist logicians headed by Diṅnāga. The Jainas as well as Buddhists derived inspiration from Akṣapāda's *Nyāyasūtra* composed in terse Sanskrit in forging their logical weapon. A wonderful Sanskrit literature, embodying the best in logical thinking of the country, was the consequence. Vidyānanda's *Aṣṭasāhasrī* is an example in point, which met the challenge of Dharmakīrti and Kumarila with whom Indian logic attained its adolescence.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Yaśovijaya enriched Jaina logic with latest achievements of the neologicians headed by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, thus continuing the tradition created by Mallavādin who compassed and presented in his work, the complete range of thought that had emerged before his advent. The Jaina philosopher's intense love for new knowledge, irrespective of the language of its revelation, enabled him to bequeath a glorious heirloom of logical literature to posterity.

Language is after all a means to expression and not an end in itself. The early Jaina literature, though mainly written in Prakrit, was the storehouse of all sorts of knowledge. The *Aṇuyogadvāra Sūtta*, for instance, though primarily concerned with the possible ways of exposition, discusses topics like weights and measures, atoms and molecules, music and musical instruments, grammar, epistemology, logic and a motley of other subjects which are apparently unconnected with its central theme. Likewise, there are other Prakrit texts such as *Viyāhapaṇṇatti*, *Thāṇaṅga* etc., which deal with a number of problems only distantly connected with religion and philosophy. The contents are thus unrestricted, though the vehicle of their expression is limited to Prakrit which appears to have been the popular medium of education. But the growing demand of the intellectuals was also to be satisfied. The Jainas, therefore, had to switch over to Sanskrit much in the same fashion as the Buddhists had to change over to Sanskrit when the Prakrits (Pali being only one among them) had failed to serve their purpose. The Jainas had to write Sanskrit Commentaries to explain the Prakrit texts—a phenomenon, which reveals the inadequacy of the Prakrits to satisfy the needs of the intellectuals of those days. There is no doubt that, at some stage, the best thought of the times was crystalized in Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa texts. But the necessity to explain even such texts through Sanskrit at a later period shows that those texts had no appeal to the common man. Sanskrit enjoyed constant patronage, on account of its being intelligible to the intellectuals of the different parts of the country and being able to function as the *lingua franca*, acceptable to the people engaged in higher learning. While the Prakrits functioned as regional languages, Sanskrit provided the linguistic norm for the propagation of the essence of our thinking among the people at large. The relation between the Prakrits on the one hand and Jainology on the other is to be appreciated in the context of this wider perspective. The study of Jainism without the knowledge of Prakrits is as much impossible as the researches in Buddhism in absence of a grounding in Pali, though the relation between Pali and Buddhism is slightly different from that which exists between Prakrits and Jainism. While the entire Pali literature is Buddhist, all Prakrits do not owe allegiance to Jainism. Buddhism goes to Sanskrit in order to fulfil a larger interest and satisfy the demands of a higher stratum of the society.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Jainism lays great stress upon the attitude of equality. It has identified this attitude with the famous Brāhmaṇic conception of Brahman, and has designated the whole religious conduct and philosophical thought. It helps the development of the attitude of equality as *bambhacherā* (*brahmacarya*) even as Buddhism has designated the principles of good will (*maitrī*) and the like as brahmavihāra. Further just like the *Dhammapada* (*Brāhmaṇa-vagga* 26) and the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparvan 263–34), the Jaina texts (*Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* 25) identify a Śramaṇa who embodies equality, with a Brāhmaṇa. Among the twelve Aṅgas of the Jaina scripture, *sāmāiya* (*sāmāyika*) occupies the first place, and is known as the *Acārāṅga-Sūtra*. We can find the religious and philosophical views of Mahāvīra most prominently in this work, which lays stress on the principle of equality. The Prakrit term *sāmāiya* has reference to the idea of equality (*sāmya*, *samatā* or *sama*). There are in Jainism six necessary rites prescribed for the ascetics as well as the laity, and of these Sāmāiya is the most important. Whatever a layman or an ascetic takes the vow of religious conduct in accordance with his position and right, he utters the oath *karemi bhante sāmāiyaṁ* (*Āvaśyaka-sūtra* 3) which means : 'I undertake to observe, O Lord, the attitude of equality'. It is because of this supreme importance of *sāmāiya* that the famous scholiast Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa of the seventh century A. D. composed an elaborate commentary entitled the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka bhāṣya* on it and has shown that these three factors of religion viz. faith, knowledge and conduct constitute what is called *sāmāiya*. The attitude of equality has found expression in non-violence both in the domain of religious conduct and in that of philosophical thought. Jainism does not endorse any religious act, which does not promote the cause of non-violence. All the Jaina religlous rites, external or internal, gross or subtle, were formulated round non-violence. Although every religious school has laid stress to a more or less degree, on the principle of non-violence, the supreme importance and wide application that it receives in Jainism is not found in any other school of religion. To explain fully the implication of non-violence Jainism has formulated (1) the science of the selves (*ātma-vidyā*), (2) the science of Karman (3) the science of conduct (*caritra*) and (4) the science of the Universe (*loka*). All these sciences constitute the soul of the legacy of Jainism. There is intrinsic equality among all selves, be they earth-bodied, waterbodied, vegetable-organisms, insects, birds, animals or human beings. Non-violence consists in sincere and earnest exertion of oneself for the application of the principle of equality as far as possible in every field of life. To bring about such application in practical life the *Acārāṅga-sūtra* asks us to feel the miseries of others as much as we do our own. Actual feeling of equality or identity of the self with others is the primal source of the principle of non-violence, which is needed for proper development of our society.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

I may be permitted to notice briefly some important publications of the last three years interpreting the Jaina culture or discussing the Jaina principle and doctrines :

(1) L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, has published so many valuable books in 1983 and 1984 such as (a) *Mallikāmakaranda* by Rāmacandra and edited by Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, (b) *Ślokavārtika—a study*, by K. K. Dixit, (c) *Manoramākahā*, by Vardhamānna Sūri and edited by Rupendra Kumar Pagariya, (d) *Narasiṁha Mahetānāṁ Pada*, edited by Ratilal V. Dave, (e) *Haribhadra's Yoga works and Psychosynthesis*, by S. M. Desai, (f) *Līlāvatīsāra of Jinaratna*, edited by H. C. Bhayani, (g) Bhārtṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* with Gujarati translation and notes, translated by J. M. Shukla, (h) Sūrācāryas's *Dānādiprakaraṇa* edited by Pandit Amrutilal M. Bhojak and Nagin J. Shah, (i) Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjirī* (*Āhnika III*) with Gujarati, translation edited by Nagin J. Shah. Hon. Sri Dalsukh Malvania and Sri Nagin J. Shah were the general editors of all these nine publications.

(2) Jaina Viśva Bhāratī, Ladnun (Rajasthan), has many publications of which the following books have come out during the last three years, as known to me, such as (a) *Samavāo*, (b) *Nirukta Kośa* and (c) *Ekārthaka Kośa*, all three, edited by Acharya Sri Tulasi and Yuvācārya Mahāprajña (d) *Tulasī-Mañjarī* (a Prakrit Grammar), by Sri Yuvācārya Mahāprajña and edited by Muni Sri Chandra Kamal, (e) *Pāiya Saṁgaho*, by Muni Vimal Kumar etc. etc.

(3) Śrī Āgama Prakāśana Samiti, Beawar, (Rajasthan), has published the following books in 1982 and 1983 — (a) *Vyākhyāprajñaptisūtra*, (b) *Prajñāpanasūtra*, (c) *Rājapraśnīyasūtram* and (d) *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtram*, under the chief editorship of Yuvācārya Śrī Madhukara Muni.

(4) Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, New Delhi, has published the following books in 1982 and 1983 as known to me : (a) *Jaina Siddhānta*, by Dr. Kalidasa Chandra Sastri, (b) *Cloud carrier of Kaliṅga*, by Nirmal Kumar Jaina and (c) *Paṭṭa Mahādevī Śāntalā*, by C. K. Nagaraj Rao.

(5) Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama Research Institute, Varanasi, has published some important books recently such as : (a) *The Concept of Pañcaśīla in Indian Thought*, by Dr. Kamala Jaina, (b) *Doctoral Dissertations in Jaina and Buddhist Studies*, by Dr. Sagarmal Jaina and Dr. Aruṇa Pratap Singh, (c) *Prākṛta-Dīpikā*, by Dr. Sundarlal Jaina, (d) *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhat Itihāsa* (Part vii), by Pandit K. Bhujabali Sastri, Sri T. P. Minakṣī Sundaram Pilla and Dr. Vidyadhara Jaharapurkar.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(6) Prakrit Academy, (16 Tuljaguda, Hyderabad), has published in 1984 – *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Prakrit Literature* by Dr. K. Kamala.

(7) Śrī Gaṇeśa Varṇī D. Jaina Saṁsthāna, Varaṇasi has recently published the following books dealing with Jaina religion and thought such as (a) *Laghutattvavisphoṭa* of Amṛta Candra Sūri, translated and edited by Dr. Pannalal Jaina, (b) *Jaina Darśana*, by Dr. Mahendra Kumar Jaina, (c) *Tattvadīpikā*, a commentary on Āptamīmāṁsā of Samantabhadra, by Prof. Udaya Chandra Jaina, (d) *Ātmānuśāsana* of Bhadanta Guṇabhadra Sūri, with Hindi commentary of Pandit Todarmalla edited by Pandit Phula Chandra Sastri, (e) *Bhadrabāhu-Cāṇakya-Candragupta-Kathānaka and Rājā Kalki-Varṇana* of Mahākavi Raidhū, edited by Dr. Rajaram Jaina.

(8) *Agaḍadattacariyaṁ of Devendragaṇi* and *Kahānaya-Aṭṭhagaṁ* (a selection in Prakrit Prose) have been edited by Dr. Rajaram Jaina and have been published by Pankaj Prakashan and Prakrit Sāhitya Prakashan Pariṣad Arra respectively.

(9) Jaina Vidyā Saṁsthāna (Institute of Jainology), Rajasthan, has brought out a research Journal— *Jaina Vidyā* (*svayambhū*-special issue) in April 1984.

(10) Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahiṁsā Vaiśāli (Bihar) has brought out fifteen publications during the period from 1982 to 1985 and the institute is now engaged in preparing a Prakrit-English Dictionary.

Besides these publications (1) *Siddhāntasāra*, by Pandit Kailasa Chandra Sastri, has been published in 1984 by Vir Seva Mandir Trust, Varanasi.

(2) *Bharatiya Sanskriti ke vikāsa men Jaina Vāṅmaya kā Avadāna* (Part I–ii), by Dr. Nemichandra Sastri, was published in 1983 by Akhila Bharatiya Digambara Jaina Vidvat Pariṣad, Sāgar.

(3) *Jaina Āyurveda kā Itihāsa*, by Rajendra Prakasa Bhatnagar, was published in 1983 by Surya Prakasana Samsthana, Udaipur.

(4) *Samyakatva-Cintāmaṇi*, by Dr. Pannalal Kumar Jaina, was published in 1983 by Vira Seva Mandir Trust, Varanasi.

(5) *Jainadarśane Muktimāryaḥ*, by Sreyamsa Kumar Jaina was published in 1985 by the Deptt. of Prakrit and Jainology, Rajasthan University, Jaipur.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(6) *Jaina-Yoga-Siddhānta and Sādhanā*, by Ācārya Ātmārāma, was published in 1983 by Ātma-Jñānapīṭha, Mānasa-Maṇḍī (Punjab).

(7) *Jaina Kalā Meṁ Pratīka*, by Pawan Kumar Jain, was published in 1983 by Jaina Sāhitya Sadana, Lalitpur.

(8) *Mūlācāra of Ācārya Baṭṭaker*, translated and edited by Ācāryā Jñānamati Mātā, was published in 1984 by Bharatiya Jnanapith, New Delhi.

(9) *Niyamasāra of Ācārya Kundakunda*, was published in 1985 by Digambara Jaina Triloka Research Institute, Hastinapur (Merut).

(10) *Jaina Law*, Composed by late Barrister Champat Ray Jaina, was published in 1984 by Bharatavarsiya Digambara Jaina Mahāsabhā, Dimapur (Nagaland).

(11) *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama with Dhavalā Commentary*, was reprinted in 1984 by Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakṣaṇa Saṅgha, Sholapur.

(12) *Karmabandhana Aur Mukti Kī Prakriyā* was written and published by Sri Chandaraj Mehta, Jodhpur in 1983.

(13) *Jaina Sāhitya Meṁ Śrīkṛṣṇa*, by Dr. Mahavira Kotia, was published in 1984 by Bharatiya Jnanapith, New Delhi.

(14) *Āgama aur Tripiṭaka – Eka Anuśīlana*, by Muni Nagaraj, was published in November 1982, Calcutta.

(15) *Brāhmaṇa tathā Śramaṇa Saṁskṛti kā Dārśanika Vivecana*, by Dr. Jagadisha Datta Diksita, was published in 1984 by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashana, New Delhi.

(16) *Bhāratīya Darśanaparaṁparāyāṁ Jaina-Darśanābhimataṁ Devatattvam*, by Dr. Damodar Sastri, was published in 1985 by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashana, New Delhi.

(17) *Kavivara Bulākhī Candra, Bulākīdāsa evam Hemarāja*, by Dr. Kastura Chandra Kasaliwal, was published in 1983 by Sri Mahavira Grantha Academy, Jaipur.

(18) *Jaina, Bauddha aur Gītā ke Ācāradarśanaṁ kā Tulanātmaka Adhyayana* (Part I–II), by Dr. Sagarmalla Jaina, was published in 1982 by Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Samsthana, Jaipur.

(19) *Niśītha Sūtram* (Part I–IV) was published in 1982 by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashana, New Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

(20) *Cintana Ke Vividha Āyāma*, by Devendra Muni Sastri, was published in 1982 by Tarak Guru Jaina Granthalaya, Udaipur.

(21) *Daśadharma*, by Jnanamatiji, was published in 1983 by Digambara Jaina Triloka Research Institute, Hastinapur (Merut).

(22) *Dharma, Darśana, Manana aur Mūlyāṅkana*, by Devendra Muni Sastri, was published in 1985 by T. G. Jaina Granthalaya, Udaipur.

(23) *Bhagawān Mahauīra ke Pañcasiddhānta*, by Jaina Bhuṣaṇa Jñānamuni, was published in 1984 by Shaligrama Jaina Prakashana Samiti, Kharad, Ropad, Punjab.

(24) *A Source book in Jaina Philosophy*, by Devendra Muni Sastri, translated into English by Dr. T. G. Kalaghatagi, was published in 1983 by T. G. Jaina Granthalaya, Udaipur.

(25) *Bhāvanā-Bhavanaśinī*, by Rajendra Muni, was published in 1984 by T. G. Jaina Granthalaya, Udaipur.

(26) *Sūyagado* (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*) Part I, translated by Dulahraj and edited by Yuvācārya Mahaprajña, was published by Jaina Visva Bharati, Ladnun.

There are some felicitation and commemoration volumes comprising details of Jaina Scholars and different aspects of Jaina religion, published between 1983 and 1985, such as—(a) *Phūlcandra Śāstrī Abhinandana Grantha*, edited by Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jaina and others and published in 1985 (b) *Āryikā Ratnamatī Abhinandana Grantha*, edited by Dr. Pannalal Jaina and others and published in 1983 by Bharatavarsiya Digambara Jaina Mahasabha Dimapur, Nagaland, (c) *Yuvācārya Śrī Madhukara Muni Smṛti Grantha*, published in 1985 by Muni Sri Hazarimall Smṛti Prakashana, Beawar (Rajasthan), etc. etc. Publishers and Scholars (authors and editors) are mentioned above only for example. There are hundreds of devoted scholars engaged continuously for proper development of Jaina religion and culture. B. Manak chand Nahar M. A. Mylapore, Madras, is seriously engaged in activities leading to proper development and propagation of Jaina religion nnd culture, especially in south India.

This is a brief record of the work carried out in the field of Prakrit and Jainism during the period since we met three years ago. The record is by no means complete. Inquiries in such cases, as we all know, are generally ignored. I therefore beg to be excused if any noteworthy contributions have not found mention in my brief survey. One welcome feature that would be noticed from this short review is that scholars of the old school who used to

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

abstain from critical studies and looked upon all researches with an air of suspicion, are now taking a substantial part in all important literary as well as historical investigations. It is with a view to attract them more and more to the kind of activity that I have made mention here, even of some contributions that may not be considered to satisfy the requirements of the present day standard of research. The work which has been carried out in our field is quite substantial. We should carry proper investigations of the mind and matter which have always characterised our spiritual life and social existence.

Thank you my learned audience for kindness and patient hearing.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

V. S. PATHAK

नमः सर्वविदे तस्मै व्यासाय कविवेधसे ।
चक्रे पुण्यैः सरस्वत्या यो वर्षमिव भारतम् ॥
यच्छिष्यप्रकराः क्षितौ प्रतिदिशं विद्वन्मनोहारिणीं
शीलौदार्य - श्रुतादि - सद्गुणयुतां तन्वन्ति येषां कथाम् ।
ये वै भारत - भारतीनिधिविदां विद्यावतामग्रिमाः
तान्श्री ए० एल० बैशमाख्य-विबुधान् विश्वम्भरो वन्दते ॥

General President, Distinguished Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am as deeply conscious of the honour done to me by the members of the Executive Committee in asking me to preside over the History Section of XXXII session of All-India Oriental Conference, as I am aware of my limitations and incompetence. I can only express my sense of gratitude towards them for their generosity and say in the words of Shahid Sarmad:

Ashamed I am of my derelictions
Despite your compassion sublime.
(Sharmiudaye zurme khudama O rehmate to).

The last two years are marked by a large number of important discoveries and researches in the field of oriental history. Comparative study of the Finno-Ugric and Indo-Iranian langueges by V. A. Abayev and a team of Finnish scholars, researches of T. V. Gamkrelidge and V. V. Ivanov on the original home of the Indo-Europeans, discovery of the evidence of rice in the Vindhya-Gangetic Valley, finds of Harappan seals in Central Asia and also in Gujarat with symbols similar to archaic Brahmi characters, initiation of Naval Archaeology which may open a new vista and a host of other researches and discoveries have made these years memorable to historians. They are too many to catalogue, and to pick up a few for discussion on the basis no other than personal predilection will neither be useful nor wise. I, therefore, beg permission of scholars to draw attention to some of the fundamental problems in the reconstruction of ancient history of the orient by modern historians.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi

Oriens/Orientes is the rising sun, and also the eastern horizon where the sun appears in the morning. The Roman poet Virgil (193 B. C.) in the Aenid (V. 138–39) states :

Torquet ; medios Nox unmida cursus,
Et me saveus equis Oriens adflavit anhales,
(Farewell ; dewy Night wheels her midway course,
And the cruel East has breathed on me with panting steeds).

It will be of some interest to the orientalists to note that Marcus Terentius Varro (116 B. C. — 27 B. C.), the Latin grammarian, equates 'Oriente' with sinistra (left) and 'Occidente' with dextra (right) — sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu (*De Lingua Latina* VII. 7). Sinistra primarily meant 'senior' and is a cognate of the Vedic word *sanīyas*, comparative of *sanyas* (old; नव्यं कृणोमि सन्यसे पुराजाम्, *RV*, III, 31, 39). Thus, in a limited sense, it may be likened to *pūrva*, which is simultaneously 'old' and 'east'.

Again, sinistra, the left, was deemed auspicious. Cicero in his book on divination entitled *Divinatio in Cacecillium* observes 'ita nobis sinistra videntur – so sinistra (left) is known as auspicious. In course of time, however, sinistra came to denote 'evil', in contradistinction to dextra (right) which indicated auspiciousness. Writing about the Jewish social customs, Tacitus (119 A. D.) avers, 'Cetera instituta sinistre foeda' (the other customs are base and abominable, *Historia* V. 5).

As a term indicative of land and people of a distinctive area, 'oriental' appeared late, probably in the post-classical Latin literature. Although some writers, e. g., Aulus Gellius (175 A. D.) in the *Noctes Atticae* (IX, 4, 10–12) refers in a general way to 'ultimas orientis terras' (the farthest oriental lands) about which he records some fantastic tales, it is in the *Institutiones* of Justinianus (565 A. D.) that a specific reference to 'orientalium socii' (oriental society) the barbaria, and their judicial trials and punishments is made. The orient, however, never gained a distinctive and definite geographical entity.

Semantically, its Vedic cognate *arvan* (*arvanta*) is related with it only indirectly. *Arvan* in the *Ṛgveda* is the divine horse with the wings of kite, symbolising the swift movement of the sun from the east across the azure firmament (*RV*, I, 163, 1–4; vide प्रथममर्वन्तमध्यतिष्ठत् *Ibid.* 3).

Another, Graeco-Roman term for Orient is Asia. The Romans had divided the entire world (terra) into Europe and Asia– "regionibus terra in Asiam et Europeam" (Varro V. 29). Asia was named after a nymph, the daughter of Tethys (Hesiod, *Theogonia*, ii. 359) who "according to tradition, bore Prometheus to Iaptus" (Varro *Op. cit.*). In the beginning, a

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

town in Lydia was named Asia after the nymph, and a little later, countries in the contiguity of Lydia came to be designated by this term. As late as the first century B. C., Cicero notes that 'Asia vastra constat Phyrgia, Caria, Mysia, and Lydia'—countries in Asia Minor. Ionia in Greece was also included in Asia. With the march of history, the connotation of Asia gradually widened, and an extended meaning emerged. Strabo refers to these twosemantic traditions of Asia, when he states, "The Taurus partitions the continent from the middle into two parts... Of these (two) parts, the Greeks call the one the "Cis-Tauran" Asia and the other the Trans-Tauran (*Geography*, XI. 2).

Arrian in the *Anabasis* (V. 4.) mentions the Cis-Tauran or southern Asia, of which he clearly discribes the Westeren Asia as lying between the Euphratis and the Aegean sea, and the Eastern Asia as India beyond the Indus, but merely refers to the central part of Asia between the Euphratis and the Indus with two subdivisions. This is the most extensive delineation of Asia of the Greek writers, commencing from the river Tanais (Don) and Lydia in the West to India, bifurcated by the Taurus mountain.

In the Indo-Iranian or even in the Slav languages, there is no word indicative of the Asian continent in entirety, In the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Mazda-Yasnians, the geographical horizon is bounded on the west by the Caspian sea and by the land of the Seven Hindus on the east, comprising sixteen lands—the airyana vaeja, Suguda (Sogdiana), Mouruv (Merv), Baxdi (Balkh), Nisayam, (Nysa), Haroyu (Harirud), Vaekeret (Kabul?), Urva (Mesene), Xninta (Varkana), Haraxvaiti (Arachosia, Kandhar), Haetumanta (Hilmand), Raga (Rai), Chaxra (Khurasan) Varana (Kirman?), Hapta Hindu (Sind) and, Ranha (*Vendidad*, I frakarta). Each of these sixteen are merely called good countries (*Soithranam bahıstam*). They are separate, and do not cumulatively form any geographical entity.

Even when a major part of the continent came under the Achemenian umbrella, the separate entity of Asia did not emerge. Darius the Great in the Behistun inscription enumerates countries from Ionia and Cappadocia in the West to Sind and Gandhara in the east, and states that "in all 23 countries (*dahyava*)' came unto me by the favour of Ahura Mazda".

The land of Bliss in the Iranian tradition was, however, "On the Hara Berzaiti, the bright mountain around which many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind, and no hot wind, no deathly sickness....." (*Mihira Yasta* XII, 51). It is here that "the lordly golden eyed Haoma offered a sacrifice" (*Ibid.*, XXIII, 88) as "Yima kshaeta did on the height of the Hukairya", the golden peaks of the Hara Berzaiti (*Gos Yasta*, 8). This celebrated mountain, described in glowing terms in various

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Yastas, seems to be identical with Elburz, the ranges of which in northern Iran separate the Caspian depression from the Iranian plateau and which encircle the South-Western and the Southern shores of the Caspian. Haraiti Beraza of the Avesta, Hara Brz of the Zoroastrian Pehelvi is the Elburx of the classical Iranian.

The Puranic geography centers around the Sumeru Mountain. The four (*Vāyu*. 34. 45) or seven continents (*Viṣṇu*. 2. 2. 7) of the world encircle the Golden Mountain. The tradition of the Mount Sumeru, is pretty old. The classical Greek writers Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus Siculus and others locate between the Kabul and the Indus, the Mount Meros or Meru where the soldiers of Alexander engaged in the Bacchanial activities. They record various tales aboot Dionysius staying on the mount Meros " in the most primitive times ". Since, in Greek, *meros* means, thigh, the tradition that " Dionysius was bred in his father's thigh " here on the mountain became current.

Georg Morgenstierne in a way affirms in his ' *Report on a Linguistic Mission to the Afghanistan* the accounts of the Greek writers when he states that in the Khowar dialect of the Dardic language, the word *mer* means a mountain in general, and Teirc Mer as " the name of the mountain in the Chitral region ". The word ' Meru ' is non-sanskritic in origin. Burrow and Emenau suggested its Dravidian affiliation, and pointed out that the Kannad word *meruve* meaning ' high top ' and the Telugu *meruvu* in the sense of ' Pyramidal cone ' are connected with it. Ralph Turner concurs with this view (DEDR, 5094, Turner, EDAL, 10330).

The first part of the Khowar word Teric Mer is evidently Iranian from the Avestan *taera* Pahelvi *terak* and Saka-Khotanese *ttairikh* meaning ' peak '. Thus, this seems to be an instance of polyglottism, where a Dravidian word is compounded with a synonymous Iranian vocable. This toponym Meros—Meru—Mer is very interesting since it testifies to the influence of the Dravidian language in the area of Indo-Iranian speech. In this connection the view of J. Harmatta deserves consideration. He observes : " The rather early date of Proto-Dravidian contacts is also borne out by the fact that one of the Dardic languages viz. Tirah borrowed the word kuzera ' horse ' from Dravidian (cf. Tamil *kuttirai*) ". Thus, the contact of the Proto-Dravidian in Afghanistan may be dated before the second millennium B. C. The close association of the Finno-Ugric languages and the Indo-Iranian on one hand, and the Finno-Ugric and the Dravidian, on the other however, suggests the contact of the Dravidian and Indo-Iranians in the area much further north and in much more ancient times.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Here, I hazard a suggestion for the consideration of the Orientalists. In the Sumerian documents, there is a reference to the country of Harali (later *Arali*, *Arallu*) in the east, carrying on trade with Tilmun. Harmattä speculating upon the meaning of this toponym associates it with the Dravidian *aral* (to burn, to shine), *arali* (fire), *aralon* (Agni, Sun). The series of words is available in a number of Dravidian langueges — Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Kollam (DDR, 276) in the sense of 'burning', 'shining', 'Sun', and 'Agni'. Meru, as we have seen, is also a word of Dravidian origin, and was probably current millennia before the Christian era. In the epics and the Purāṇas, the Mount Meru is generally described, because of its effulgence, as "the burning mountain refracting the sheen of the Sun through its golden peaks" :

ज्वलन्तमचलं मेरूं तेजोराशिरुत्तमम् ।
आक्षिपन्तं प्रभां मेरोः स्वशृंगैः काञ्चनोज्ज्वलैः ॥ *Mahābhārata*, I. 15. 5.

One may, therefore, tentatively suggest the identification of Harali with the Blessed land of Sumeru mountain.

Here, I may also draw attention to the identification of Sumeru, proposed by ancient Buddhist writers in Khotan and China. In the Khotanese Text II, 103. 57. 8, Sumeru is regarded as identical with Hara Berzaiti the modern El burz — ttairikha Sumira garana ramda ttaira harayaya baida 'upon the rocky peaks of Sumeru the king of mountains, the taira Hara brz'. (H. W. Bailey, *Saka Khotanese Dictionary*, p. 133). The Buddhist writer in Khotan, conversant with both the traditions of Iran and India, confused the two mountains because of the similarity of their descriptions in the *Yastas* and the Indian works.

A Chinese writer translating in Chinese the tradition of 'Sumeru in India' writes "With reference to the Mountain kings. All the mountains of the world spring from the Kwan-lun range. These are by far the highest and most extensive mountains of the earth ... the different peaks that rise from this range embrace a circuit of ten thousand li, and more. Here the Naga Devas dwell inaccessible to men ... On the eastern side stretching across ... to the Tsih Rock (Koko-nor in China) originate all the mountains in China. On the Western side the mountains stretch away to Western India, the Hwoh country (Ghour, bordering on the Oxus) ... The northern face consists of the Tsung-ling range, which originates in the mountains of the Northern Tartars". (Samuel Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, pp. 20–21).

The identification of Meru with the Kwan-lun Mountains by the Chinese is as sound as the identification by the classical Greek writers with the Himalayan ranges in the upper Kashmir Valley. In fact, the complex mountain chains from the Altai to the upper Himalayas are variously termed as *meru*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In short, the Tourus forms the central point of Asia of the Graeco-Roman tradition, El-burz constitutes the focal area of the Land of Bliss in the *Avesta*, and Meru marks the nuclear region of the Puranic geography.

Here, it may be mentioned that in the Graeco-Roman tradition, the oriental people were frequently, if not invariably, described as barbarians. After the blitzkrieg of Alexander, the Greeks came into contact with the oriental people, but the Romans, despite the fact that an impressive mass of literature in Greek language on Alexander's campaigns in the orient was available to them, had a very vague and peculiar idea about the oriental people. For exmple, Aulus Gellius recounts, though deprecatingly, some curious tales from Latin literature. He says, " Also that, in the mountains of the land of India there are men who have the heads of dogs and bark, and they feed upon birds..... That in the remotest lands of the Orient, there are other marvellous men called *mono-coli* or 'one-legged' who run by hopping with their single leg and are of a most lively swiftness " (*Noctes Atticee*, IX, 4, 10-12). We may, here, mention the rhetorical question of the famous Roman orator Cicero, *Quae barbaria India vasitor aut agrestior* ?— " What barbarous Country is more rude and wild than India ? " (*Tuscalunae Disputationes*, V. 27. 75).

However when in the beginning of the modern period, Spain, Portugal and France, the countries speaking the Romance languages, and Britain a nation speaking a Germanic language but with preponderant Latin influence, held the entire continent under their political dominance, the appelative 'orient' was accepted by the oriental people, and Asia was adopted by Asians.

But 'orient' is not oriental in concept nor is 'Asia' of Asiatic origin. In the days of Pax Romana, Asia was tied to the apronsprings of the nymph Europa primarily in the context of geographical difinitions but under the colonial rule of the Rex Brittania, when the foundation of various branches of learning, including oriental studies were laid afresh, the Oriental goddess of learning, became the mental slave of the European muse.

Some of the prejudices of the Graeco-Latin tradition splashed. probably unconsciously on the writings of modern scholars on oriental history and culture. Or alternatively, the oriental history was placed on the procrustean bed of the Graeco-Roman tradition. The Vedic people who composed some of the finest poems, antedating Homer by more than a millennium, and indulged in subtle philosophical speculations a thousand year prior to Socrates, were described by Sir Leonard Wooley and others as 'barbarians'. An oriental may be excused if he detects in his descriptive eptithet an echo of the piognant question of Cicero- " Quae barbaria India Vastior aut agrestior ? "

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

It is true that Cicero used the word barbaria in the sense of an alien or a person speaking barbaria vocabula in contrast to civilia vocabula, whereas Wooley was writing in the context of Morgan's terminology adopted by archaeologists which distinguishes the culture of agrarian people from the life of a citizen. But even this distinction articulated in the frame-work of historical evolution is drawn primarily from the Graeco-Roman society of the classical period, and is applied by social historians and archaeologists for studying the development of other people including the barbaric " socii orientalium ".

It was Cicero who stated, " duae vitae hominum, rustica et urbana " (*Oratorio pre Quinto Roscia Amerino* 17. 48)—' there are two kinds of living persons, rustic and urbane. Likewise Varro mentions ' urbis tribus ', (city tribe) living in the four quarters of Rome and ' rusticae tribus ' (country tribe) which was sub Rome, inhabiting the area beneath the walls of Rome (*De Lingua Latina* V, 56). The difference between *rusticitas* and *civitas* was primarily economic and secondarily cultural. The rusticas was agrestos, a word related to the Vedic *ajra* (meadow), Avestan *azra*, Greek *agros* and Latin *ager* all meaning cultivable land, and, therefore, literally indicates a cultivator. But it also connotes the sense of rude, wild and savage. They were regarded as ' aborigines genus hominum agresta (Sallastius, *Catilina*, 6. 1) the primitive genus of mankind.

Etymologically connected but socially different from agrestos was peregrinus. Like agrestos he is also different from *civis* (citizen). According to the state Augurs in Rome during the first centuri B. C., the cultivable fields were divided into five categories, one of which was peregrinus. It is explained as *ager pacatus*, the field won in war and reduced in peace, (Varro, V. 31). Literally, however, it means ' outlandish ' per (through) and locative *agri* (cultivable land); thus beyond field and hence ' foreign '. Peregrinus was a foreigner, an advena (alien)— *Peregrina atqua advanae*, (Cicero, *Agricola*, 2. 34, 95) and was alienigena (of foreign origin).

In sharp contrast wtth agrestior, rusticas peregrinus was civis. As Benveniste has pointed out, its primary meaning is ' fellow-citizen ' from which civitas the totality of citizens ' evolved. In the third stage, it indicated ' a town ' and was analogus to oppidum (oppid, pada, Sanskrit,) or urbs, ' Ample ' defensive walls—civitates amplissimae moenia (Vitruvius, 32. 1) became the chief characteristic. Then, it indicated special privileges, status, refined taste, suave manners of citizens, It is in this stage of development that *rusticita* was contrasted with *civicita*. Lastly, *civitas* became the self-governing city, analogous to the Greek *polis*. This semantic development of *civis* and its institutional association is peculiar to Roman civilization and betokens the ultimate triumph of

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

urbanisation in the golden age of Roman empire over the communal followship based on mutual good-will.

In the history of other countries, the development took different lines. The cognates, of *civis* are found in the Gothic and Vedic traditions. About *heiwo*, the Gothic cognate of *civis*, Benveniste observes " ..... *heiwo-frauja*, he who is master (*frauja*) of the family " i. e. the one who welcomes the passing guest under his roof. Gothic separates the 'house' as a place of habitation and enclosed domain (*gards*) from the 'house' as a family grouping and a circle of personal relations, which is called *heiwa*. In other Germanic languages, this sense is clearly confirmed by Old High German *hiwo* 'husband', *hiwa* 'wife', *hiun* (Old Icel. *hjon*, *hju*) conjugal couple, *hi-rat* (German *Heirat*) 'marriage', Old Icel. *hy-ske* 'family', etc. All these show that *keiwo* (Kiwo) referred in ancient Germanic to the situation of person united by the marriage-bond and comprised in the family circle ".

Likewise, *śeva*, the Vedic cognote of the Latin *civis* denoted a band of people living together with the feeling of fellowship and (in some cases) united with nuptial ties. There is some evidence that the association of person with the groups required a declaration with an invocation to a god as a witness. I have elsewhere discussed that the Vedic *śaṁsa* is not merely a litany with religious connotation but 'the affirmation of truth by swearing or calling the divine witness to affirm the veracity of truth in case of disputation'. In this sense, *śaṁsa* is comparable to the earlier meaning of Latin *censor*. G. Dumezil had discussed this problem and has, in fact, 'sociolozised the notion of *śaṁsa* in a difinition which is also valid for the Indo-European'. In the tenth book of the *Ṛgveda*, a person swears by the mighty forefathers his associstion with *śeva* and demands a share (in the booty obtained from the non-sacrificers :

शंसामि पित्रे असुराय शेवमयज्ञियाद्यज्ञियं भागमेमि। *ṚV*. X. 12. 3.

It is a significant fact that the god Mitra is specially associated with *śeva*. His name in collocation with *śeva* occurs in some of the hymne of the *Ṛgveda*. That Mitra-Mithra was the god of treaties and agreements is well known. He was also the god who seals the nuptial bond even in the late Iranian tradition preserved in Sogdiana. The documents of the Muga mountain contain a " Marriage Contract " which records a swearing formula to be uttered by the bride-groom at the time of the marriage ceremony—" And, Sir, by Baga and Mithra (I swear), I shall never sell her nor pawn her (*BSOAS*, XXVIII, p. 248)

In this context, it is interesting to note that the *śeva* of Mitra-Varuṇa which spreads in 'all lands' is described as *jārya*. The word *jāra* means a paramour, a suitor.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् । *RV.* I. 66. 8.

Jāyra as an adjective of *śeva*, therefore, may means a groups with the member of which intimate relations can be developed (with a view to matrimony) —

शेवं हि जार्यं विश्वासु क्षासु जोगुवे । *RV.* V. 64. 2.

Śeva also indicaties the chief of the *Śeva* group. He was invited and welcome in the interior of the house —

जनेन शेवः आहूर्यः सन्मध्ये निषत्तो रण्वो दुरोणे । *RV.* I. 69. 3.

The band had a common treasury called *śevadhi*, which was kept by the chief, who is responsible for the distribuation of food to the members who were known as *śevya* :

यो भोजनं च दयसे च वर्धनमार्द्रादा शुष्कं मधुमद्दुदोहिथ ।
स शेवधिं नि दधिषे ... ...॥ *RV.* 2. 13. 6.

Thus the Vedic *śeva* was similar to the Latin *civis* in its initial stage when it indicated relationship between persons living together. But then, later *civis* developed in an institution of self-governing city, and led to the concept of civilization in contrast to rusticity. Again, *śeva* shares with the Gothic *heiwo* the communal fellowship and the marital ties, which in the primitive Germany gave rise to the institution of family.

In ancient Greece also, there was a similar institution but with a marked distinctinn. The Greek *polis* corresponding to the Vedic *pur* (later *pura*) and *polites* (Greek) to *paura* (Sanskrit) was contrasted with *agrois* (countryman) from *agros* (field), akin to *janapada*, where *pada* means region, site (as in ध्रुवे पदे तस्थतुः *RV.* III. 54. 7 : Cp. क्षितिषु ध्रुवासु, I. 73. 4) analogous to Lithuanian *laukas* Skt. *loka*, open space field, and etymologically connected with Latin *oppidum* (*op*, over, *pidum* region). The distinction between *polites* and *agrois* in Greece was more sharply defined than between *paura* and *janapada* in India. It may, however, be noted that in contrast to *śeva-heiwo-civis*, the institution of polites developed not from the feeling of followship but from the common habitation in a fortified town.

For the early formation of the Indo-European society the voluntary association called *sakha* in the *Ṛgveda* of which *haxa* (*Avesta*), *haxa-*(*manisha*); Old Parsian, *haxa-giri* > *Shagirda* (Pehalvi and Armenian) and *socius* (Latin) are the cognates, is more important than the *śeva-civis* institution.

In Latin, *socius* primarily meant a partner or ally as socium volentum in the *Aenid* V. 112 and a group of persons belonging on the basis of a common profession as in *Livy* XLIV, 21.10, navelium socium, 'a group of naval soldiers'.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In the Indo-Iranian tradition, it was a voluntary band of people, the affiliation of which was publicly declared and recognized. The members joined the group of their own volition on the basis of a common faith, ideology, god or status. Thus :—

अषा हुश्-हखा ख्वँन्वाता । स्पॅंतॉम् आर्मइतीम् ।
वङुहीम् वरॅमइदी हा नॅं अङ्हत् ॥ *Yasna* 32. 2.

Here, Aramaiti is styled as *hus-haxa* (*su-sakhā*) and the devout says, " I have chosen *vermaidi* (from *vri* to choose) ".

The following *gatha* which interdicts the *haxman* with the *drujas* is quite expressive in the context —

अॅंतरॅं वीस्पॅंग् द्रॅंग्वतो हखमॅंग् अॅंतरॅं म्रुये । *Yasna* 49. 3.

" All association with the followers of the *druj*, I would interdict ".

In the Ṛgveda, there are several passages where the public announcement or ' choosing ' is mentioned in connection with *sakha* —

सखित्वमा वृणीमहे 9. 61. 4.
सखायस्त्वा ववृमहै 3. 9. 1. etc.

I had an occasion to discuss the nature of this voluntary band, Here, the subject cannot be discussed in detail. It may, however, be noted that in due course of time the institution of *sakha* and *śeva* were merged in *varṇa*.

Likewise, the *jana-jāti* institution was also subordinated to the *varṇa*. The genetic factor in the formation of homogeneous group expressed through the *genos* (Greek) *jens* (Roman), *zantu* (Avesta) and *jana-jāti* groups was the most effective at the Indo-European stage. But later when different branches of the Indo-European people settled down in different parts of Europe and India, it lost its pristine importance. The *phule* (Greek from *phle* = *bhu* Skt.) and the *tribus* (Latin *tri* = three, *bus* from *bhu* to be) in the Graeco-Roman, *dahyu* (Avestan, country), like the Celtic *teuta*, in the Iranian, and *varṇa*, the common habitation in an enclosed dwelling, in Indian tradition dominated over the genetic factor. In India the *varṇa* eventually became the focal point in the development of the sympolitical structure, constituted by the element of society, polity and ecönomy in incipient forms.

Varṇa from the root *vri* primarily means an enclosure. ' Colour ' can only be its secondary meaning. The Latin word *color* of which *cella* (cell) *con-cella* (concealed) *oc-cultus* (hidden) are cognates, also primarily means ' a cover ' and secondarily ' colour or pigment '. About *cella*, Varro expressly states " a celando cellan appellarunt ", *cella* a store-room is known because it

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

is concealed. (*De lingua Latina V.* 162). *Concella* from which the English word 'concealed' is derived and *oc-cultus*, English *oc-cult* also mean 'hidden'. Colour or hue is only the secondary meaning of the Latin *color*. Similar was the semantic development of *varṇa*, which means enclosure. This becomes clear from the Vedic hymns addressed to Soma where the creeper which is a cover of the Soma-juice and its content i. e. the juice, both are termed *varṇa*. In 9. 71. 2, Soma is said to have come out of its own *varṇa*.

असुर्यं वर्णं नि रिणीते अस्य तम्

Soma-juice, the content of the cover (the store-house) in the form of the creeper, is at various places described as *varṇa*. For example, 9. 105. 4.

शुचिं ते वर्णमधि गोषु दीधरम् ।

On this verse, the commentary of Sāyaṇa deserves special attention —

ते तव वर्णं रसं गोषु गव्येषु क्षीरादिषु
अधि दीधरं अधिधारयामि मिश्रयामि ।

also, यस्य वर्णं मधुश्च्युतं हरिं हिन्वत्यद्रिभिः ।
इन्दुमिन्द्राय पीतये ॥ 9. 65. 8.

It may be noted that the cognates of *varṇa* which are scattered over a large number of Indo-European languages do not in any context mean colour; on the other hand they are, without any exception, connected with an enclosure or dwelling. Specially noteworthy in this respect are the Latin *verna* meaning a house, and the Avestan *varaṇa*, people dwelling in the *vara*.

Much more relevant in Indian context is, however, the distinction between *arya* / *varṇa* and *kṛṣṭi*. Since, I have discussed in some detail the social importance and the semantic development of *arya* in the series *ara-ari-arya-ārya* here I shall dwell merely upon the *varṇa-kṛṣṭi* relationship. For delineating the nature of *varṇa* in proper perspective, the Indo-European horizon of history is necessary.

In the Indo-European languages, *dama* (Skt.) and its congate 'domus' and others indicate inner family relationship. In contrast, the words for 'door' in Graeco Latin tradition connote outside region and outsider. Thus *thur-ze* (outside) and *thurios* from *thura* (door) are available in the Greek language. Likewise, *foras* (public), *foranus*, *foresticus*, *forestis* all derivitives of the Latin *fores* (door) mean foreigner and forest. Such a semantic development is not perceptible in the Balto-Slav and Indo-Iranian languages. The Lithuanian *dvoru* denotes 'a family court-yard', and the celebrated 'godess of door' presides over the functions of inhabitants of the enclosed dwellings in the *Ṛgveda* —

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

देवीर्द्वारो वि श्रयध्वं सुप्रायणा न ऊतये ।
प्र प्र यज्ञं पृणीतन ॥ *RV* 5.5.5.

(Open out, O Goddesses of door for protection of dear object and have our sacrifice succesfully accomplished).

Again, in various Indo-European languages, the root *wer* (IE.) *vṛ-* to close, to enclose, plays an important role in the formulation of the concept of ' home ' and the ' community based on the common habitation in the enclosure '. In this context, Greek *eruma* (shelter), *erusthai* (save), *eluma* (hole, place of concealment or defence) and in Italic languages *oeru* (Oscan) and *uerofe* (Umbrian) both meaning ' within the enclosure ' may be noted. Latin *verna*, however, is much more instructive. The word *verna* from the same root means a house. It is used by Platius as early as the 3rd century B. C. — *verno alare* ' the auxiliary wing of the house ', (*Miles Gloriasus*, 3.1.104). The word is preserved in *vernaculum* also. Varro, the earliest Latin grammarian explaining the *vernacula vocabula* states, " vernaculumae domi natum " that word is vernacular which is born in *domus* (house) i. e., native. Here, of course, *domus* is used in the wider sense of Rome, and therefore, it is contrasted with *adventicium* (foreign) and *ex peregrino* (of foreign pedigree). (*De lingua Latina*, X. 69).

In the Gothic, *warjan* and in modern Germen, *wehr*, in the sense of ' warding off ', ' defence ', ' bulwork ' are pretty illuminating.

In the Balto-Slavic tradition, Lithuanian *at-verti*, to open, and *uz-verti*, to shut, Lettish *at-vert*, to shut, Russian *ot-vorit*, to open, etc. convey the conception of ' enclosure ' or ' cover ' from the root *vṛ-*.

So also is the case in Indo-Iranian tradition which we shall discuss in detail, but before embarking on it, I shall like to comment that for the early Indo-European stage, *eruma-verna-warjan-vert-vara-vavri* series indicative of the enclosure for habitation and derived from the Indo-European root *wer* or *uer* > *vṛ* is much more important than Latin *civitas*, which has become the basis of civilization in the Morgan-Childe-Wooley terminology.

But to proceed further. In the *Vendidad* (II. 33), the anecdotes of Yima's construction of *vara*, the enclosure is narrated—

آجت् یِمو وَرَم् کَرَنओत्
चरॅतुद्राजो कॅम्चित् पइति चथ्रुषनॉम्

' And Yima made a *vara*, as long as riding ground, on every side of the square '.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

From *vara*, the enclosure, *varaṇa* in the sense of people living in the *vara*, and their beliefs developed. Thus, in the *Yasna* 53. 9; *varaṇa* occurs in the sense of people—

दुज्-वरॅनाइश् वअेषो रास्ती नॅस्पोश् अरॅजोश्

" Through the evil persons, the hatred leads to the condemnation of the worthy ".

दुज्वरनाइश् in the passage corresponds to दुवर्णैः (Skt.); (cp. अका वरना in *Yasna*, 45. 1, and वरना द्रग्वो in 45 2).

In Vedic literature, there are various words for dwellings of different types; but the representative words for the enclosure from the root *vṛ* are *vara* and *vavri*. The sage of Bharata's lineage addresses Agni, and says that he establishes the fire god in the *vara* situated in the region (*pade*) known after Ilā.

नि त्वां दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे *ṚV*. 1. 23. 4.

(The adjective *pade* is significant here as also in निहितं पदं I, 164. 7; सिन्धूनां पदे I. 46. 9 where *vavri*. occurs). The meaning of *pada* should be determined in the context of *jana-pada* and *op-pidum* (Latin). Again, it is stated that Sudās, the chief of the Bharatas should perform horse-sacrifice in his earthly *vara*—

यजाते वरे आ पृथिव्याः *ṚV*. 3. 53. 11.

Varṇa associated with *vara* and derived from *vṛ*, at least in one passage appear to have been used in the sense of dwelling. The goddesses of dawn and night are described as moving in the heavenly abode—

द्यावा वर्णं चरतः *ṚV*. I. 113. 2.

But the clear evidence of the meaning of *varṇa* as a groups of people living in an enclosure comes forth from a verse addressed to the goddesses of doors.

वि श्रयन्तामुर्विया ह्यमाना द्वारो देवीः सुप्रायणा नमोभिः ।
व्यचस्वतीर्वि प्रथन्तां अजुर्या वर्णं पुनाना यशसं सुवीरम् ॥ *ṚV*. 2. 3. 5.

' O, Mighty Goddess of Door, open out invoked as you are through prayers. Filtering out (*punāna*), the glorious and manly *varṇa* (the group of people), You Extensive (goddess) spread out ". (The purification indicated by the word *punāna* here is in the form of cleaning through a strainer. Compare,

परि वाराण्यव्यया ... ... त्री षधस्था पुनानः कृणुते हरिः ।
ṚV. 9. 103. 2).

Here, the glorious and manly *varṇa*, filtering out of the doors clearly demonstrates the meaning of the term.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

We shall further touch upon the *varṇa*, a little later in connection with *kṛṣṭi*, but let us pass on to *vavri*, which, in some Vedic passages means a hole or a place of concealment, but its pre-eminent significance is as a place of residence, probably surrounded by a ditch. Thus

कण्वास ... ... सिन्धूनां पदे । स्वं वव्रिं कुह धित्सथः । *ṚV.* 1. 46. 9.

'O Kaṇvas, where do you intend to establish the place of residence in this region (*pade*) of the Sindhus'.

The *vara-vavri* formation leads us to *kṛṣṭi*. If the 'enclosed habitation' gave rise to the *varṇa* institution, cultivation of land is responsible for the *kṛṣṭi* people and settlements.

Paul Thieme draws a parallel between *kṛṣṭi* and *agros* (Greek), which means the cultivated fields and also the border of the habitation. There is, however, a significant difference. *Agros* is contrasted with *polis*, but the contrariety of *kṛṣṭi* and *pura* is never mentioned in Indian literature.

The word *kṛṣṭi* primarily means a series of the contiguous cultivated fields and secondarily the cultivators or the subject population.

यः स्नीहितीषु पूर्व्यः संजग्मानासु कृष्टिषु । अरक्षद्दाशुषे गयम् । *ṚV.* 1. 74. 2.

'The ancestor (Agni) who protected (from damage) the crop (*gaya*) in the contiguous series of cultivated fields for the sake of the giver'. Likewise, in the following verse—

उत्ते शतान्मघवन्नुच्च भूयस
उत् सहस्राद्रिरिचे कृष्टिषु श्रवः । *ṚV.* I. 102. 7.

'The crop in the fields multiplied hundredfold, even thousandfold'. These cultivated fields were surrounded by a ditch, initially made by circular furrows :—

प्राचोदयत्सुदुघा वव्रे अन्तर्वि ज्योतिषा संवत्ववृत्तमोऽवः । *ṚV.* 5. 31. 3.

At dawn, " the cows which were duly milked were driven out of the *vavri* (the surrounding ditch) since sun-shine has removed the darnkness ".

Making the central furrow to mark off the habitation area seems to be an ancient custom amongst the Indo-Europeans. It was incumbent upon the Mazdaa-yasnians to draw furrows (*karsam*) for various religious ceremonies. (*Yasta* 4. 4). In Latin, the verb *urvare* means to mark off the boundaries of the cities by ploughiog around— *urvare est aratro definire* (*Degesta* 50, 16.) *Vavri*, the surrounding ditch forms the boundary of the *kṛṣṭi* region.

Some idea about the nature of the *kṛṣṭi* settlement may be had from the following verse—

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

प्र कृष्टिहेव शूष एति रोरुवदसुर्यं वर्णं निरिणीते अस्य तम्।
जहाति वव्रिं ... ... ॥ *RV.* 9. 71. 2.

'The mighty (soma) comes out roaring like the destroyer of *kṛṣṭi* (and) leaves his lordly enclosure (*varṇa*) and (then) departs from *vavri* (to detroy the rival *kṛṣṭi* settelment)'.

The adjecrive *asurya* from *asu-ra* (Hittite) *hassu* (king), Iranian *ahu* (lord) means the lordly, and *varṇa* as in *RV.* 1. 113. 2 means an enclosed abode. This would indicate that the settlement had two parts—one constituted by *varṇa*, inhabited by the ruling class, and another by the surrounding *kṛṣṭi* where cultivators lived. This idea gets confirmed by a hymn of the fourth book :

मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोः ... राजाम्नि कृष्टेरुपमस्य वव्रेः ॥

'My domain is twofold, one comprising the *kṣatriya* and another all other people. I rule over (the entire area) upto the *vavri*, encircling ditch of the *kṛṣṭi* region. Here, the *kṣatriya* is analogous to the *asurya* of the previous verse, and the *kṛṣṭi* of "all other people" (*viśvāyu*).

Thus, the *ārya-kṛṣṭi* dichotomy of the earliear period was succeeded by the *varṇa-kṛṣṭi* divarication. The distinction, however. was pre-eminently administrative and economic.

To sum up the discussion, we may state that the early development of society in various branches of the Indo-European people took different forms. The evolution of the concept of civilization on the basis of cities was peculiar to the Roman society. *Polis-agrios* bipartition is the hall-mark of the early Greeks and *varṇa-kṛṣṭi* divarication was the stamp of early India. Is it, therefore, historically sound to apply the Roman frame-work of the *rusticita* and *civicita* for the development of other societies ? Is it, in other words, historically justified to call those Vedic Indians barbaric or semi-barbaric in the sense of uncivilized of the Roman context, who, so far as the available evidence goes, not only shared but also sired the pristine concept of *śeva*, which ultimately resulted into the *civis* of the civilization ? The Morgan-Childe terminology in Indian context is as inapt as is the rhetorical question of Cicero – "Quae barbaria India Vastior aut agrestior ?" It should be seriously considered whether such terms as barbarism, civilizatiion, urbanization and rural regression which have acquired their meanings in the association of European history require to be re-interpreted or alternatively replaced by terms which may express Indian values and cultural context with clarity and definition.

It is not a little unfortunate that under the impact of the modern concept of history, which is pre-eminently European, the traditional forms and norms o

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

history in the orient, especilly in India, have been totally rejected and entirely neglected. Sprouted in the Graeco-Roman tradition developed in the hot house of the 18th century European Enlightenment, it blossomed forth under the impact of positivism and objetivity of experimental sciences, *Itihāsa* tradition, on the other hand, originated in India and grew in Indian philosophico-cultural context.

" History develops in close juxtaposition and with constant interactions of associated scheme of ideas " and values. Torn out of its cultural context, modern histories of ancient India assume the complexion of either catalogues of events or the mental autobiographies of modern historians. Like the beautiful damsel Vāk of the Ṛgvedic imagery, the works of *Itihāsa* tradition will reveal their mystery only to the discerning lover in the bridal chamber of the Vedic-Agamic culture : others may stand and stare but will fail to perceive the endearing charms of the captivating form. It is true that the ancient concept cannot be re-incarnated in modern times. It is neither attainable nor desirable. My only submission is that Indian intellectual personality has a distinctive profile which has been greatly veiled under the shadow of the mental thraldom of the west. From the later half of the 20th century new winds of change are blowing over the orient. Can we change our attitude towards history which consciously or unconsciously, knowingly or unwittingly reflects the western models, and develop as historians an independent personality of our own ?

In fine, I bow down before the Lord who in his Viśvarūpa aspect is present here in the form of the galaxy of scholars and pray, that He may shower His grace on us, so that we may find our way to the truth, in the bewildering and ever-changing flux of life.

शेव्य-सख्यार्य-कृष्टीनां कृत्वा निर्वचनं नवम् ।
प्राच्यैतिह्यप्रसङ्गे तु वर्ण-तत्त्वं विवेचितम् ॥
भारतीयेतिवृत्तस्य व्याख्या वेदानुसारिणी ।
भवताद् विदुषां प्रीत्यै, नीलाभश्च प्रसीदतु ॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

V. S. WAKANKAR

Indian protohistory, inspite of explorations and excavations of archaeological sites since last 50 years stand still shrouded in uncertainty about its authorship. There are two opposite schools putting their views (1) the Wheelerian school who used to declare from the house-tops that the authors of Mohenjodaro and Harappan cultures were non-Aryans who were massacred by the incomming Aryan hoards from Central Asia destroying such a remarkable civilization, (2) there is the second school of Indian Indologists who maintained that the so-called Aryans were the authors of these cultures. The excavators of these sites were mostly of Wheelerian family and so inspite that they unearthed many evidences supporting their authorship to so-called Aryans, they were hesitant to put forth their inner view lest they lose their position in Western market.

But there was a school of Indians as well as Western archaeologists who could speak loudly of their achievements and who are responsible for a change in outlook and this is evident from the statements of two dimetrically opposite views, there the one declares that the Indra stands accused and the other emphatically puts the view that he stands exonerated.

We, who were connected with the Vedic traditions for over last 7000 years, were bewildered by the early theories of western scholars that the Aryans had their home in Central Asia inspite that nowhere in our early literature of Vedic traditions is there any mention of our home outside India.

Most of the Puranic writtings mentioned our first home in Madhya Desha (a region between Saraswatī and Gaṅgā). The authors of Pnrāṇas were quite conscious of a nomadtc, uncivilized, non-agricultural stage of their ancestors. They knew that their forefathers lived in this land between Himalayas and the seas. They knew that they evolved here from nomadic to agricultural stage of life. They clearly mentioned that prior to Manu the people had neither known agriculture, commerce or even cattle-rearing and used to live along the banks of the rivers from where they could cross it more easily. They subsisted

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

on fruits, roots, onions and honey. As the population grew the scarcity created the necessity to produce the natural products of paddy and to maintain the law in the smaller community they created the post of limited monarchy elected by communal consent.

The Purāṇas and Vedic texts do give the indication of Palaeo-climatic changes. They conceived of a drier period hardly producing any agricultural product. They have references to alluvial floods and occasional famines. *Nīlamata Purāṇa* and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* gave vivid account that the valley of Kashmir was once a lake and due to some calamity the natural dam was destroyed and the water was drained out of the valley which was then occupied by man to live in (I discussed these details putting them in a chronological order in my paper for a seminar (Wakankar, 1981). There are three important dry periods referred to in Purāṇic times. One during the time of King Pracinvat who left the mid west region of Saraswatī and went towards east. The second drier period was during the time of Saṁvaraṇa, a king ruling in the mid-Saraswatī–Dṛṣadvatī region. There was a period of drier climate for over 12 years and he was forced to move towards eastern Gaṅgā valley. The third drier period occurred during the regein of Ikṣvāku who moved in Śarayū valley destroying forest by cut-and-burn method. May be the copper hoards of copper axes might have been belonging to these forest-cutting cultures.

If such references can be tallied by archaeological explorations and excavations we can build up a fairly good picture of protohistoric as well as early historic period.

I would like to put forth a few observations which I made during my explorations in the country for over last fifty yeare. There are three major pluvial periods mentioned in our literature : (1) pluvial flood during the time of Manu, (2) second one occurred during the period of Kṛṣṇa when Gokula and Vrindavan were submerged and people had to take refuge on Govardhana hills, (3) third pluvial flood during the time of Mārkaṇḍeya (in which he saw Bāla-kṛṣṇa on a Baniyan leaf) evidently must be post-Mahābhārata event, (4) fourth pluvial flood was after Parikṣit or during the reign of Nicakṣus. Hastināpura was destroyed during this period, not only Hastināpura but many cities of that period were destroyed by this climatic outrage. We have some evidence of floods during mid Harappan times. In Malwa (Central Indian plateau) I discovered a Chalcolithic Kayatha culture named after the site where it was first located.

Early Chalcolithic settlements of Kayatha period in Malwa were also destroyed by floods. For protection of the early sites they either erected fortifications made of sun-burnt bricks as at Manoti (in Harappan tradition) or at Dangawada (mud ramparts with wooden palasides). The same was further

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

developed in protective fortifications of Eran and Dangawada to save them selves from enemy attacks.

The early Kayatha culture settlements (*c.* 2500 to 2100 B. C.) were established on both (east and west) the banks of the river but later Chalcolithic settlements were invariably situated on the eastern bank so as to get the protection of the river side. There was a danger to them from the late Harappan communities of Gujarat.

The flood that destroyed the city of Hastināpura was not a localised flood but a universal distructive flood affecting Malwa and other areas in which early O. C. P. culture sites as well as Chalcolithic sites were also destroyed badly. The cosmopolitan area of these early cities which were generally near the river side were washed off in many places, like that of Jhusi (Prayāga-Pratiṣṭhāna), Ayodhya, Hastinapur, Mathura, Ujjain, Kayatha, Dangawada, Runija, Maheshwar, Rajota, Kapileshwar, etc. and hence if we are searching for the palacial remains of Ikṣvākus, Yadus, Śaurasenies and Haihayas what are we do get except the remains of their settlements out-skirts ?

There are many important evidences coming out of the digs during recent years and I would like to put few of them here :

(1) Beta Dwarika as we know was established by the Yādavas when they were afraid of the attacks of Jarāsandha. From the underwater archaeological survey done by S. R. Rao some Harappan remains have come out from submerged Dwarika.

(2) The excavation at present Dwarika was also done in the N. W. Corner of the temple of Dvārakādhiśa and the earliest settlement was Harappan.

(3) During the last days of Kṛṣṇa, Dwarika started submerging in the sea and Kṛṣṇa with his ingenious plans brought all residents to present Dwarika and the new settlement was established.

(4) Will it not be befitting to keep Kṛṣṇa during Harappan times ? Will it mean that the battle of *Mahābhārata* was fought during Harappan times ?

Can we find some more evidence from Kurukṣetra, Hastināpura and Indraprastha to co-relate this evidence ? The O. C. P. cultural remains at Purana Kila, Hastinapur, Ahichhatra and some sites around Kurukṣetra may give us a clue to establish the date of *Mahābhārata* war.

There is another evidence from the Central Indian Plateau as well as Narmada valley :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(1) The first settlers in Malwa were Kayathians (Kayatha culture people – 4100 to 3900 years B. C.).

(2) They were ousted by Aharians (Ahar culture people – 3900–3800 B. C.).

(3) The Malwa Chalcolithic people entered Malwa and coexisted with them during later times (3800–3300 B. C.).

From Purāṇic tradition we know that Haihayas established the first agricultural settlement in Malwa and Neemad and along Narmada they penetrated into lower Gujarat upto Bhṛgukaccha area where Bhārgavas were in power. They retaliated and attacked Haihayas and routed them to east into Cedi country (east of Malwa). This story of Paraśurāma's conquest over Haihayas is vividly narrated in Purāṇas. I have found Malwa Chalcolithic pottery from the rock-shelters in Katni. Dr. Dixit found it in Tripuri and Dr. V. D. Singh found it in Eran, all these sites are in Cedi country. It seems there they evolved a better quality of Malwa ware. The Aharians occupied Malwa for hardly one century and Malwa people returned with a terrible force occupying the length and breadth of not only Malwa but Neemar, Khandesh and even Maharashtra. All these expansions can be very well accurated from Purāṇic narrations. In Purāṇas it is stated that Bhārgava left Malwa and went for penances in Mahendragiri from where he returned to his own country in Aparānta i. e. Konkan. While returning he saw many heaps of ashes of the sacrifices done by his ancestors in Karnataka and Konkan. There are several such ash mounds in these areas which were later on excavated by Deccan College and Dr. Allchin Allchin found remains of Neolithic period in these ash mounds at the base.

Cultures	C_{14} Dates	Authorship
Malwa Chalcolithic	1900–1300 B. C.	Latter Haihayas
Ahar Chalcolithic	1900 B. C.	Bhārgavas
Kayatha Chalcolithic	2100 B. C.	Early Haihayas

We have evidence of Gujrat-Harappan contact with Malwa in the second phase of Malwa culture. Malwans stay in Malwa was for over 600 years and had five phases of their occupation. The early Malwans were mostly worshippers of fire. They performed fire sacrifices for some dieties which are still to be identified. Mother goddess worship was common and their pottery had more Bull forms than Deers. Terracotta figures have been obtained but their identification still awaits.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Aharians were predominently bull-worshippers and from Ahar deposits bulls and bull-forms were unearthed in large number. They do indicate association of Rudra-Śiva worship. Rudra and Śiva are not different and the Śiva-worship was not non-Aryan as has been depicted by many Western and Indian scholars. There is a major portion of *Yajurveda Saṁhitā* dedicated to Śiva, Mahādeo, Tryaṁbaka, Nīlakaṇṭha, Śītikaṇṭha, Tripurāntaka, Kālāgni and Rudra. Liṅga (Phalus) and Yoni (Ovari) forms are purposely used in full forms found from Aharian levels of Kayatha and Dangawada.

This bull-worship was adopted by early Malawans. From a temple remains of early Malwa levels three terracotta conical deities were put in nitches on well fired bricks and bull-figures were put in its front indicating its association with Rudra-cult.

An oval shaped fire-altar was found in DGW. TR. VII–BA and on the eastern part of it were the conical figures most probably of three mother goddesses associated with fire worship. There were several terracotta tiny lamps put around them. These terracotta figures were probably the representation of Iḍā, Bhāratī and Saraswatī or Mahālakṣmī, Saraswatī and Cāmuṇḍā. From DGW. TR. IV–7A similar evidence was obtained from circular altars.

At Dangawada the development of class society could be clearly observed. The N. E. part of the settlement was oecupied by priestly class. The DWG. TR. VII which was 15 × 30 mm. gave remains of four temples and four fire altars. The central part of the mound indicated prosperous settlement of agriculturists and in the western part the artisans and smiths. Coppersmith furnaces, crucibles and chisels have been discovered from these houses. We know by the later Vedic period, class or caste society had developed. Puruṣasūkta gives its reference. Navadatodi settlement had one Yajñaśālā in its centre thus clearly indicating the association of Malwa Chalcolithic cultures with Vedic tradition.

The Harappan city was the capital of Cāyamāna dynasty and was ruled by Kavi and Abhyāvartin. The battle of ten kings referred to in *Ṛgveda* was fought at this place when the first drier climatic phase affected whole of Bhārata-varṣa (which included Balric and Gandhar). The people who were affected mostly were from Gandhar area and hence Yadu, Turvasu, Dahyu and Ānavas etc. started moving towards Punjab and Gaṅgā valley. This assumption that Gaṅgā basin was not known to Vedic people is not correct. Upper Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Dṛṣadwatī, Saraswatī regions were already occupied by the Vedic people and they were afraid of the incoming hoards of the Yadu Gandharan tribes. Cāyamānas invited the people of Pāñcālas for their assistance and the battle at Ḥarappa was lost in the first attempt but won in its final phase.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

There was also an attack of Nabuchand Nasser or some other Iranian king on the outskirts of Sauvīra (Sindh) and Queen Viśpalā retaliated and won.

According to Purāṇas, Haihayas as Boojas moved in Aśmaka (Maharashtra) country and established their power. The earlier settlers at Inamgaon and other Chalcolithic sites were the Malwa Chalcolithic people. Jorwe succeeds it and has Harappan contacts. It seems it is during the period that the kings of Lāṭa–Saurāṣṭra expanded their political power towards Malwa and Maharashtra region and Yadavas of Dwarika and become very dominant prior to *Mahābhārata* war.

All the Vedic Purāṇic movements of the people must be carted out and also the movements of the archaeological material cultural movements. That will make the cultural picture of the Chalcolithic period much more clearer.

A note of warning must be made here that the archaeologists working at Harappan or Chalcolithic sites in India must have acquaintance with the Purāṇic history of the region as well a preliminary knowledge of Vedic rituals or else a perforated jar remains to him a pottery type of which he has hardly any knowledge. Perforated jar is used to worship Rudra, Sinīvālī, Amāvasyā (Dīpāvali Amāvasyā) and other deities. If he has any vent to these rituals, it is possible, he can carefully record all the contexts of the ritualistic pots. A swimming pool remains a swimming pool to him otherwise. It is a Puṣkariṇi attached to temple complex and hence he can carefully differentiate between residential and temple complex.

Recently Dr. N. N. Mishra and Dr. S. N. Rajguru carried out an extensive survey of the Rajasthan desert area around Sirohi, Jalor, Jodhpur, Barmer, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Naugaur, Sikar and Churu areas. They excavated a few sites Didwana and Jaet and got their stratification dates by various methods. Their observations have proved that now dry sandy extents in Naugaur were once witnessed a powerful drainage system which resulted the thick deposits of gravels and silts but the Jayal formation belongs to late terliary and Lower Pliestocene era and hence they do not get evidences of human existence. The gravel bed was uplifted by tectonic activity somewhere in the Middle Plietocene and from the deposits sediments the human occupation is evident from the early and Middle Palaeolithic tools embedded in them. This extensive drainage was most probably of the Saraswatī river system.

The beginning of aridity in the desert goes back to Middle Pliestocene. This can correspond with the dties Middle Palaeolithic deposits in BHIM–III F–24 and the arid climate was interrupted by a strong wet phase when the dunes in these areas were stabilised. This corresponds with the wet phase of Middle

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Palaeolithic deposits in Bhimbetka where due to the wet phase fungus deposited over the tools and their sharp edges were weathered. In Amarpura formation of Middle Palaeolithic times showing calcareous clayey deposits correspond with similar deposits in Narmada and Chambal.

Fortunately their observation has proved that the terminal Pliestocene lake deposits show a dry climatic phase between 20000 to 10000 years which actually from the other dates with ostrich egg shells from Malwa and Rajasthan should go to 40000–15000 years B. C. These dates of ostrich egg shells from Chandresal (Raj), Patne (Maharashtra), Badada (M. P.) cannot be set aside while dealing with Palaeoclimatic studies of India. The climate according to their observation improved in early Holocene and this also confirms with the humic soil deposits of Mesolithic period in most of the excavated rock shelters in Bhimbetka. Their observations are extremely important as they give a strong support to the climatic studies in Bhimbetka, Modi and Narmada region.

Before I close up the discussion, I would like to mention two of the major surveys organised by Baba Saheb Apte Smarak Samiti, Nagpur-Delhi in which the survey of Purvachala Pradesh including Assam, Manipur, Naga Pradesh, and Arunachal Pradesh which has proved beyond doubt that the tribal association with Hindu tradition is as old as Mahābhārata times. The second major project which will be taken over in November 1985 is the all-out survey of Vedic Sarasvatī river which will not only supplement the previous archaeological surveys done by different scholars but also bring Ethno-Archaeological and Socio-Histological material to vidualise the Vedic cultural development along SarasvatI.

The Institute of Rock art established at Ujjain is the pioneering institute in the field of Rock art studies and has a collection of Rock copies of more than 4000 shelters in its collection, probably the largest such reeord in the world. It is now open to scholars for studies and is a new branch. Archaeoloy and art now stand firm to be included in the art history of India in particular and world in general.

Before concluding I would like to put a few observationt done during my recent survey of Arunachala, Naga Pradesh, Manipur and Assam. There are many tribal traditions which are deeply rooted in Hindu tradition and associations with Vedic ṛsiparaṁparā and Mahābhārata stories. Racially there is a lot of amalgamation of the Kanyakubjas, Magadhas, Mous, Thais, Naga, Tibetan, Udiyas, Vangas, Angas and many different groups of indigenous human elements. The rich Hindu temple architecture in this Purvachala is in continuous touch and influence of the artistic development in main stream of Bhārata. Though under British patronage Christian missionaries developed

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

sensationist attitude there is now a revival and the tribal identity with old is again bringing a renaissance. I went there to find out the antiquity of human cultural remains and with the help of R. S. S. Vanawasi Kalyan Parishad and many of my archaeologist friends in that area I could find many Palaeolithic, Neolithic and early Historic sites and engraved granite boulders giving the possibility of rich rock art activity in that region.

I hope with this brief discussion I have opened a long cherished view of the scholars of Vedic and Purāṇic tradition and by this view point the protohistory of India will stand on strong historical footings.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

P. G. LALYE

Respected Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have been honoured by this august boby of scholars, as I am called upon to preside over the section of Dravidian Studies of this Session. However, I am overcome by a feeling of nervousness. Firstly, being a student of Sanskrit literature, I am not conversant with all the four Sonth Indian Languages which are very rich and which are taking great strides on the path of research progress. Secondly, due to many limitations, I could not collect the necessary material, which in entirety, could have given at least a glimpse in the recent trends in South Indian Languages. I entreat all the scholars in general and scholars of South Indian Languages in particular, to forgive me for the lapses on my part arising out of lack of proper knowledge. With all my limitations and deficiencies, I have tried to collect some information at least about the recent activities in literary field of the four South Indian languages. The task is stupendous and my capacities limited. I crave your indulgence for a while. It is proposed to give a brief idea about important projects and contributions, languagewise.

Telugu

In Andhra Pradesh, the research activities in Telugu have been developed on various lines like Comparative Aesthetics, Comparative Mythology, Lexicography, Dialectogy and Dravidian Linguistics. With the establishment of three more Universities a great filip is given to research in various branches of language and literature. Osmania University (Telugu Department) is conducting a survey in folk-songs of Andhra Pradesh, district by district, under the supervision of Prof. B. Rama Raju. Prof. Nayani Krishnakumari and a host of scholars are engaged in writing critical papers on folk-literature, folk-music and folk-religion of Andhra Pradesh. *Vivechana* of Osmania University and *Vimarśini* of Kakatiya University, are inspiring young research scholars to publish their research papers. The famous journal *Bharati* is continuing its laudable work of publishing articles on saveral aspects of Telugu Literature. It has given due coverage to various controversies also. Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy has published two volumes of folk-ballads. Andhra University is continuing the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

publication of Yakṣagaṇas in various volumes. An important work published by the Sahitya Academy is the 'Dictionary of professional terms' (*Vṛttipāda Kośamu*). It has also published volumes containing words in the areas of agriculture, weaving, carpentary, pottery and architecture. The volumes on other professions are being prepared.

A valuable countribution to the fields of Lexicography is the publication of *Sūryaraya Āndhra Nighaṇṭu* in eight volumes as revised reprints of earlier volumes. Prof. Donappa's works on Telngu Harikathās and purāṇas, are scholarly exposition of popular themes.

The Telugu Departments of various Universities, are now trying to explore the fields, which remained till now. In Sri Venkateshwaro University, scholars have published theses on topics like *Concept of Dharma in Mahābhārata* (1982), *District Names of Anantapur and Nellore Districts* (1983–84), *Element of Subjectivity in Modern poetry* (1985). *Socio-linguistic aspects of of Timil-Telugu Bilinguism* (1985). The publication of Kirtanes of Tallapaka, Annamacharya etc. a collection of the rich folk literature was a great desideratum till the first half of the century. Fortunately the work has been vigorously taken up by the scholars of different Universities. In the early decades '*Pillala Patalu, Telangana Palle Patalu, Podupo Kathalu*' are already published. The A. P. Sahitya Academy has published many anthologies, the recent ones being *Janapada Geyalu Sanghika Caritra* (1974), *Podupu Kathalu* (1975) *Kotamaraju Kathalu* (1970). Prof. B. Rama Raju has also published four books in English, which contain the folk-tales from A. P. Prof. Joga Rao's thesis *Andhra Yakṣagaṇa Vāṅmaya Carita* gave impetus to the study by Yakṣagaṇa literature. The heroic songs in Telugu are studied by Prof. T. V. Subba Rao (1967). Dr. Devika has studied the Nursery rhymes of Telugu (1978).

The study of Telugu language was started much earlier in the days of Gidudu dual (father and son). A historical grammar of Telugu was published by Konda Mahadeva Sastry (1968) which inaugurated an era of linguistic study in Telugu. After some days Prof. B. Radhakrishna published a historical and comparative grammar on early Telugu Inscriptions (1964). In the 1970s this discipline received a vigorous impetus. Pro. G. N. Reddy studied the semantic aspects. Prof. Donappa's studies are concentrated on comparative linguistics. Prof. Krishnamurthy has studies the Gonda dialect. He has also written valuable papers on socio-linguistic studies of Telugu. Prof. Ch. Rama Rao of Osmania University has applied the transformation grammar of Chomsky to Telugu grammar.

The research studies in Telugu Prabandhas or Mahākāvyas dominated the field of research in sixties and seventies. In the earlier stages these scholars

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

abided by the canons of traditional criticims mainly laid down by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. Dr. Kattemanchi Ramalinga Reddy laid down some new norms which were the result of his profound studies in English and Telugu literature. He has laid down the latter generation scholars under obligation. Dr. C. V. Krishna Rao followed him. The eight Diggaja poets of the court of Krishna Devaraya provided the whorfs and whorfs of the new texture of criticism which can be called neo-classical school of criticism. The theses of Prof. Suprasannacharya, Mrs. Ravi Bharati (Language). Dr. Lakshmipati and many others have dealt with the Prabandhas of the Telugu literature giving a lucid analysis of the Rasa, Dhvaui, Alaṁkāra, Chandas and graphic nature reflected in them. The same spirit of neo-classicism pervaded the sphere of dramatic criticism. Dr. M. Bharati studied the dramas of Chilakamurti Lakshminarasimham recently (1981). Dr. Shankaraiah wrote a thesis on the dramas of Sri Veluri Sivarama Sastri (1979) and Dr. Bhoomaiah of Kakatiya University published a thesis on the work of Nayani Subba Rao in 1981. Dr. Bhaskara Chowdhary of Sri Venkateshwara University published his thesis on the poems of Jashuva in 1980. Dr. Prabhakara Phaniraja submitted his Ph. D. thesis on *Kanyāśulkam* to Bangalore University in 1980. Dr. Sudarshana Raju has discussed the radical and national elements in the dramas of T. Ramaswamy Chowdhary (1983). Many theses on famous modern poets and dramatists have been submitted to variaus Universities for Ph. D. degree.

Naturally, the study of comparative literature in this sense makes high demands on the linguistic proficiencies of our scholars. It expects a vide range of perspective, an exposition of scattered material.

Some scholars have studied various types and underlying currents of Telugu literature. *Telugu Nāṭaka Vikasamu* of Dr. P. S. R. Appa Rao, *Telugu Vyāsa Parināmamu* of Prof. Enoch, *Andhra Vacana Vāṅmayamu* of Prof. Kulasekhara Rao, *Andhra Śataka Vāṅmayamu* of Prof. Gopalakrishna Rao, thesis on Telugu short studies by Dr. P. Dakshina Murty 'A Study of of Sri poems from the points of view of Vastu' by Dr. Ramakrishna 'A critical survey of Literary criticism in Telugu' by Sampatkumar are Some of the important works. Prof. Bhimasena Nirmal of Osmania University is a scholar of both Hindi and Telugu languages. He has translated many books from Telugu to Hindi and vice-varsa. His publicatins of *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* (1981), Potan's *Bhāgavata* (1982) and translation *of Viśvambharā* of Prof. C. Narayana Reddy (1984) are particularly noteworthy. In innumerable research articles, he has thrown light on contemporary problems of Telugu and Hindi literature.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Classical scholarship has not completely faded away. Many Telugu-Sanskrit scholars have published valuable works. Prof. P. Sriramachandrudu of the Sanskrit Department of Osmania University has recently brought out useful perspicuous commentaries in Telugu on many Sanskrit Alaṁkāra Śāstra works like *Kāvyādarśa, Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtra Vṛtti, Aucityavicāra-carcā, Vakroktijīvilam* etc. The *Sāhitya Saundarya Darśanam* of Charla Ganapati Sastri has discussed all topics of traditional criticism in a nutshell (1972). A young lecturer Dr. T. Ramkrishna Murty has contributed two valuable books in this field. They are *Rasa Siddhāntamu-Andhralu Varivasyā* (1981) and (2) *Sanskṛta Bhāṇa Sāhitya* (1982). Prof. Salaka Raghunatha Sarma has discussed all aspects of Dhvani theory, with illustrations from *Andhra Mahābhārata* (1981) Dr. I. Krishna Murty has written his Ph. D. thesis on *Kavisamayas*. This is the first detailed account of poetical conventions in Telugu literature. Dr. S. V. Rama Rao has studied various trends in criticism in Telugu. Dr. M. Sivaprasad has discussed the influence of various social philosophies as *isms* and Modern Telugu literature. Dr. Sitalakshmi has given a critical account of historical novels in Telugu. Telugu Geyanatikalu of Dr. Srinivasacharya, the thesis of Dr. Susheela and Dr. Nagaiah have dealt with several literary forms and branches of Telugu literature with a historical perspective. Most of the studies are extrinsic studies, attempting to interpret literature in the light of its social context and its antecedents. In many cases it becomes a casual explanation, professing to account for veriety in literature, to explain it, and finally to reduce it to its origin.

The trend of describing classical poets in modern garb is quite visible in University teachers. In the last decade Ph. D. theses on various authors and famous works were written : Prof. Yashoda Reddy's thesis on *Harivaṁśa*, Prof. Koteshwar Rao's thesis on *Amuktamalyada*, Dr. Srirama Murty's criticism on *Bhāgavata*, Dr. Jyotirmayi's thesis on *Vasucaritra* Prof. Suprasanna Charya's thesis on the works of *Rama Ruja Bhūṣaṇa*, Dr. Viswam's thesis on Nature and Man in poetry. Dr. Virabhadra Sastri's thesis on the works of *Panuganti*, Dr. Sampathkumaracharya's thesis on Modern Telugu criticism on classical lines are notewothy. Some recent poems have also been studied. Dr. Krishna Raju has produced a psychological study of Sri poetry. (Dr. Gurappa's thesis is one more thesis as C. Narayana Reddy's poetry) Dr. Chandramouli of S. V. University wrote a thesis Critical study of Dasarathi's poetry. Recently Dr. Chinmaya Kavi and Dr. Jagannathacharyulu have opened new vista of Telugu Mahabharata studies. Dr. Jayalakshmi's thesis (1982) from Bangalore gives a comparative study of Ramayanas of Visvanatha and Puttappa. Dr. R. Sivareddy has discussed the Rasa in *Mahābhārata* (1982). Another thesis on comparative study is written by Dr. Sarasvati Reddy of S. V. University, discussing socio-linguistic aspects

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of Tamil-Telugu bilinguism. Studies on Adi Narayana Rao (1980), Rajapat Subba Rao (1983), V. Prabhakar Sastri (1981), Chalam (1982), Vemana (1982) are recent additions. Dr. Sivarama Murty has published a novel thesis on Telugu Girijan Gitas (1982). Prof. P. Jagannathan has done a remarkable work on comparative study of Marathi and Telugu songs. In 1984, Somasundari's collection of essays is pnblished. A collection of essays on various hymns of literary criticism, with refreshingly original views has been published in 1985, by Andhra.

The influence of western ideas and trends on Telugu, has been studied by two scholars : Prof. Kottapally Veerabhadra Rao and Dr. H. Brahmanand (1892) Dr. G. V. Subrahmanyam has performed an exhaustiving but commendable work of publishing select articles on Telugu literature, occurring in various journals, in a Sarasvata Vyasamulu (1980).

Dr. R. Srihari of Osmania University has published Pada Saṁketa Kośa and Alabhya Kavya Padamulu (1984) which are very useful to research scholars.

Some lyrical poets have been studied recently, Dr. Nirmala Devi has written a Ph. D. thesis, on the works of Devulapalli Krishnasastri (1978). Dr. Ramababu has written a thesis on the famous *Yenki Patalu* (1981). Dr. Lavanyasastri wrote a thesis, discussing the life and works of Rayaprolu Subbarao (Kakatiya University). Dr. Vasundhara studied Women's Songs in 1978. Dr. Bhumaiah of Kakatiya University has written thesis on the works of Nayani-Subba Rao (1983). Dr. Katyayani Rao published thesis on Bacchi Babu.

The following are some of the important reference books published recently —

Etymological Dictionary of Telugu. — Andhra University, Waltair by Dr. Kunha Rao.

Tirunamalu. (Folk Literature works for thesis). — Dr. Narasimhacharya, Hyderabad.

Haṁsaviṁśati, — Dr. Ratnamu (Encyclopaedic nature)

Proceeding of Bhāgavata seminar, held at Warangal in 1983, contains valuable papers on Bhakti Literature.

Veyi Padagalu — Golden Jubilee Celebrations, 1984, have brought out various facets of the genius of Visvanatha Satyanarayana,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Andhra Mahābhārata Nighaṇṭu (1984) is also a valuable publication. On this occasion, Veyi Padagalu Adhumika Itihsam by Dr. Boomaih and Veyi Padagalu Parisilana by Dr. Veerabhadra were brought out.

Tamil

The study of Tamil language and literature was championed and pioneered by foreign scholars like Elkot, Ellis, Gover, Winslow, Caldwell, Pope and Vinson. Recently various Universities and Institutions in Tamil Nadu are publishing periodicals and journals which are contributing a good deal of original research material on Tamil studies. In the early days scholars were more interested in classical Tamil literature, the various periods of Tamil literature and their historical evolution. The recent Tamil literature and the culture was critically studied by many scholars like P. T. Srinivasa Iyangar, Nellaswamy Pillai and Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

In later seventies and beginning of eighties, a great thrust was given to Tamil studies, with special reference to Dravidian Epigraphy and Dravidian Linguistics. The four International Conferences and about eight annual seminars of All-India University Tamil Teacher's Association, have underscored rapid growth in Tamil studies. The services rendered by Kalyanasundaram, Maraimalai Atikal and T. P. Minakshi Sundaram are still a sources of inspiration to the young scholars. A few recent publications may be listed here.

A. V. Subramanya Iyer has published two volumes of Tamil Studies, Chidambarnath Mudalier has studied the aesthetic aspects of literature. Shanmugham has published two books containing the history of Tamil dictionaries and anthologies. Arunachalam's volumes of History of Tamil Literature are highly commendable to young research scholars. Books of Chidambara Raghunathan and Kailasapathy indicate the Marxist approach in this field.

Madras University has published a valuable Tamil Lexicon, the first of its kind in Indian Languages. The University has also published collection of cognate words in Dravidian Languages. Prof. Sanjiva has published a dissertation on the research studies iu Sangam works. A detailed study of Tirukkaral has also been published by Madras University. Annamalai University has published *Yalnul* of Vibhulanandar, which is a landmark in Tamil Musical world.

The Madurai Kamaraj University has published many collections of folk tales. Arunachalam Pillai has written a commentary of Tolakkappiyam. This University has a saparate, Tirukkural Research department, which has published many seminars reports and dissertations.

Prof. V. I. Subrahmanian has written many papers on Dravidian Linguistics, applying various theories like transformation Glossometics and Tagmetics.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Centre of Advance Studies in Dravidian Linguistics of Annamalai University has encouraged many dissertations on grammar, whose guiding spirits are T. P. M. and Agastyalingam.

Annamalai University has also given importance to the study of Vaiṣṇava literature, whereas many scholars in the University of Madras have studied Śaiva Sidhānta and Ethical Literature.

A number of Tamil research journals are doing a yeoman's service to Tamil literature and language. Among them, Sentimil, Selvi-Tamil, Polil Aarachi-Tamil Ayuru are prominent ones. A. A. Manavalam has published an annotated bibliography of such journals. The International Institute of Tamil Studies is developing and expanding under the directorship of Prof. S. V. Subrahmaniam. It has published a collection of riddles in Tamil. It is preparing a comprehensive guide to Tamil study or a companion to Tamil literature. A number of scholars are trying to codify the criteria of Tamil literature studies under the auspices of this Institution.

The recently formed Dravidian Linguistics Association is doing a valuable work in the field of Dravidian Linguistics and Literary criticism. It is also publishing a bi-annual journal (IJDL) containing scholarly articles. The association holds its conference every year. So far it has arranged six seminars, one each on the subject of grammatical theories, dialect-change, metre, common script. Folklore and tribal education. The association has so far published thirty-four works including Ph. D. theses, teaching material in the four South Indian Languages proceedings of the conferences and various survey works.

In the last decade, Dravidian scholars have evinced keen interest in the study of non-literary Dravidian Languages – M. P. Emeneau is the torch – bearer in this field (Corrent Trends in Linguistics, Vol. V, 1969, 334–347) about twenty-four minor Dravidian languages are studied till now in this field. P. S. Subrahmanyam, Kamil Zvelbil, Bh. Krishnamurti have widened the horizons of Comparative Dravidian. The collection of papers of Emeneau on Dravidian linguisties, etymology and folk-tales (Annamalai Nagar, 1967), contain many important essays on the minor Dravidian languages. Agastyalingam and Saktivelu have compiled a Bibliography of Dravidian linguistics (Annamalai-nagar, 1973), Sakthivel's studies on Toda language are the outcome of his intensive field-work. Kodandaraman, Balkrishnan and German have conducted extensive field-work in Kodugu. The important researchers of the South central languages (like Koya) are Burrow, Bhattacharya, Krishnamurti, Subrahmanyam and Ramakrisna Reddy, Krishnamurty's monumental volumes *Konda or Kubi* (A Dravidian Language-Hyderabad, 1969) is a Model work for the research scholars in this field Ramakrisna Reddy's Kuvoi-English-Oriya Dictionary, when

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

completed, will be a very valuable work. Etika Francis has studied Kurukh language, which exibits grammatical difference between the speech of men and women. Dr. N. S. Bhat has written many papers as Kuruph. The International Institute of Tamil Studies is showing a rapid progress in its endeavour. In a short span of about twelve years, it has published several works of Tamil studies. An important publication is the eight volumes of seminar proceedings of Tamil Literary Theories (Tamil Ilakkiyakkol, Kai) edited by various scholars like Prof. S. V. Subrahmanyam (1981–82). Similarly seminar proceedings are published in valumes on subjects like the heritage of Tamils, Tamil research and methodology grammar, metre, linguistics and language-teaching. A compilation of various commentaries ancient and modern on Tolakappiyam, are brought out in thirteen volumes.

Scholars continue to publish dissertations in Tamil classics. Dr. R. Vijayalakshmi has published a book dealing with a comparative study *Tamil Perunkatai*, versions of the last *Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā*, existing in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil (1981).

Dr. A. N. Perumal has given a detailed historical survey of the origin and development of Drama in Tamil (1981) Dr. V. Subramanian and Ghadikachalam have published (Ulakat Tamil Eluttalar Yar? Evur? (1980) containing a bibliography of 1488 Tamil writers all over the world. Dr. K. Gandhi has published a book (1980) detailing a study of the practices and the beliefs of the Tamils as depicted in Tamil literature. The cult of Murugan is thoroughly dealt with in six lectures of Zvelabil (1981).

Similar books on various aspects of Tamil life and culture are published by the International Institute of Tamil Studies, within a short span under the able guidance of Prof. S. V. Subrahmanian who is an internationally recognized scholar of Tamil literature. The Institute has published *Studies in Tamilology* which is a collection of twentyfive papers presented by him in various seminars. His papers on Cilappadikaram and Kinship terms in Tamil dictionaries [in dictionaries in Tamil] and classification of Tamil literature are wellknown for critical approach.

The Journal of the Tamil Studies is a regular bi-ennial journal, the articles in which reflect the progress of Tamil studies in recent years. Scholars like M. Andronow, S. T. Bhaskaran. M. Arunachalam, Kamil Zvelebil. Marold F. Schiffman (on Transformational Grammar). A. Veluppillai (on Srilanka Tamil) have enriched the journal by their articles on various aspects of Tamil literature. In one of the articles in this journal S. N. Kandeswamy has thrown new light on the age of Talakappiyam (December'81). Shanmugam Pillai has given a detailed study of caste-structure in Pondicherry state (Dec. '83) G.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sankaranarayan has presented the guidelines for the preparation of administrative terminology. Earlier inscription and records (December '83) which constitute integrated study of the language of Tamil inscriptions (1970) are ably studied by Agatya Lingam. He asserted that the appendices of various terms given by him show that the inscription and other written documents preserve many administrative and legal terms. The December 1982 volume is dedicated to Subrahmanian Bharati containing articles on different characteristics of Bharati's style. Arvanan's articles on *Notable Negroid Elements in Dravidian India* is an important article on anthropological studies (June '80). Padmanabhan's article on *South India and Sri Lanka* A. D. 1450–1650 : *Political Commercial and Cultural Relations* (June 1980) gives lucid historical survey. The article of Gregory James on European sources for Tamil Manuscripts (Dec. '80) has given the names of 88 libraries in different countries which contain Tamil manuscripts.

The International Institute of Tamil studies has published two important volumes (i) Tamil research through journals, March '85 (an annotated Bibliography) prepared by Manorama, under seven headings, like Bibliography, language, literary criticism, the author has given a list of research articles published in various journals. The international journal of Dravidian linguistics has published some valuable papers. Kamil V. Zvelbil has contributed scholarly articles, including one containing a plea for Nilgiri area studies (January 1980).

In some articles, some points are discussed about the vital problems of bilinguism. Bilinguism is often associated with a type of diglossia, which matches closely with the cultural pluralism prevalent in South Asia. The learned scholars like Southworth of Pensylvania have found out that different languages and dialects are sharply distinct styles of speech and are often complementarily distributed in the speeches of individuals and groups, in a way which minimizes their competition with each other.

Vivek Rai, Dr. A. Srikrishna Bhat has discussed various aspects of Tamil language in many valuable papers. H. S. Anantanarayana has discussed influence of Sanskrit on Kannada formation (June '84). M. Chidananda Murty has made a socio-linguistic study of personal names (January 1984) Susuma Ojha has given an interesting study on the relationship between Tamil and Japanese (June 1983). Hannah Fune has listed Summerian Dravidian Interconnections, advancing linguistic, archaeological and textual evidence (June 1980). Prof. V. I. Subrahmanyan has contributed scores of papers through various Journals regarding the development of language and literature of South India.

Thus since the past few years D. L. A. is doing a great service in promoting and coordinating the research work in the four Dravidian languages.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Malayalam

The Studies in Malayalam language and literature continued their rapid pace during recent years. In this period, novel has made great strides relegating poetry to the background. The biggest novel ever written in Indian literature, is recently written in Malayalam. It runs into 3860 pages, and four volumes. This is *Avakasikal*. It has won Vayalar and Sahitya Academy awards. The novel seeks to bring out the conflict in a family over wealth. The writer has written under the penname 'Vilāsinī'.

Nowadays, there is a spate of publications of collected essays of prominent writers. These are published by about fifty publishing houses. Some of them bring out about a hundred publications every year. The various awards recently instituted are encouraging the young creative writers of Malayalam. Some of them are Vayalar award, Sakti award, Itaccheri award, Putresam award, Mamman Mapilla award, M. P. Paul award, Kittipuzha award, Kankumani award etc. Sugathankumari, a noted poetess, has recently been awarded the 25,000/- Rs. Vayalar award for her collections of poems, entitled Ampalamani (temple-bell). Another noteworthy feature of Modern Malayalam is the establishment of an Institute for promoting children's literature. Kairali children's club of Kottayam has recently published lives of great men. Till now one hundred and forty four volumes have been published under the title — *Mahaccaritamālā*. The encyclopaedia of Malayalam is being prepared and five volumes are already published. Similarly the Malayalam Lexicon project of Kerala University has published the fourth volume. The Sahitya Academy has published two volumes of *Bhāratīya Sāhitya Caritam* edited by K. M. George.

The drama school of the Calicut University has started the movement of experimental theatre on the model of western theatre. 'Novel' has become a very popular form and as such a new branch of novel-criticism has been evovled and four books on novel criticism are already published.

The past few years have witnessed a reappraisal of the Sanskrit works. Prof. N. P. Unni, the Head, Sanskrit Department, Kerala University has brought out an edition of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, with the *Śrīmūlam* commentary of T. Ganapati Sastri, originally published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series. He has added a new introduction of sixty-seven pages. Dr. K. Vijayam of the same University has published his doctoral thesis, entitled *Rasārṇavasudhākara – A Study* (Trivendrum, 1981). Dr. Eswaran Nampoothiri, has published *Bāla Rāma Bharatam* (Trivendrum, 1983), a critique on dance and drama. Prof. N. P. Unni has also published *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa, with the commentary *Vilāsinī* of Mānaveda. This is the earliest Sandeśa Kāvya (13th century) of

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the South. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai who won the Sahitya Akademi award for his *Viśvabhānu*, a Mahākāvya on Vivekānanda has also translated Mayūrasandeśa of Kerala Varma in Sanskrit literature. Prof. N. Ramakrishna Pillai has published about twenty-five works of Kerala Varma Valiyakoil Tampuran.

The Malayalam Department of University of Madras has produced many M. Phlil. and Ph. D. dissertations of individual authors of Malayalam. Women characters in Vallathol's poetry (1977), Edapalli's poetic works (1983), cannampulokkavitayille Kalpanikata (1979), the language of Malayalam advertisements (1981), the conflict between individual and society in modern Malayalam novels (1982), Etymological study of Loan-words in Malayalam (1980), Kerala Theatre — A study on its presentational aspects, (1980), Śivabhakti in Malayalam poetry (1981) are noteworthy.

The department of linguistics in the University of Kerala is rendering a valuable service towards the promotion of research at an advanced level, dealing with linguistics in general and of Malayalam language in particular, under the inspiring guidance of Prof. V. R. Prabodhachandra Nair. Among the research projects undertaken and completed the following are important: Small scale dialect survey, Harijan dialect survey, training in South Indian languages. The department organized a fourweek Advanced Institute of Applied Linguistics in May–June 1983. In 1983–84, it organized seminars on Language of Mass Media, Directions in Malayalam studies and a National workshop on Historical Linguistics. The faculty members have together published thirty books, many of which give a linguistics description of some dialects of Malyalam, Prof. Prabhodhachandra Nair has two important publications to his credit Phonetic and Phonological study of Malayalam verbal forms (1972) and Malayalam : *A Linguistic Description* (1973). The 173– pages index of Kṛṣṇa Gāthā, contains all the morphologically definable words and clitics, occurring after form-closing suffixes arranged in accordance with the usual order of orthographic units in the Malayalam alphabet.

As far as the research work going on outside the portals of the Universities it may be mentioned that Kerala Language Institute has undertaken the tremendous task of publishing an Encyclopaedia in fourteen volumes. Six volumes are already published under the guidance of Dr. Vallayani Arjuna. Kerala Sahitya Akademi, has published a dictionary of literateurs, along with their photographs.

Kannada

In keeping with the pace of research activities in other languages the various Universities in Karnataka State are vying with each other for promoting researches in Kannada language and literature. Many major projects, spread

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

over years, have been undertaken by the Kannada departments. Some of them are as follows :—

(1) A fourteen-volume project of Kannada Encyclopeadia is undertaken by the University of Mysore. Eleven volumes are published till now. Each volume consists of about nine hundred pages. (2) Five volumes of History of Kannada Literature — Samagra-Kannada-Sahitya Charitra are published under the auspices of Bangalore University. Prof. Sivarudrappa and Prof. Chidananda Murty are the chief editors. (3) Mysore University has also published comprehensive History of Kannada Prosody in two volumes in 1981. Chief Editor Prof. H. M. Nayak, Mysore University, has undertaken exhaustive history of Kannada Literature in ten volumes, five volumes of which are already published. (4) Another important work taken up by Mysore University is revising and reprinting of Epigraphica Karnatika. This work started in 1973 and eight volumes have been published so far, volumes-IV-VIII are published after 1980. (5) It has also published eight volumes of descriptive catalogue of Kannada Manuscripts. Another noteworthy publication is subject-wise encyclopaedia of Karnataka, dealing with the various themes like History, Geography, Religion and Culture. One volume is published in 1981.

Kannada Sahitya Parishad, Bangalore has also published important source books. *Kannada Lexicon*, Volumes III, IV are published recently. It has also undertaken a momentous work of Viśva Kathā Kośa. It Comprises of four volumes. The entire work was astonishingly completed in one year (1982–83).

Mangalore University has published a critical edition of *Viṣṇutaṅga's Tulu Bhāgavata*, Karnataka University, Dharwad has done a yeoman's service to Kannada folk literature. Karnataka Folklore Conference held at Lakshmesher in in January, 82 highlighted many interacting aspects of folk literature.

Prof. B. Ramachandra Rao has written a Descriptive Grammar of Pampa Bharata, which is published by Mysore University. Deccan College, Poona has undertaken a survey of Kannada dialects. In all the Universities of Karnataka, dissertations have been written on different trends and epochmaking authors of Kannada literature. Many of them are awaiting publication. Among the dissertations published recently, a few may be noted here :—

1.	Dr. D. K. Rajendra, Mysore.	Dakshina Karnataka Rangabhumi.
2.	Dr. J. S. Paramasivah, Mysore.	Dakṣiṇa Karnāṭaka Janapada Kāvyaprakāragalu.
3.	Dr. C. P. Krishnakumar.	Nāgavarman Karnāṭaka Kādambarī Oṇḍu Taulanika Adhyayana.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

4.	Dr. Sitaramacharya, Mysore.	Kumāra Vālmīki.
5.	Prof. T. V. Venkatachalasastri, Mysore.	Kannada Neminātha Purāṇagala Taulanika Adhyayana.
6.	Dr. A. V. Narasimhamurti Mysore.	Archaeology of Karnāṭaka.
7.	Dr. M. S. Krishnamurty, Mysore.	Nolamba Dynasty.
8.	Dr. P. S. Ramanujam.	Vyomaśiva's Vaiśeṣika.
9.	Dr. T. Tapasvikumar.	Kannaḍa Janapada Citagala Sānskritika Adhyayana.
10.	Dr. R. N. Vijayalakshmi.	Kannaḍa Saṅgatya Prakāśa.
11.	Dr. U. P. Upadhyaya.	A Comparative Study of Kannaḍa Dialects.
12.	Dr. B. R. Gopal, Dharwad.	Calukyas of Kalyani and the Kalachuris.
13.	Madras University Publication.	Comparative Study of Vemana and Sarvajña.
14.	Dr. P. Ramachandrarao, Hyderabad.	Material for a sketch of Kannada spoken on Andhra – Karnataka border.
15.	A. Krishna Bhata, Madras.	Śataka Sāhitya.
16.	E. Harikrishna Bhat, Madras.	Origin and Development of Early Modern Kannada Literature (1860–1920).
17.	Dr. K. G. Narayana Prasad, Mysore.	Metres of Modern Kannada Poetry : A Study.

A brief survey of the recent development and trends of the four Southern languages commonly called ' Dravidian languages ', indicates that the breezes of modern civilization and western culture are blowing over the South also. As in U. S. S. R., the regional languages are given as much importance as the link languages. The diversity of languages is a boon and not a bane to Indian linguistic unity. Their common source of Sanskrit, their development under more or less same political conditions and the under-current of unity running through

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

various activities of human life in India, inevitably lead us to conclude that the languages are a binding force and not a divisive force. In order to strengthen the bonds of intimacy and unity it is desirable to standardise common vacabulary. In the multi-lingual situation as in India, a common core vacabulary would help easy communication. Fortunatly, our ancestors have used many words in their daytoday dealing which are of common origin. Regarding the Dravidian languages, it may be mentioned that 34% words are common between Telugu and Tamil, 30% between Telugu and Kannada and 38% between Telugu and Malayalam. All these languages have enormously borrowed from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit words are now fully assimilated in the four languages. Preparation of common core vacabulary in Indian languages, particularly in the four southern languages is a longfelt need. As languages belonging to the same Dravidian family, they show a good area of commoness. Historical linguistics has demonstrated that the related languages share common phonological morphological, syantactic and semantic features, due to common inheritance. In the South, the areas of commonness can be marked even by the learners. The relation between two cognate languages is more or less similar to that of dialects in a single language. Thus the task of preparing common vacabulary is not difficult as it is thought to be. Unlike the contractive methods, the cognate method should lay stress on framing of statements of rules, which are common to the related langnages, which are aplicable to the data found in the related language. Prof. V. Subrahmanyan and Prof. D. P. Pattaryak have made some attempts to draw some common vacabulary between Hindi and one of the regional languages by presenting 'common core' of the languages. Some common features like retroflex sounds make the common core vacabulary easily understandable. Prof. H. S. Anantanarayan, who read a paper at a seminar conducted by International Telugu Institute in Hyderabad in March 1982, has analysed the common items between Telugu and Kannada under four headings, which can be extended *mutatis mutandis* to that of other languages also.

They are : (1) Items with identical form and meaning, (a) due to inheritance or (b) due to borrowing (2) items with the same meaning but different in form (3) items with identical form but with different meaning. (4) items with the same shape in the radical portion, but adding different verbalizing suffix, Prof. Anantanarayana is of the view that keeping constant the other variables such as frequency of an item its functional load in the language and the relative simplicity of the form, it will be still rewarding to build the graded lessons with the common vacabulary. After that, the learner would easily understand the words showing semantic variations. Words of the learner's language that are phonologically and semantically closer to those of the target language should be chosen. The variations should be carefully marked. For example, Sanskrit

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

words used in Tamil or Malayalam contain deaspirated plosives and voiced plosives in the place of voiceless plosives in the intervocalic position —

TELUGU	TAMIL
Pagalu	Pakal.
Tala.	k-Tala.

The loan words sometimes differ semantically —

ITEMS	TELUGU	TAMIL
संसारम्	Family	Wife
केवलम्	Alone	Contemplible
अवसरम्	Need	Hurry
श्राद्धम्	Abusive (use)	Anniversary
मोसम्	Deceit	very bad
गोष्ठी	Conference	Gang
पाशः	Bond	Attachment
पशुः	Any domesticated animal	Cow
विपद्	Distress	Ancient
चिन्त चिन्तिंचु	To feel sorry	to think
समयः	Time	Religion

Among the four southern languages, the Telugu language is a bit different from the other three from morphological point of view. For example :

GLOSS	TELUGU	TAMIL	MALAYALAM	KANNADA
All (Human)	अंदरु	एल्लारुम्	एल्लारुम्	एल्लरु
Belly	पोट्ट, कडपु	वयरु	वयर	होट्टे
Breast	रोम्मु	मुलै	मुल	मोले
Come	वच्चु	वरु	वरु	बरु
Dirty	मुरिकि	अळुक्कु	अळुक्कु	अलकु
Eat				
Give	इच्चु	कोटु	कोटु	कोडु
Grass	गड्डि	पुल्लु	पुल्ल	हुल्लु
Hear	विनु	केळ	केळ	केळु
Horn	कोम्मु	कोंपु	कोंप	कोंबु

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Gloss	Telugu	Tamil	Malyalam	Kannada
Leaf	आकु	इलइ	इल	एले
Root	वेरु	वेर्	वेर	वेरु
Sing	पाडु	पाटु	पाटु	हाडु
Smoke	पोग	चुकइ	पुळ	होगे
Stand	निललडु / निलचु	निल	निल	निल्लु
Vomit	कक्कु	कक्कु	कक्कु	कक्कु
Who	एवरु	यार्	यार्	यारु
Wing	रेक्क	इखकै	चिरके	रेक्के
Woods	अडवि	काटु	काटे	काडु

Apart from the common vacabulary, there are many other areas of similarities. There are proverbs, numarals, personal names, names of local goddesses, kinship-terms with proper names, idioms and compounde, common kinship-terms kinship expressions, common words due to borrowing, taboo expressions, inauspicious expressions, animal calls, onomatopoetic words, slangs, greetings, gender indicators, expressions of intimacy etc. There are certain peculiarities of Dravidian sounds which would be easily grasped by cognate language learners. A few are mentioned here :—

1. There are three tyses of *a* and *e* - high, middle, low.
2. The vowels are contrastive. Therefore there are long and short vowel-pairs in Dravidian languages.
3. There are nasal vowel phonemes in Dravidian languages.
4. There are no vowel clusters.
5. No word initial, retroflex or velar and nasal sounds are found in the Dravidian languages.
6. There are no stops at the word ending. In the borrowed words, a vowel is added, for example, bukku, roddu etc.
7. The initial front and back vowels are pronounced with *Y* or *W* onglides respectively.
8. Only voiced nasals and liquids and voiceless fricatives are found in Dravidian languages.
9. Only the midial clusters are very frequent,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

10. Stress is not contrastive in Dravidian. It is usually fixed on the initial syllable of the word if it contains only short syllables, otherwise, it is associated generally, with long syllables only emphatic (i. e. sentence) stress is used in all the Dravidian languages.

11. Pitch-fluctuation occurs only as a property of a sentence, not a word. Therefore all Dravidian languages are considered as international languages.

12. Linguistically only pulmonic egressive sounds are used in Dravidian.

This brief survey indicates that the South Indian language studies are going ahead with rapid pace. A generous and judicious analysis of the recent trends may give rise to wider national perspective and national ethos in the development of all the Indian languages obliterating the artificial barricades of North and South and forming small systems within a large periphery of Indology.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

JAYAMANTA MISHRA

Fellow Delegates,

Philosophy is the study of beliefs regarding God, existence and conduct. It provides the knowledge of man's relation with the universe and produces an indescribable calmness of mind. It is the science which supplies the knowledge of the causes and laws of all universal phenomena. It is the collection of general laws or principles belonging to any system of knowledge. For this reasoning it is so compreheusive.

In Sanskrit it is called *Darśana* whioh expresses its accuracy and comprehensiveness. *Darśana* is the eye which is the means or resources of perception. The eye, which only adorns the face, cannot perceive all the objects. Therefore, that through which everything wordly or beyond this world is or can be perceived is *Darśana*.[1] Hence *Darśana* is a doctrine or theory prescribed in a system, the main function of which is the realisation of God, the understanding of the nature of creation (of the world) and knowing of truth. Every system endeavours to reach this goal by its own method. As all the rivers flow into the ocean.[2] their ultimate destination, similarly all the systems of philosophy exert all strength for accomplishment of their object. In this attempt, there are differences in method of achieving the goal. Therefore, Indian philosophy is divided into two schools : Theistic and Atheistic. The former believes in the authoriry of the Vedas and the latter denies it (the authority of the Vedas). The Theistic school is subdivided into six and the Atheistic into three. These *āstika ṣaḍdarśanāni*, the six systems or views are all designed to lead man to the one science, the one wisdom which saw Oneself as Real and all else as unreal. According to the

1. अखिलं विदुषामनाविलं सुहृदा च स्वहृदा च पश्यताम् ।
सविधेऽपि न सूक्ष्मसाक्षिणी वदनालंकृतिमात्रमक्षिणी ॥ — नैषधीयचरित 2, 55.
2. त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने परमिदमदः पथ्यमिति च ।
रुचीनां वैचित्र्यादृजुकुटिलनानापथजुषां
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ॥ — महिम्नः स्तोत्रम् 7.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Upaniṣadic philosophy two kinds of knowledge are to be acquired, thus say the knowers of Brahman — the supreme and the lower. The lower : *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda,* the Method of study, the Method of Ritual, Grammar, Etymological study, Prosody, Astrology. The supreme whereby that Eternal is reached. All the systems of theistic philosophy attempt to know mainly that eternal Brahman. And in the process of knowing that Eternal, the following three main points are to be considered; the relationship between the Creator and the creation, the relationship between the material creation and the life, and the relationship between the Creator and the life.

The six *Darśanas* should be best understood in relation to each other rather than in opposition, because they form one great scheme of philosophic truth They are arranged as follows :—

1. *Nyāya,* 2. *Vaiśeṣika,* 3. *Sāṁkhya,* 4. *Yoga,* 5. *Mīmāṁsā* and 6. *Vedānta.*

(1) *Nyāya* is the system of logic. Its *sūtras* were written by the Ṛṣi Gautama. Authoritative commentary on this is that of Vātsyāyana. Gautama has laid down Pramāṇa, Prameya etc. as sixteen *padārthas.* Man, understanding these *padārthas* by right reason, frees himself from false knowledge and attains liberation.

(2) *Vaiśeṣika,* the system of Particulars, has for its Ṛṣi Kaṇāda. Praśastapāda is the main commentator. Kaṇāda has laid down 7 *padārthas* namely : (1) *Dravya* (substance), (2) *Guṇa* (quality), (3) *Karma* (Action), (4) *Sāmānya* (what is common, which makes a genus), (5) *Viśeṣa* (particularity, what makes an individual), (6) *Samavāya* (inseparable inherence of one thing in another) and (7) *Abhāva* (non-being). Proper understanding of these *padārthas* is necessary to remove ignorance for obtaining knowledge, which leads one to attain liberation.

(3) *Sāṁkhya* is the system of philosophy which enumerates 25 *Tattvas* It deals with the process of creation by way of explaining the progressive change in nature during this creation from its unmanifest state to the manifest state. This system is attributed to the sage Kapila. *Bhāṣya* of Aniruddha, *Vijñāna-Bhikṣu* and *Vedānti Mahādeva* are considered to be authoritativa on the subject. Another older authority for the *Sāṁkhya* is the *Saṁkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa with the *Bhāṣya* of Gauḍapāda and the later commentary called the *Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudī* of Vācaspati Miśra.

Its chief object is to effect the final emancipation of the twenty-fifth *tattva,* i. e., the Puruṣa or soul from the bonds of this worldly existence

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

by conveying a correct knowledge of the twenty-four othet *tattvas* and by properly discriminating the Puruṣa, from the Prakṛti.

From the Prakṛti, in contact with Puruṣa, are produced in order: *mahat* or *buddhi* (the pure reason); *Ahaṅkāra* (the 'I'-making principle, the individualising power); the 5 *tanmātrās* (measures of that, the essential powers that later form the senses); the 5 *buddhīndriyas* (the perceptive organs); the 5 *karmendriyas* (the organs of action); *manas* (the mind, which is the unifying centre of Indriyas); the 5 *mahābhūtas* (great elements –ether, air, fire, water, earth). By the correct knowledge of these 25 *tattvas* Aviveka (non-discrimination between the Real and Unreal) is removed and the Puruṣa is finally free from bondage. This system adopted the theory of the *satkāryavāda*, that is, the cause itself is transformed into the effect.

(4) *Yoga*, the system of Union is attributed to Patañjali. The *Yoga-sūtras* have a famous commentary called *Vyāsa-bhāṣya*. This system lays down rules for practical life based on the *Sāṁkhya* principles. According to this system control over the activities of the *buddhi* is needed. This is technically called *yoga*.[3] The System gives detailed methods of the control. The ultimate goal is absolute existence (*kaivalya*) of the soul. To obtain this state of *kaivalya* this system has prescribed eight practical stages:

1. Yama (self-control) which is 5 or 10 in number;
2. Niyama (restraint over the mind) this is five in number;
3. Āsana (a particular mode of sitting);
4. Prāṇāyāma (restraining the breath, expansion of breathing);
5. Pratyāhāra (restraining the organs of sense);
6. Dhāraṇā (the faculty of retaining in the mind);
7. Dhyāna (profound meditation);
8. Samādhi (perfect absorption of thought into the one object of meditation, that is, the supreme self).

By this practice one becomes capable of controlling the mental faults and achieve the ultimate goal.

(5) *Mīmāṁsā* or *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* philosophy is attributed to the sage Jaimini. *Śābara-bhāṣya* is the authoritative commentary on the *Jaimini-sūtras* which are 2744 in number distributed in twelve chapters. It is majnly

3. योगश्चित्तवृत्ति-निरोधः। —योगसूत्र 1.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation, Delhi

concerned with the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the Veda, that is, with the institution of sacrifice. This system accepts five *pramāṇas* (means of knowledge) :— *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (comparison), *śabda* (verbal testimony) and *arthāpatti* (presumption).

There are two famous schools in this system. One is called Bhaṭṭa school initiated by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and the other Gurumata, propounded by Prabhākara. Dharma and Adharma denote the good and bad results of the action in the former school and denote the good and bad actions themselves in the latter school. Murāri, while commenting on the *Śābara-bhāṣya*, founded the 'third school' which follows the method of Kumārila but differs from him in certain principles.

(6) *Vedānta* or *Uttara-mīmāṁsā* is the system of philosophy which is based on the Jñāna-kāṇḍa of the Vedas represented by the Upaniṣads. As the Upaniṣads represent the last portion of the Vedas, this system is called Vedānta, the end of the Vedas. Its *sūtras* are famous as *Brahma-sūtras*, given by Vyāsa or *Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana*, also called Bādarāyaṇa. It deals with the nature of the supreme being called Brahman, self (*ātman*) and world and interrelation between them. Hence it is also called *Brahmamīmāṁsā*.

The system of Vedānta, which dominates Indian thought even today is based on theree sources : Upaniṣads, *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Gītā* which are called *Prasthāna-trayī*. *Brahma-sūtras*, 555 in number, are contained in four chapters called (1) *samanvaya* proving the nature of the Brahman, (2) *avirodha* refuting the views of other school of thought, (3) *sādhana* dealing with the means to obtain *mokṣa* and (4) *phala* stating the result achieved by these means.

Advaita : The passages in the Upaniṣads speak of oneness, 'one only, without a second'[4] so they are called *Abheda-śruti*. Some among them speak of the souls, God and World as distinct[5] from each other and so are called *Bheda-śruti* and there are others called *Ghaṭaka-śruti* which seek to establish a relation between the *Abheda-śruti* and *Bheda-śruti*[6]. Hence there are several systems of Vedānta each based on the treatment of the *Prasthāna-traya*. Following the *Abheda-śrutis* there become Advaita school propounding Monism. The *Bhāṣya* of the Ācārya Śaṅkara preaches the Advaita doctrine. Sureśvarācārya (identified with Maṇḍana Miśra), Padmapāda, Toṭaka and Hastāmalakecārya famous disciples of Śaṅkarācārya followed and preached the Advaita doctrine.

4. एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म। — छान्दोग्योपनिषद् VII. 2. 1.
5. यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति ... ...।
6. उभयव्यपदेशात्त्वहिकुण्डलवत्। — ब्रह्मसूत्र 3. 2. 27.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In this school existence is of three kinds viz. real (*pāramārthika*), empirical (*vyāvahārika*) and apparent (*prātibhāsika*). The attributeless Brahman only really exists. The World consisting of the Souls and inert matter (*prākṛtika padārtha*) has empirical existence like the mirage (*pratibimba*). The Semblance of existence by appearing to exist like a snake in the rope has apparent existence. Due to *anirvacanīya māyā* (Nescience) the real nature of the Brahman is not understood. So the *māyā* and *avidyā* theory in this doctrine has an important discussion.

Dvaita

The school of Dvaita is based on the *Bhedaśrutis* of the Upaniṣads and establishes the main doctrine of dualism (*dvaita*). Matter, Souls and God are eternal, mutually different in themselves. God, that is, Viṣṇu, is omniscient. omnipresent and omnipotent. At his willl, the matter changes into the World. The relationship between God and Souls is one of master and servant. The course of *Bhakti* is to be adopted by the souls. Madhvācārya is the chief founder of this school.[7]

Viśiṣṭādvaita

Viśiṣṭādvaita school is attributed to Rāmānujācārya. He wrote *Śrī-bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. *Bheda, abheda,* and *ghaṭakaśrutis* are all taken as valid, and God, Souls and matter all these thtee have been accepted in this school as real. The Brahman is the only supreme reality having for its modes the animate beings (souls) and inanimate objects. Mutually different, all these modes (Chit and Achit *prakāras*) qualify the Brahman. Hence the appellation *Viśiṣṭādvaita* for this school.[7]

Śuddhādvaita

The *Śuddhādvaita* system is attributed to Vallabhācārya. His famous commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* is called *Aṇubhāṣya*. This system realises the Brahman as both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*. It is the cause for the origin, maintenance and distruction of the world. *Sat, cit* and *ānanda* are real attributes of it. It is full (*pūrṇa*) and is called Puruṣottama having a body full of bliss. In these respects Brahman is called *saguṇa* and it does not have the attributes of ordinary persons. Hence it is attributeless (*nirguṇa*). The individual souls which are real and atomic in size, form part of the Brahman and are not different

7. अशेषचिदचित्प्रकारं ब्रह्मैकमेव तत्त्वम् ।
तत्र प्रकारप्रकारिणोः प्रकाराणां च मिथोऽत्यन्तभेदेऽपि- - -
विशिष्टैक्यादिविवक्षया एकत्वव्यपदेशः तदितरनिषेधश्च ।
— वेदान्तदेशिककृत 'न्याय सिद्धाञ्जन' ।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

from it. They are identical with the Brahman. The difference which is formed to exist-between the individual souls and the Braman is not natural bui is due to the sweet will of the Brahman. It is not due also to nescience (*māyā*) as in *advaita* and, therefore, this school is called *Śuddhādvaita*. Devotion and self surrender (*prapatti*) are the means to get his grace and are called *puṣṭimārga*.

Bhedābheda

Distinct from the four main schools of Vedānta stated above, there are four minor ones coming under *Bhedābheda* meaning thereby distinction-cum-identity as real between the Brahman and the World of animate and inanimate beings. Due to the nature of the relationship between the Brahman and the World, there are three kinds of *Bhedābheda* namely, *svābhāvika*, *aupādhika* and *acintya*.

The *Svābhāvika bhedābheda-vāda* propounded by Nimbārkācārya the author of *Vedāna-pārijāta-saurabha* a commentary on *Brahma-sūtra*. This system was influenced by Rāmānujamata. The Brahman with and without the world is identical and different from the world. His Brahmnn having attributes is *saguṇa*. Devotion and self-surrender are the paths of salvation in this system which is also called Sanaka-sampradāya.

Aupādhika Bhedābhedavāda

Accepting the *Aupādhika bhedābheda*, an author of the *Brahma-sūtrabhāṣya*, Bhāskara, established this system. According to him the relation between Brahman and *acetana* is both different and non-different, while in the relation between Brahman and the JIva, difference is adventitious (*aupādhika*) and non-difference essential. The Brahman is possessed of attributes and evolves itself into the world. Knowledge and Karma both combined together represent the means of *mokṣa*.

Acintya Bhedābhedavāda

This system was maintained by Caitanya Mahāprabhu of Bengal. It maintains that the defference and non-difference in relation to the Brahman, JIva and the world are inconceivable (*acintya*). The Brahman, conceived of as Lord Kṛṣṇa, possesses *svarūpaśakti*, and *māyāśakti* by which He creates and pervades the universe. By his *Vilāsaśakti* He becomes as many Kṛṣṇas as He likes and by the *Vaibhavaśakti* He becomes Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Lord is to be found only through devotion based on Prema. While writing the *Govindabhāṣya* a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*, Baladeva maintained the teaching of this schhol, in this light,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Besides these three kinds of *Bhedābhedavāda* as explained above, there is also a fourth one advocated by Bhartṛ-Prapañca a very early Vedāntin. His *Bhedābhedavāda* or *Dvaitādvaita-vāda* is based on the *Pariṇāma-vāda* and *Jñānakarma-samuccaya* which advocates the paths of knowledge and action combined together as the means of salvation.

Apart from these three *Prasthānas* viz. *Upaniṣad*, *Brahmasūtra* and *Gītā* and *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* in the system of Vallabha's philosophy, some of the Vedānta systems and religious schools base their authority on the Āgamas which are known as Tantras also. Some of the Āgamas are designated as *saṁhitās* showing their connection with the Vedic texts. They deal in general with *jñāna* (knowledge), *yoga* (concentration), *kriyā* (action) and *caryā* (daily rites). All the Āgamas admit that the world is real, and consists of the supreme being, individul souls, and material objects. The Āgamas are of three types : Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta according to the deities worshipped.

Caitanya's philosophy is based on the *prasthāna-catuṣṭaya* and *Vaiṣṇavāgamas* in which devotion and self-surrender are the means of one's salvation.

Śivādvaita

The Śivādvaita system of philosophy chiefly based on *Śaivāgamas* follows the principle of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, except for the treatment of Śiva as the Brahman, This school is attributed to Śrīkaṇṭha who commented on *Brahmasūtras* in the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* and preached Śaivism.

Relating to Śaivism based on Śaivāgamas there are some other minor schools namely Śaiva, Pāśupata, Liṅgāyata, Kashmir Śaivism, developing into two branches Spanda and Pratyabhijñā. The Spanda school was founded by Vasugupta and Pratyabhijñā school was expounded by Somānanda and Abhinavagupta.

Śākta School

The Śākta philosophy which emphasises the worship of ten Mahāvidyās is based on five Śubhāgamas, sixty four Kaulāgamas and eight Miśrāgamas in which different modes of worships have been prescribed in detail. The *Śaktisūtra* and *Śākta-āgamas* are the earliest texts of this school. The *Paraśurāmakalpa-sūtra*, dealing with the worship of Śrīvidyā is attributed to one Paraśurāma. The *Lalitātriśatībhāṣya* and *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya are in favour of the worship of Śakti. This system has also a very rich literature.

In this regard one thing must be borne in mind that there is agreement between these systems of philosophy. All teach the same essential truths, their

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

promulgators, so far as the ultimate truth is concerned, all are agreed though their ways of thinking and approach are apparently different. In reality, all the Munis and Ācāryas who have put forward these theories agree in wishing to prove the existence of the one supreme lord without a second. As the Upaniṣad clearly says :

गवामनेकवर्णानां क्षीरस्यास्त्येकवर्णता ।
क्षीरवत् पश्यते ज्ञानं लिङ्गिनस्तु गवां यथा ॥ —ब्रह्मबिन्दुपनिषद् १६

' Cows are many-coloured but the milk of all is of the one colour, white. Look on knowledge as the milk and on the proclaimers as the cows.'

This fact has been elaborated in the Mahimna-Stotra also :

त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति,
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने परमिदमदः पथ्यमिति च ।
रुचीनां वैचित्र्याद् ऋजुकुटिलनानापथजुषां,
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ॥

' As all the waters of rivers flow to reach ocean, similarly all the Vedas and philosophies approach to one supreme truth.'

Nāstika Systems

Apart from these *āstika* systems briefly stated above there are three *nāstika* systems of philosophy : Cārvakism, Buddhism and Jainism. According to Cārvaka system there is neither god nor other world and nothing like a soul distinct from the physical body. The motto of this philosophy is to enjoy life at all costs without caring for others. This system is attributed to one Bṛhaspati.

Buddhism

The doctrines evolved by Gautama Buddha (enlightened one) are the foundations of Buddhism which believes that life is full of misery. Sufferings are due to action actuated by desires and passions which are born out of ignorance The right knowledge removes ignorance and sufferings. Then by meditation one attains the stage of *nirvāṇa*.

As the disciples of the Buddha were of different calibre, they understood the preaching of their lord in different ways. Consequently there arose four schools named Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika. All the four schools maintain one central doctrine that every object is momentary in existence. The Vaibhāṣika school holds both knowledge and knowables as real. The Sautrāntika system admits the reality of knowledge and seeks to prove the reality of the knowables through inference. The Yogācāra school believes in the existence of knowledge only which is idealism (*vijñānavāda*). The Mādhyamika

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

school denies existence even to knowledge and believes in voidness which is nihilism (*śūnyavāda*).

Jainism

The system of Jainism is attributed to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. This philosophy recognises the existence of the souls as distinct from matter which is real. It believes in the doctrins of transmigration and Karma. It emphasises to observe *Ratna-traya*, namely, *Samyagdarśana*, *Samyagjñāna* and *Samyak-cāritra*. While observing these three one has to practise *ahiṁsā* (harmlessness), *sūnṛta* (truthful and pleasent speech), *asteya* (honesty and integrity), *brahma-carya* (abstinence) and *aparigraha* (non-acceptance of anything in the world).

The Jainas formulate the theory of *Syādvāda* and adopt seven modes to express the existence of an object viz. (1) an object is (2) it is not (3) it is and it is not (4) it is indescribable (5) it is and yet is indescribable, (6) it is not and it is also indescribable and (7) it is and it is not and it is also indescribable. This is called *saptabhangīṅyāya*. Thus *nāstika darśanas* also are trying to find out the ultimate truth.

Philosophy and Modern Science

Philosophy is championing the cause of the spiritualistic design and science for all practical purposes is striving for the matarialistic design. At present there is a need for the special union of both of these designs for the welfare and peace of mankind. We should remember the following warning of Yogī Aurobindo :

" A fathomless zero has occupied this world, Indian philosophy must come to our help at this critical juncture when mankind is witnessing a despair on the total destruction of all life ".

Religion

The word ' religion ' is derived from latin words *re* and *legere*, or *ligare* which mean ' to bind back ', that is to say, it means that which binds human beings to each other in the bonds of love and sympathy and mutual rights and duties, binds them all also to God, endeavours to lead them back to that World Soul, from whom their lower nafure makes them stray away again and yet again, in too eager following of the objects of the senses, and keep their minds fixed on that supreme Principle of Unity amidst the press of all their daily work, in order to enable them to do that work with proper balance, righteously. The power to bind together the hearts of men to one anothcr by the common bond of God, the All-pervading self, is the power to give truth to, and to nourish and maintain, a high civilization. It is noteworthy that every civilization, has had, and has today

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

its specific religion, its worshipped ideal. Indeed the birth of a new religion, i. e. a fresh revival of the Spirit of religion. Whence united cooperation has invariably preceded and given birth to a new civilization.

The corresponding Vedic word for religion is, *Dharma* from √*Dhṛ* to hold, and bind together, which has exactly the same significance.[8]

The 'holding togesher' of human beings in a 'society' is not possible without perpetual 'give and take', 'right and duty' incessant little or great acts of self-sacrifice, *yajña*, *qurbāni*. Due to Dharma we have the law of sacrifice of one's own smaller self's lower desires in ever growing degree, from birth to death of body. The *Gītā* says : The lord created countless progeny of many selves together with the law of sacrifice and commanded them : 'By mutual sacrifice and mutual help you all shall grow, prosper and multiply. This is the cow you will milk all rich things.'[9]

Religion, in the full sense, is larger science, is the whole of science. We owe debts and duties not only to our own and our fellow-creatures, physical bodies, but also to the souls, the super physical bodies'. The rules of religion, i. e. of the larger science, enable us, at least ought to enable us, to discharge all these wider debts and duties. They should also secure to us all sinless joys which are rightly due to us. Hence the Vaiśeṣika philosophy defines Dharma :

यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।

Religion, Dharma, is that which brings joy in the life here and the hereafter too.

Religion has been described as the command of revelation of God. This means, in other words, 'the laws of God's Nature' as revealed to us by the labours, intellectual, intuitional, inspirational of the seers and scientists of all religions and all nations. The obeying of these should obviously bring happiness in this life as well as the life beyond this life.

At present eleven religions are usually regarded as living and current in the world.

1. Vedism or Vaidikadharma or Sanātana Dharma or Ārya Dharma or now commonly called Hinduism.

---

8. धारणाद् धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।
9. सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥
देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥ — गीता III, 10. 11.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. Buddhism.
3. Jainism.
4. Sikhism.
5. Zoroastrianism or Parsism.
6. Judaism or Hebraism or the Jewish religion.
7. Christianity.
8. Islam or Mohammedanism.
9. Shentoism (born in Japan).
10. Taoism or Laotism.
11. Confucianism in China.

There are certain things which are common to all religions of the world. They have been from time immemorial emphasised in Hinduism to be observed such as :

" Endurance, Patience, self-control, integrity or not stealing, purity, restraining of the senses, wisdom, learning, and truth, absence of anger are the ten signs of virtue :

धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥[10]

Manu has further briefly summerised Dharma to be practised by all as follows :

Harmlessness, truth, integrity, purity, control of the senses.

अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय-निग्रहः ।
एतं सामाजिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन् मनुः ॥[11]

These are universal laws (Dharmas found and to be observed in every religion). So we see the essential unity of all religions of the world.

While thinking of the religion two things must be borne in mind. Not only Vaidika religion but all the religions of the world accept some fundamental truths. There is an ultimate Mystery behiud all life, behind all the world process, behind the whole universe ; that which revolves round the one. It is the Creator, Preserver, Destroyer of all objects. It can be best and most nearly understood

10. मनुस्मृति VI, 92.
11. Ibid. X, 63.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi

and recognised in terms of Spirit and Mind. It is the all-pervading Spirit and universal mind. It is the principle of all life and consciousness. It is the spirit, Soul, Life Mind of the whole world. Its nearest, dearest, best, most common, indeed universal name is 'I'. It, as 'I' bears every name, wears every form knows, desires, does everything that is known, every desire that is felt, every act that is done, I am so and so, I know, wish, do this and that, thus every living thing, which regards itself as 'I', especially the Man who self-consciously regards and speaks of himself as 'I' is, in essence, one's Self. All religions accept this self and declare it by different names, such as Ātmā, Paramātmā, Allah, Mālik, Khudā, God, Ahura-Mazda, Sat Shri Akal, Tao, Tai-chi, Ame-no-minaka-pnushi and so on and so forth.

All religions and almost all philosophical systems meet here and agree on this point that one should see all in self and self in all. He is really the worshipper or sacrificer of self, Ātmayājī, and he is greater than the worshipper of Deity :

आत्मयाजी श्रेयान् देवयाजिनः । —शतपथब्राह्मण

The Upaniṣad clearly states :

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
सर्वभूतानि चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते । ततो न विचिकित्सते ॥

Who seeth all in self and self in all
Doubteth no more, nor hateth any more.

The *Gītā* and *Manusmṛti*, strictly following this statement say :

सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।
ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥ —गीता

सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।
समं पश्यन्नात्मयाजी स्वाराज्यमधिगच्छति ॥ —मनुस्मृति

From this fundamental truth comes out the feeling of benevolence, help, protection and love of mankind. This faith gives the true judicious consideration that 'live and let others live', and this consideration is essential for the welfare and protection of mankind and peace of the world.

There is another very important truth proclaimed by all religions, that is, of reward and punishment. Virtue and merit are rewarded, vice and sin are punished. One has to get reward and punishment someday, somewhere, sooner or later, here or hereafter. As we sow, so must we reap. This belief prevents one from doing such action as would make him liable to punishment.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

पण्डितपरिषद्

अध्यक्षाणाम् अभिभाषणम्

बालकृष्ण पञ्चोली

अयि नानाविधशास्त्राध्ययनसमर्जितानवद्यविद्यावैभवविद्योतितस्वान्ताः, अधीतिबोधाचरण-प्रसारणसंरक्षितप्राचीनशास्त्रपाण्डित्याः सुग्रहीतनामधेया विद्वांसः।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः सम्पद्यमाने द्वात्रिंशत्तमेऽधिवेशनेऽत्र पण्डित-परिषदि विराजमानानां स्वनामधन्यानां विदुषां स्वागतं कृतवतो मे जाजायते कोऽप्यमन्दानन्दनिष्यन्दथुः।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषदियं प्राच्यसंस्कृतादिविद्यासभाजनकर्मणा विश्वविदिता जातेति न कस्यापि विदुषो वैमत्यम्। तर्हि सुरभारतीसमाराधनतत्परैः प्राचीनपाण्डित्यविभूषितैः पण्डिताखण्डलैः पारम्परिकसंस्कृताध्ययनाध्यापनशास्त्रार्थादिषु शास्त्ररक्षणकर्मसु च यद्योगदान-मकारि, तदपि नास्ति तिरोहितं प्रेक्षावतां सुधियाम्।

अनेनापि शरीरेण भगवद्विश्वनाथप्रियायां काश्यां पञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि यावद् व्याकरणादि-शास्त्रमध्याप्य शास्त्ररक्षणे किंचिद्योगदानं व्यधायीति तोतोष्टि मात्रया अस्माकं स्वान्तम्। सुगृहीत-नामधेयानां विविधशास्त्रपाटवप्रदर्शितबार्हस्पत्यवैभवानां पण्डितेन्द्राणां श्रीसभापतिशर्मोपाध्यायचर-णानामन्तेवासित्वं प्रगृह्य, तन्मानसोत्थशब्दवारिभिर्नूनं निष्कल्मषं जातमिद शरीरम्।

यदा मया काश्यामधीतं तदाऽऽसीत्तद् ब्रिटिशशासनस्य युगम्। साम्प्रतं काश्यां वर्तमानो वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः तदानीं गवर्न्मेण्टसंस्कृतकॉलेज क्वीन्सकॉलेजनाम्ना अपप्रथत्। तत्र च ब्रिटिशशासनकाले श्रीमन्तः जॉनम्युरमहोदयः, डॉ. जे. आर. बेलेण्टाईनमहाशयः, ततो ग्रीफिथमहोदयः, ततः थीबोमहाशयः, अन्ते च डॉ. वेनिसमहोदयः एतन्महाविद्यालयस्याध्यक्ष्यमलं-चक्रिरे। तदनु च डॉ. गङ्गानाथ-झामहोदयः, डॉ. गोपीनाथ कविराजमहोदयः, डॉ. मङ्गलदेवशास्त्रि-प्रभृतयश्च विद्वांसोऽस्या संस्थाया आध्यक्ष्यमभजन्त।

तदानीं ब्रिटिशशासनकाले वेतनशब्दस्य स्थाने पुरस्कारशब्दो न्ययुज्यत। तत्रभवान् वेनिसमहोदयः प्राच्यविदुषां कृते महीयांसमादरम् असेवत। राजकीयविद्यामन्दिरं पण्डितानां स्वीयं गेहमिति सश्रद्धं भणन् तान् पुरश्चकार। अत्रैकोऽयं प्रसङ्गविशेषः सास्मर्यते यत् कदाचन वेनिस महोदयानां विदेशगमने जाते तत्प्रतेनिधिभूतः कश्चनाधिकारी कियता विलम्बेन समायातं पण्डित-विशेषं सावज्ञमिव समयपालनमात्रां दर्शयामास, तेन खिन्नचेता असौ पण्डितो द्वितीयदिनादेव तत्र न जगाम। विदेशात्प्रतिनिवृत्तो वेनिसमहोदयो यदेदं अजानात्, तदा तेनाधिकारिणा साकं तत्र गत्वा क्षमाप्रार्थनापूर्वकं तं पण्डितविशेषं पुनराजुहावेति प्राच्यपण्डितानां कृते इयमासीत्सम्मानदृष्टिः।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

संस्कृतच्छात्राणां कृतेऽपि डॉ. वेनिसमहोदयस्यापारं प्रेम । आंग्लसंस्कृतविभागे समुच्चवर्गीयाणां भूष्णूनां छात्राणां कृते ऐच्छिकरूपेण आंग्लभाषाध्यापनप्रबन्धमपि सः विदधौ । यो हि छात्रः आंग्ललिप्यां स्वीयं नाम विलिख्य दर्शयेत् सः ततो रुपकद्वयं लेभे । एवं योरोपीयैस्तैरधिकारिभिः भारतीयसंस्कृतछात्राणां प्राच्यविदुषां सम्मानरक्षा व्यधीयत ।

ततो गच्छता कालेन प्रवृत्ता पण्डितप्रवरबालशास्त्रिपरम्परा । बालसरस्वतीत्युपाधिभाजां विद्वत्तल्लजानामेषां नाम कस्को प्राच्यवैयाकरणो विद्वान् न जानाति ? एतैः प्राचीनव्याकरणप्रणालीतो नूतनमिवोद्भावितं सपरिष्कारं न्यायघटितं व्याकरणशास्त्रम् । (१९३४ तमे) चतुस्त्रिंशदुत्तरएकोनशततमे वैक्रमाब्दे तदानीन्तनेन राजकीयपाठशालाध्यक्ष 'नेस्फील्ड' महोदयेन घण्टाद्वयविलम्बेनापि पाठशालां समेत्य एते बालशास्त्रिणः छात्रान् पाठयन्तु इति प्रार्थना बालशास्त्रीसन्निधौ व्यतन्यत ।

एतेषामेव बालशास्त्रिणां चत्वारो विश्रुताः शिष्याः । ते च परिभाषेन्दुशेखर-भूतिटीकालेखकाः श्रीमन्तः ताल्याशास्त्रिणः, शिवकुमारशास्त्रिणः, गङ्गाधरशास्त्रिणः, तत्रभवन्तश्च दामोदरशास्त्रिभारद्वाजाः ।

अत्र विद्वन्मूर्धन्याः पण्डितप्रवरश्रीशिवकुमारशास्त्रिमहोदयाः व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य गुरुपरम्परागतपरिष्काररहस्यानि समधीत्यान्यानि च शास्त्रीयतत्त्वानि करतलामलकीकृत्य स्वीयालौकिकप्रतिभयाध्यापनमकार्षुः ।

अत्रैव ये प्रातः स्मरणीयाः श्रीदामोदरशास्त्रिभारद्वाजास्तेऽस्माकं परमगुरवः । एतद्विषयेऽहं भणामि यत् 'महामहाद्युपाध्यायं शब्दारण्यविहारिणम् । मृगेन्द्रं तं गुरुं नौमि श्रीदामोदरशास्त्रिणम्' इति । शास्त्रार्थसभासु 'सभासिंह' इत्यनेन बिरुदेन एते सभाजिता अभूवन् । अत्र स्मृतिपथमायाति एकः प्रसङ्गविशेषः । एकस्मिन्समये मिथिला प्रदेशतः सुप्रसिद्धः विद्वांसः श्री बच्चा-झा-शर्माणः, एतैः साकं शास्त्रार्थाय समागताः । काशीनरेशसभायां विद्वत्परिषदि गदाधरभट्टविरचितव्युत्पत्तिवाद शब्दखण्डे अयं शास्त्रार्थः समजायत । तत्र प्रथमं झामहोदयैः प्रश्नो व्यधायि यत् अभेदसम्बन्धावच्छिन्ननीलत्वावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपित घटत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताशाली शाब्दबोधो नीलो घटे इत्यनेन भवति, तथा अभेदसम्बन्धावच्छिन्न घटत्वावच्छिन्न प्रकारता निरूपित घटत्वावच्छिन्न विशेष्यताशाली शाब्दबोधो घटो घटः इत्यतः कथं न ? अत्र तुमुलं शास्त्रार्थयुद्धं बभुव । अयं च शास्त्रार्थः ऐतिह्य इति सर्वैरन्वभावि ।

अनेन घटनाविशेषेण इदमपि विचारपथं समायाति यद् एतादृशं शास्त्रार्थकलातत्वं अधुना को रक्षिष्यति ? परम्परागतसंस्कृतशिक्षणस्य शास्त्रार्थस्य च इदानीमपि तदेव मूल्यं, यथा पुराऽसीत् । नव्या विद्वांसो देशकालानुरूपं पठन-पाठन संशोधन-परिवर्धन-नवीनीकरणे च संसक्ता इति जरीहृष्यते नो मानसम्, किन्तु साकमेव दोदूयते नश्चेतो यत् केचन परम्परासमायातं तामिमां शास्त्रार्थपद्धतिं नाद्रियन्त इति ।

शास्त्राभ्यसनं व्यसनमित्यादर्शम् आकलयद्भिः श्रीगदाधरभट्टाचार्यप्रभृतिभिर्न्यायशास्त्राध्येतृणामभावे तत्प्रतिनिधिरूपेण स्वपुरतो घटाः अस्थाप्यन्त । एकस्य विषयविशेषस्याध्यापनवेलायां

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

एको घटः स्थाप्यते स्म। तत्समाप्तौ च तं घटमपसार्य द्वितीयविषयारम्भे द्वितीयो घटः स्थाप्यते स्म एवमासीत्प्राचीना काचन लोकोत्तरा पण्डितपरम्परा।

काश्यामासन् तत्रभवन्तः पण्डितेन्द्रा अहोबलशास्त्रिणः। तेषामेकतमश्छात्रः राजपण्डितो जातः। एकदा राजपरिवारेण साकं स अनुगङ्गं वाराणसीदर्शनार्थं पञ्चगङ्गाघट्टं समायातः। तस्मिन् समये स्वीयगुरवः अहोबलशास्त्रिणाऽध्यापनमग्ना आसन्। तत्समाप्तौराजपण्डितेन स्वीयशिष्मेण प्रार्थिताः सन्तः एते राजपरिवारेण साकं काशीदर्शनं कुर्वन्तो यया प्रह्लादघट्टं समायाताः शास्त्रिचरणास्तदा नाविकं संरोधयामासुः। महावैभवसम्पन्ने राजकुले स्वेन सह विद्यमानेऽपि प्रतिदिनं पणकद्वयं दत्तवत्या एकस्या वृद्धायाः समीपं गत्वा तद्दत्तं पणकद्वयं तस्मिन् दिने जगृहुः। शिष्येण एतद्विषये पृष्टाः शास्त्रिचरणा अवोचन् यत् यन्नियतं तद् ग्राह्यम्, यच्चानियतं तत्याज्यमिति शास्त्राभ्यासरक्षणे तत्परा इमे केवलं पणकद्वयमपि बहु गणयामासुः इति कीदृशी आसीत्सा परम्परा?

अस्माकं प्रपूज्यचरणाः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रा गुरुवर्य्याः श्रीसभापतिशर्मोपाध्याया अपि केवलं पञ्चविंशतिरुप्यकमात्रं अध्यापनपुरस्कारं समादाय शिष्येभ्यः शब्ददानरुपां अध्यापनक्रियां व्यतन्वन्। अनेन नायं ममाशयो यत् साम्प्रतिके विषमे कालेऽर्थनैरपेक्ष्यं साधनीयम्। शरीरयात्रायै कुटुम्बव्यवहारपरिपोषाय च पर्याप्तार्थोपलब्धिरपि आवश्यकी, परन्तु केवलं धनार्जने प्राचीनविद्वत्परम्परासमेधितशास्त्रकोषसंरक्षणरूपो धर्मो न कदापि अस्माभिस्त्यक्तव्य इति।

पूर्वमासीदियं प्रथा यो नाम ग्रन्थः पाठ्यक्रमेऽवर्तत सः सकलोऽपि पठ्यते पाठ्यते च स्म। अधुना तु पाठ्यपुस्तकस्य कियानेवांशोऽभ्यासे निर्धारितो भवति, तेन कदाचित् पाण्डित्यं समधिगतं स्यात्; किन्तु तत्पल्लवग्राहि, न मूलग्राहीति। पूर्वं काश्यां गवर्न्मेण्टकॉलेजे यादृश्या रीत्या प्रमाणपत्रं समदीयत, तेन तत्कालिकशिक्षाप्रथाया बोधो जायते। तत्र तत्काले दीयमानं एकं प्रमाणपत्रं आदर्शरुपेण विदुषां पुरतः श्राव्यते :—

'स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलगुणालङ्कृत-काशीस्थ-राजकीय-प्रधानपाठ्यशालायां झोपनाम्नो 'मने' शर्म्मणः पुत्रः श्रीकीर्तिनाथशर्म्मा मैथिलो 'नवानी' ग्रामनिवासी स्वदेशे रघुवंशं सिद्धान्तकौमुदीं चाधीत्याधिकव्युत्पत्ति सम्पिपादयिषयापञ्चसप्तत्युत्तराष्टादशशततमे (१८१५) खीष्टशके प्रविष्टो व्याकरणे मनोरमा-शब्दरत्न-परिभाषेन्दुशेखर-शब्देन्दुशेखर-भूषण-महाभाष्य-नवाह्निकानि, धर्मशास्त्रे मिताक्षरां, शब्दखण्डे व्युत्पत्तिवाद-शक्तिवाद-विषयतावादान्, न्याये मुक्तावलीं माथुरीं पञ्चलक्षणीं, वेदान्ते पञ्चदशीम्, अलङ्कारे कुवलयानन्द-साहित्यदर्पण-काव्यप्रकाशान्, काव्ये माघनैषधे चाध्यैष्ट। अधीतेष्वेषु ग्रन्थेषु दत्तोत्तमपरीक्षोऽयमिदानीं पाण्डित्यकार्यकरणे समर्थः सम्मन्न इत्यर्थबोधकमस्मै पत्रं मेधाविने सुशीलाय कुलीनायाभ्यासशालिने नियतोपस्थितिकाय वितरन्ति। शम्। माघ वदि ६, संवत् १९३५.

बालशास्त्री	देवकृष्णशर्म्मा
त्रिवेदी-बस्तीरामशर्म्मा	वामनाचार्य्याः
कैलासचन्द्रशर्म्मा	पं. वेङ्कटेशशर्म्मा

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

शिवकुमारशर्म्मा	कालीप्रसादशर्म्मा
बापुदेवशास्त्री	राममिश्रशास्त्री

तदेवं संस्कृतप्राचीनपण्डितपरम्पराविषये किञ्चिद् व्यचारि।

अथाधुना व्याकरणशास्त्रे मदीया मौलिका विचारा विद्वद्विमर्शार्थं प्रस्तूयन्ते।

(१) तत्र प्रथमं नौमि (नमामि) इत्यत्र 'नु' धात्वर्थ एव विचार्यताम्। स्वनिष्ठापकर्षनिरूपित-उत्कर्षविशिष्टज्ञानानुकूलव्यापारो न धात्वर्थः। ज्ञाने उत्कर्षवैशिष्ट्यञ्च स्वनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपकत्वस्वप्रकारकज्ञानीयविशेष्यताश्रयसमवेतत्वाभ्यामिति।

अत्र भामकं मतमन्यद् वस्तुतो नायं 'नु' धात्वर्थः, ईश्वरपित्रादिषु तादृशोत्कर्षबोधस्य स्वत एव सत्त्वेन तद्बोधानुकूलव्यापारस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः। किञ्च नमस्कारत्वस्य मङ्गलत्वव्याप्यतया व्याप्यसत्त्वे व्यापकसत्ताया आवश्यकतया स्वाभीष्टार्थसिद्धिप्रतिबन्धकविघ्नध्वंसजनकतावच्छेदकधर्मविशेषरूपमङ्गलत्वस्य पूर्वोक्तव्यापारेऽसत्त्वेन तद्व्यापकत्वानापत्तेः। अतः स्वाभीष्टार्थसाधकाशीर्वचनानुकूलव्यापार एव 'नु' धात्वर्थः। स च व्यापारः करशिरःसंयोगादिरूपो, नमस्करोमीति शब्दरुपश्च। एतद्विषये वैयाकरणभूषणसारस्य श्रीलक्ष्मीरमणं नौमीति प्रथमकारिकाया उपरिमलूलिखितायां 'प्रभा' टीकायामधिकं विद्वद्भिर्द्रष्टव्यमिति।

(२) प्राच्यणण्डितानां कीदृशं सूक्ष्मं ज्ञानं भवतीति विषयेऽन्यदेकरुमुदाहरणं विलोकनीयम्। संज्ञाप्रकरणे केन सूत्रेण कस्य संज्ञिनः का संज्ञा विधीयत इति संज्ञासंज्ञिज्ञानं नव्या विद्वांसः स्वीयच्छात्रेभ्यो विरलतया एव कारयन्ति। अस्मिन् संज्ञा-संज्ञिविषये यदि कस्यचन बुद्धिमतश्छात्रस्य हृद्देशाकच्छिन्न आकाशे इयं जिज्ञासा जायते यद् आदैचां यथा वृद्धिसंज्ञा, अदेङाञ्च यथा गुणसंज्ञा तथा 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः' इति सूत्रेण का संज्ञा विधीयत इति प्रश्ने साम्प्रतिका केचन अध्यायका अपि मूकीभावं भजन्ति।

अत्र हि त्रिंशदुत्तर-एकशतसंज्ञिनां (१३०), द्वादशसंज्ञाविधायकं वर्तते 'अणुदित्' सूत्रम्। अत्र अण् प्रत्याहारान्तर्गतो यो हि अकारः सः अष्टादशप्रकारको भवति; तत्र अष्टादश अकाराः संज्ञिनः, तेषां च सर्वेषां 'अ' इति संज्ञा। तदेवं ये सवर्णा वर्णास्ते संज्ञिनो भवन्ति, अण्प्रत्याहारान्तर्गताः अइउऋऌ-इत्यादयो वर्णाः संज्ञा भवन्ति।

कदाचन (इन्टरव्यू)-प्रत्यक्षसाक्षात्कारसमये यदि एतादृशाः प्रश्नाः पृच्छ्येरन्, तदा आधुनिका अध्यापका आपि निरुत्तरा जायन्त इति व्याकरणस्य प्राचीनेयं परम्परा प्राणपणेनापि अस्माभिः संरक्षणीयेति।

(३) आधुनिका विद्वांसोऽत्रापि ध्यानं दद्युः। तथा हि 'नाचं विना व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणं भवति' इति हि भगवान् भाष्यकारः। अत्र व्यञ्जनोच्चारणे अच्कर्मकमुच्चारणं कारणतया प्रतीयते। किन्त्वनुभूतिर्विपरिता। 'कमलम्' इत्यत्र 'क' इति वर्णस्योच्चारणप्रसङ्गे पूर्वम् अर्द्धमात्रिकव्यञ्जनभूतो वर्णो बुद्धौ समायाति, ततोऽकारः इत्येवं तात्पर्यम् इति केचन भणन्ति। किन्तु वस्तुतो विचार्यमाणे इदं तात्पर्यं नास्ति। अत्र यश्चार्थं रहस्यं त्वेतद् यद् अजविशिष्टस्य व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणं भवति। वैशिष्ट्यञ्च

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

स्वावधिकपूर्वत्व-स्वावधिकोत्तरत्वान्यतरसम्बन्धेन। ततश्च नाचं विना व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमित्यत्र अज्-रूपरुपितस्य व्यञ्जनस्योच्चारणमिति भगवतो भाष्यकारस्य तात्पर्यमिति विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु सुधियः। एतादृशं रहस्यज्ञानं ये प्राच्यपण्डिताः शास्त्रे कृतभूरिश्रमा वरीवृत्यन्ते तेषामेव जायते। अतस्तादृशपरिपाटी-मनुसरद्भिस्माभिः आधुनिका विनेयाः तादृशसरण्या परिचायितव्या इति।

(४) 'इको यणचि' इत्यत्र 'अचि' पदे अधिकरणे सप्तमी। ततः इदमधिकरणं कस्य आधेयस्य आधारः? यतो हि आधेयता निरूपिता हि अधिकरणता भवति। तर्ह्यत्र किंनिष्ठाधेयता-निरूपिताऽधिकरणता? ततश्च आधेयभूतः पदार्थः कः इति प्रश्ने आधुनिकाश्छात्रा निरुत्तरा भवन्ति। अस्य समाधानमिदमस्ति यत् अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वसंबन्धेन 'इक्' आधेयः, अधिकरणञ्च 'अच्' इति। आधाराधेयभावनियामकश्च सम्बन्धः अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वरूपः। तेन इत्थं फलति यत् 'अव्यवहितोत्तरत्व-सम्बन्धावच्छिन्न-इक्त्वावच्छिन्न-आधेयतानिरूपिता-अधिरुरणता 'अचि' इति। तदेवं प्राचीनपरम्परया पाठिते छात्रे तत्तच्छास्त्रविषयिणी सूक्ष्मबुद्धिरुदेतीति। मद्विरचितसिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यायां सरलतमया भाषयाऽयमंशो मया व्यलेखि।

(५) सूक्ष्मबुद्धिविषयेऽपरमप्युदाहरणं ग्रहीतव्यम्। तथा हि 'अनचि चे'ति प्रतिभाति। सूत्रात्मकं वाक्यं द्वित्वनिषेधकम्। अधुना शास्त्रसरणिस्त्वेषा यत् 'प्राप्तौ सत्यां निषेधः' इति प्रथमं द्वित्वप्राप्तिरत्र कथङ्कारं भवति? इति प्रश्ने तस्येदमुत्तरं यत् 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहोत्ति' 'यवागूं पचती'त्यत्र शब्दक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान् इतिवत् 'अनचि चे'त्यत्र 'च' इति प्रथमं सूत्रम्। अत्र हि 'अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे' (पा. ८।४।४६) इति सूत्राद् आवश्यकपदानामनुवृत्त्या अनेन 'च' इति सूत्रेण द्वित्वं भवति, ततश्च 'अनचि' इति निषेधः प्रवर्तते। तदेवं तत्स्पर्शिज्ञानमद्यत्वे लुप्ततां यातीति हन्त विषीदामः।

(६) व्यवस्थितविभाषाः— भगवता पतञ्जलिना 'देवत्रातो गलग्राह इतियोगे च सद्विधिः। मिथस्ते न विभाष्यन्ते गवाक्षः संशितव्रत' इति। तदेवं एतेषु षट्स्वेव स्थलेषु इष्टानुरोधेन क्वचिद् भावविधानम्, क्वचिदभावविधानमित्येवंरूपं व्यवस्थितविभाषाङ्गीकरणं दरीदृश्यते। ततश्च व्याकरणग्रन्थेषु एतदतिरिक्तस्थलेषु व्यवस्थितविभाषाङ्गीकरणं भाष्यविरुद्धम्। यथा 'पापेऽभिनिवेशः' अत्र 'अभिनिविशश्च' इति सूत्रेण कर्मत्वं कथं न स्यादिति प्रश्ने व्यवस्थिविभाषाश्रयणात् क्वचिन्नेति तत्रभवन्तो भट्टोजिदीक्षिताः। किन्तु वस्तुतो विचार्यमाणे भाष्यकृन्निर्दिष्टेषु उपस्थितेषु षट्स्वेव व्यवस्थित-विभाषाप्रवृत्तिर्भवति। अतोऽत्र 'पापेऽभिनिवेशः' इत्यत्र कर्मत्वं कथं नेति प्रश्ने यैर्बालशास्त्रिपरम्परायाम-धीतं तेऽत्र झटिति उत्तरं दातुं प्रभविष्यन्ति भाष्यकृता हि 'एष्वर्थेषु अभिनिविष्टानाम्' इति प्रयोगः कृतः (एतदर्थविषयक-आग्रहवतामिति हि तदर्थः) अन्यथा 'एतान् अर्थान् अभिनिविष्टानाम्' इत्येव भाष्यकारा वदेयुः। अनेनेदं सिध्यति यत् यत्र 'अभि+नि+विश्' एतादृशी अविकृता यत्र आनुपूर्वी (वर्णमाला) भवति तत्रैव कर्मत्वम्। 'अभिनिवेशः' इत्यत्र तु 'विश्'धात्वन्तर्गत-इकारस्य गुणेन एकारे जाते एकाररूपो विकारो वर्तत इति कर्मत्वाभावः। तदेवंरीत्या छात्राः व्याक-रणसिद्धान्तेषु परिचयमापादनीयाः इति।

(७) पुरा बिहार-मण्डलान्तर्गत-दरभङ्गानरेश-संयोजितायां विद्वत्सभायां विद्वांसः याः सुसूक्ष्माः चर्चाः व्यदधुस्तास्वेकतमाऽत्र स्थाप्यते। व्याकरणशास्त्रे हि तेषु तेषु विशेषसूत्रस्थलेषु प्राप्तौ

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

CC-0. Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

सत्यां आरभ्यमाणो विधिर्नियमाय कल्पते यथा 'कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेति सूत्रे समासग्रहणं नियमार्थम्। अत्र नियमपदं 'विधिरत्यन्तमप्राप्तौ नियमः पाक्षिके सति। तत्र चान्यत्र च प्राप्तौ परिसंख्येति गीयते' इत्येतत्कारिकानिर्दिष्टनियमपरं नास्ति, किन्तु परिसंख्यापरम्।

परिसंख्या च इतरनिवृत्तितात्पर्यपरा भवति, न स्वांशे प्रवृत्तिपरा। एवं च कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेति सूत्रे समासग्रहणं वाक्यस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञानिवृत्तिपरम् न तु स्वांशे प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाविधानपरमिति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञारहितस्य समाससंज्ञकस्य प्रयोगापत्त्या सुब्लुकोऽनापत्तिः इति प्रश्ने अनेके विद्वांसः आश्चर्याविष्टा बभूवुः, तदाऽस्मद्गुरुचरणाः श्रीसभापतिशर्मोपाध्याया उदतरन् यत् उद्देश्यतावच्छेदकव्यापकत्वं विधेये भासते। तस्यायं भावः उद्देश्यतावच्छेदकनिष्ठव्याप्यतानिरूपितव्यापकता विधेये भासते, तेन यत्र यत्र समासत्वं तत्र तत्र आचार्यपाणिनिसंकेतेन प्रातिपदिकत्वम् इति मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तः शाब्दिकः सिद्धान्तः। एवञ्च समासग्रहणस्य परिसंख्यात्वेऽपि उद्देश्यतावच्छेदकं समासत्वं व्याप्यम्, प्रातिपदिकत्वं च व्यापकम् इति व्याप्याधिकरणे व्यापकसत्ताऽऽवश्यकीति गुरुचरणा यत्समाधानं व्यदधुः, इत्यहो कीदृशं सुमहत्तमं पाण्डित्यम्? गवेषणापूर्णं तद्रक्षणाय अस्माभिर्यत्नो विधेयः। वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च। विद्यावंशो नाम गुरुशिष्यपरम्परा, आध्यात्मिकज्ञानप्रदत्वात्। यौनसम्बन्धापेक्षया वरिष्ठोऽयं सम्बन्धः।

(८) अस्माकं गुरुपरम्परा बालशास्त्रिपरम्परा। तत्र हि व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य गूढाः शङ्का समुदस्थाप्यन्त, तदुत्तराणि च परमप्रौढया प्रादीयन्त। तद्यथा-तच्छब्दस्य प्रथमैकवचने 'सः' इति रूपं भवति। तत्र तद्+सु इत्यवस्थायां 'त्यदादीनामः' इति सूत्रेण अकारे विहिते त+अ+सु-इत्यवस्थायां 'त्यदादीनाम' इति सूत्रेण विहितं अत्वं परनिमित्तकत्वेन बहिरङ्गम्, कार्यकालपक्षे च 'त्यदादीनाम' इति सूत्रेण विहितस्य अकारस्य गुणसंज्ञा अन्तरङ्गा। ततश्च अन्तरङ्गायां गुणसंज्ञायां कर्तव्यायां बहिरङ्गस्य अकारस्य 'असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे' इत्यसिद्धत्वात् गुणसंज्ञाया अभावेन 'अतो गुणे' इति सूत्रेण पररूपाभावे 'सः' इति रूपस्य सिद्धिः न भवेद् इति जातेऽत्र वैयाकुलीभावे बालशास्त्रिपरम्पराप्रदत्तं गूढं समाधानमिदमास्ते यत् 'संज्ञाशास्त्राणां विधिनिमित्तनिमित्तकत्वम्'। अत्र च प्रमाणम् 'सोऽस्यनिवासः' इत्येवमादयः आचार्यविहितनिर्देशाः। ततश्च 'अतो गुणे' इति शास्त्रस्य यन्निमित्तं तदेव गुणसंज्ञाया अपि निमित्तम् इति गुणसंज्ञाऽपि परनिमित्तका जातेति नात्रान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गप्रश्नः। तदेवं पण्डितपरम्परायाः समायाता विशिष्टा या प्रश्नोत्तरप्रणाली साऽस्माभिः संरक्ष्येति।

एवमेव 'अतो गुणे' इति सूत्रस्य अकारांशे एकारांशे च बहुन्युदाहरणानि सन्ति, किंतु अपदान्ताद् अकाराद् ओकाररूपगुणसंज्ञकौकारोदाहरणम् अल्पीयांस एव जानन्ति विद्वांसः। तनोतेर्डउः सन्वच्च, इति तितउशब्दः, तत्र संबोधननिमितके गुणे तित+ओ, अत्र 'अतो गुणे' इति पररूपे 'हे तितो' इत्येकमात्रमेव गुणसंज्ञक-ओकारपरकमुदाहरणमिति।

(९) व्याकरणशास्त्रेऽनेके विषमा ग्रन्थयो भवन्ति। तच्छिथिलीकरणं व्याकरणशास्त्रानभ्यासे न जायते। पाणिनि व्याकरण सूत्राणां कृते खलु सम्पूर्णतयाऽभ्यासे कदाचित् तेषां सूत्राणामदृष्टं फलं भवति। तथाहि 'ओः पुयणज्यपरे' इत्येकं सूत्रम्। 'सनिपरे यदङ्गं तदवयवाभ्यासोकारस्य इत्वं भवति, पवर्गयण्जकारेष्ववर्णेषु परतः' इति हि एतदर्थः।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अधुना केनचित्सूक्ष्मबुद्धिना छात्रेणात्रेदं पृच्छ्येत यद् अत्र 'ओः पुयण्' इति सूत्रे 'ओः' ग्रहणं कथं कृतम्? तथाहि सनि परे, अभ्यासे अकारस्य इत्वं अभीष्टम्। अधुना इकारस्य इकारे न दोषः तत्र इकारस्यैव सत्त्वात्; उकारस्य इत्वमप्यभीष्टम्, एवमेव अभ्यासस्थित-ऋकारस्य रपरत्वेन अकारे इत्वमभीष्टं, तथा ऌकारस्य लपरत्वेन अलि अकारस्य इत्वमभीष्टमेव। अभ्यासस्थित-ए, ऐ, ओ, औ वर्णानां ह्रस्वत्वे, ए, ऐ वर्णवतामपीत्वमभीष्टमेव, तर्हि 'ओ पुयण्' इति सूत्रे 'ओः' ग्रहणं कथं कृतमिति प्रश्नः। एतस्य समाधानमद्यत्वे लुप्तप्रायतां गतम्। अस्माभिरत्रेत्थं गवेषणा कृता यत् यङन्त-पापच्य, वावच्य इत्यस्मात्सनि प्रत्यये कृते पापच्य+स, वावच्य+स, इति दशायां इडागमे अकार-यकारयोश्च लोपे मूर्धन्यादेशे पापचिष वावचिष धातोर्लटि तङि 'पापचिषते' 'वावचिषते इत्यत्र यथा इत्वं न स्यात्तदर्थं 'ओः पुयण्' इति सूत्रे 'ओः' ग्रहणं कृतम्। अत्र पञ्चोलिनः — यदा मयैतस्मिन् विषये पुनर्विचारोऽकारि, तदीया च गवेषणा कृता, तदा किमपि नवीनं तत्त्वं बुद्धौ समायातम्। तद्यथा – 'सनि इत्वं भवति, अत्र प्रत्यासत्त्या यदि सन्निमित्तक-द्वित्वनिमित्तकाभ्यासाव-यवस्य इत्वं स्वयमेव भविष्यति, तस्यां स्थितौ 'ओः' ग्रहणस्य न किमपि प्रयोजनं, यतो हि अत्र तु यङ्निमित्तक-द्वित्वनिमित्तकोऽभ्यासः, ततश्च पुनः 'ओः' ग्रहणस्य न किमपि प्रयोजनं किन्तु तद् अदृष्टफलकमिति।

(१०) कारकाणि कतीत्यत्र वर्तते महीयान् विवादः। षट्कारकाणां स्थानेऽहं तु चत्वा-र्येव कारकाणि मन्तव्यानीति प्रस्तौमि। तथाहि क्रियानिष्ठ-जन्यतानिरूपित-जनकतावत्त्वं कारकत्वम्। कारकविषये तत्रभवता भर्तृहरिणा इत्थमवोचि यत् 'वस्तुतस्तदनिर्देश्यं न हि वस्तु व्यवस्थितम्। स्थाल्या पच्यत इत्येषा विवक्षा दृश्यते यतः' भगवता पतञ्जलिनापि अभाषि यत् 'विवक्षातः कारकाणि भवन्ती'ति। तेनेत्थं फलति यत् कर्तृत्वविवक्षायां स्थाली पचति, करणत्वविवक्षायां स्थाल्या पचति, अधिकरणत्वविवक्षायां स्थाल्यां पचती.ति। ततश्च एतेषां वाक्यानां साधुत्वं भवति। किन्तु चतुर्थी-पञ्चमीविभक्तिमद् वाक्य-प्रयोगे यदि विवक्षाश्रयणं क्रियते तर्हि तद्युक्तवाक्यस्य साधुत्वं न भवति। तद्यथा छात्राय पुस्तकं ददातीत्यत्र छात्राय इति चतुर्थीप्रयोगे एव साधुत्वम्, किन्तु तत्र चतुर्थीस्थानेऽन्यविभक्तिकरणेन न तस्य साधुत्वम्। तथैव वृक्षात् पर्णं पततीति वायक्स्य साधुत्वम्, किन्तु तत्र पञ्चमीस्थानेऽन्यविभक्तिकरणेन न तस्य साधुत्वमिति व्याकरणदर्शनभूमिकायाम् अस्मत्स-तीर्थ्यैः विद्वत्तल्लजैः श्रीरामाज्ञापाण्डेयमहोदयैर्यद्विचारितं तन्मह्यमधिकं रोचते। अस्मिन् विषये विदुषां विशिष्टो विमर्शोऽपेक्ष्यते।

(११) तिङन्तक्रियायामप्यस्माभिः प्राचीनपण्डितपरम्परानुरूपं सुसूक्ष्ममध्यापनं कारयि-तव्यम्। अस्मिन् विषये एकं स्थलं कृपया दृश्यताम्। तद्यथा 'लः परस्मैपदम्' अत्र हि लकारस्थानि-कादेशस्य परस्मैपदसंज्ञेत्यर्थस्वीकारे 'च्लि' स्थाने जातस्य 'सिचः' परस्मैपदसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति। किन्तु वस्तुतः सा नेष्टा। अतो लकारमात्रस्थानिकादेशस्य परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवतीत्यर्थ उचितः। किन्तु एवमर्थकरणे लट्स्थाने जायमानस्य शत्रादेशस्य इष्टा परस्मैपदसंज्ञा न स्यात्। तत्र हि षष्ठी प्रकृत्यर्थ-तावच्छेदकं लट्त्वं, तदेव च स्थानितावच्छेदकम्। अतः परस्मैपदसंज्ञाविधायकस्य सूत्रस्य वास्त-विकः कोऽर्थ इति जिज्ञासायां लत्वावच्छिन्ना लकारप्राग्वृत्तिवर्णवृत्तिधर्मानवच्छिन्ना या स्थानिता, तादृशस्थानितानिरूपिता या आदेशता तदाश्रयस्य परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवतीत्येव निर्दुष्टोऽर्थः इत्यस्माभिः विरचितसिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यायां दर्शितम्।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

(१२) लक्षणग्रन्थाध्यापने गुरुणा सावधानेन भवितव्यम्। तत्र हि लाक्षणिकग्रन्थेषु पदार्थसामान्यस्वरूपमनिर्वर्ण्य तद्विशेषभेदाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते किन्तु सामान्यज्ञानमन्तरा तद्विषयक-विशेषपदार्थज्ञानं न भवतीति विदितचरं विदुषाम्। वैयाकरणभूषणसारे हि क्रिया द्विविधा निरदेशि सिद्धा साध्या च। किन्तु तत्र साध्यसाधनक्रियायामनुस्यूतं सामान्यक्रियात्वं किमिति विषये परीक्ष्यमाणे छात्रस्तदुत्तरं प्रदातुं न प्रभवति। सामान्यक्रियात्वं तावत् गुणत्वानाश्रयत्वे सति विभागासमवायि-कारणत्वम्। एतत्सर्वं विचक्षणस्य छात्रस्य पुरतः सम्यग् विवेचनीयमिति प्राच्यपण्डितानां पुरतः किमधिकनिवेदनेन?। वैयाकरणभूषणसारस्य मद्विरचितप्रभाव्याख्यायां निरूपितम्।

(१३) व्याकरणे तद्धितप्रकरणं स्वल्पा एव छात्राः सम्यक्तया अध्येतुं प्रभवन्ति। यतो हि तत्र सङ्कुतिता अर्था नितान्तं काठिन्यपूर्णाः सन्ति। ते चार्थाः कोषादिसहायतामाश्रित्य कदाचिच्च शब्दस्य यौगिकत्वं प्रदर्श्य निरूपणीयाः। अयं प्रयत्नोऽस्माभिः अस्मत्सिद्धान्तकौमुदीरत्नप्रभा-टीकायां व्यधायि। एतद्विषये एकमुदाहरणं निभालयन्तु श्रीमन्तः। गुरोर्दोषाणामावरणं छत्रम्, तच्छीलमस्येति छात्रः। श्रीमद्भट्टोजिदीक्षितनिर्दिष्टः अयमर्थो नास्मभ्यं रोचते। दोषयुक्तगुरुतो हि अध्ययनं निषिद्धम्, अथ च दोषाणामावरणकर्ताऽपि दोषभाग्भवति। अतः एतादृश्यां स्थितौ भाषायां प्रसिद्धस्य मुख्यस्य छत्रशब्दार्थस्य सादृश्येन तत्सदृशे छात्रे (अन्तेवासिनि) छत्रत्वारोपः कर्तव्यः। ततश्च यथा छत्रं वर्षाऽऽतपादितः स्वस्वामिनं स्वग्रहीतारं वा रक्षति, तथा छत्रसदृशः अन्तेवासी (विद्यार्थी) गुरुम् अभिरक्षति एवं गुरुश्च छत्रवत् छात्रं पालयति अत्र च उभयोः पाल्य-पालकसम्बन्धोऽस्तीत्येत्सर्वं गुरुणाऽध्यापनकाले विवेचनीयमिति।

अस्मिन्नेव सन्दर्भे एतदपि वक्तुकामोऽस्मि यद् 'छद्' धातोः 'त्र' प्रत्यये धातोर्दकारस्य च तकारे तकारद्वययुक्तः छात्त्रशब्दो लेख्यः। एवमेव पततीति पत्त्रम्, तदेव च रूपं कर्णजवाचके दलेऽपि प्रयुज्यते। तत्रापि 'पत्' धातोः 'त्र' प्रत्यये 'पत्त्रम्' इति तकारद्वययुक्तो वर्णविन्यासो विधेयः। अत्र बहवः केवलमेक-तकार-लेखनेनैव सन्तुष्यन्ति, किन्तु तदसङ्गतम्। एवमेव वाग्मी त्यत्र 'वाच्' शब्दात् 'वाचो ग्मिनिः' इति ग्मिनि प्रत्यये, वाच् (शब्द) गत चकारस्य गकारादेशे गकारद्वयघटितस्य वाग्ग्मीति रूपस्य लेखनं साधु भवति। तदेवं एतादृशवर्णमालालेखने विद्यार्थी स्वीयं मनोयोगं विदध्यादित्यर्थं प्रयतितव्यम्।

(१४) शाला-महाशालादिषु प्रक्रियाग्रन्थादीनां पाठने प्रक्रियांशः सम्यक्त्वेन पाठ्यते, किन्तु तत्र अर्थज्ञाने ध्यानं न दीयते। एतत्कथमपि न योग्यम्। अर्थज्ञानमन्तरा छात्रस्य संस्कृत-भाषणे लेखने च क्षमता न जायते। अस्माभिः अस्मद्विरचित-सिद्धान्तकौमुदी-रत्नप्रभाटीकायां सहस्रेभ्यः पराणि यावन्त्युदाहरणानि वर्तन्ते, तेषां सर्वेषामर्थोऽपि प्रादायि। तद्धितप्रकरणेऽपि द्रोण-कुडव-आढकेत्यादिकाः ये शब्दाः सन्ति, तेषां सर्वेषामविकलमर्था अपि दर्शिताः सन्ति। अतो मया प्रत्ना अध्यापकाः प्रार्थ्यन्ते यद् व्याकरणपठनपाठनेऽर्थज्ञानपूर्वकं शब्दप्रयोगं छात्रा यथा कुर्वीरन्, तथा तेऽस्माभिः प्रोत्साहयितव्या इति।

व्याकृतिर्व्याकरणमिति तत्र तत्र शब्दे का प्रकृतिः, कः प्रकृत्यर्थः, कश्च प्रत्ययः, को वा तदर्थः, प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोश्च कः आकाङ्क्षाभास्यः सम्बन्धः एतत्सर्वज्ञानं पठनपाठनवेलायामावश्यकम्। अन्यथा तज्ज्ञानमन्तराऽध्यापितं व्याकरणं वन्ध्यतिलवन्निष्फलं भवति। ततश्च केचनैतादृशा अव्युत्प-

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

न्नाश्छात्राः भविष्यत्काले अध्यापकाः स्युस्तदोत्तरोत्तरं शास्त्रस्य ह्रासो भवेदिति सुधीभिर्नातिविस्मर्तव्यम्।

(१५) कस्यापि शास्त्रविशेषस्याध्यपनेऽध्यापने च गवेषणापद्धतिर्निंतान्तमावश्यकी भवतीति विदितमेव तत्रभवताम्। आचार्यपाणिनेः पूर्वं पञ्चषष्टिसंख्याका व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य मर्मज्ञा आचार्याः अग्निषेश्म, अग्निवेश्मायन, आग्रहायण, आत्रेय, अन्यतरेय, आपिशल्पादयो जाताः। एतेषां व्याकरणकृतयो लुप्ता अलुप्ता इति विषयेऽपि ध्यानं देयम्। एतत् खलु संशोधनप्रियाणां छात्राणां संशोधनकार्याय विपुलतरं क्षेत्रम्।

एवमेव 'कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे' इति सूत्रे को नाम कालपदार्थ इत्यस्य विचारे प्रायः सप्तविंशत्युत्तरैकशतं (१२७) पुस्तकनिरिक्षणपूर्वकं कालपदार्थो अस्माभिः व्यचारि। विभिन्नदार्शनिकमतसरण्यनुसारं कालपदार्थस्य विचारोऽस्माभि र्व्यधायि। अत्र विशेषजिज्ञासुभिः सिद्धान्तकौमुद्यां 'कालाध्वनो'रिति सूत्रस्यास्मद्रचिता 'लक्ष्मी' टीका कृपया द्रष्टव्या।

(१६) साम्प्रतमेतादृशान् विषयान्, अथ च व्याकरणशास्त्रीय-प्रक्रिया-प्रमाण-प्रमेय-पदार्थानाश्रित्य संकृतेतरभाषयां बृहत्कलेवरा बहवो ग्रन्था विलिरव्यन्ते, अनूद्यन्ते च। एतेन संतोतोष्टि नः स्वान्तम्। किन्तु तत्रैकं सूच्यते यत्तलस्पर्शिज्ञानाय लेखकैः प्रयत्नो विधेयः। तत्र प्रथमं तु यावच्छक्यर्यमध्येतृभिर्मूलग्रन्था एवाध्येतव्याः।

अद्यत्वे केचन विद्वांसोऽष्टाध्यायीक्रमेण अध्यापनं वाञ्छन्ति, तर्हि केचन प्रक्रियादिक्रमेण, अत्र कोऽप्यभिनिवेशो न योग्यः। अष्टाध्यायीक्रमेण पाठ्यमाने पाणिनिव्याकरणे तत्तद्विभिन्नविषयकसूत्राणां विकीर्यमाणत्वात् झटिति शब्दप्रयोगज्ञानं न जायते, तदपेक्षया सिद्धान्तकौमुदीसदृशग्रन्थेषु तत्तत्प्रयोगसिद्धये यानि यान्यावश्यकानि सूत्राणि, तानि सर्वाणि सहैव सङ्कलितानीति छात्रस्य कृते तत्सौकर्यावहानि भवन्तीति प्रक्रियापद्धतिर्विनेयस्य कृते सुकरेत्यहं मन्ये। एतन्मया मद्विरचितसिद्धान्तकौमुदीभूमिकायां सुविस्तरं पर्यालोचितम्।

(१७) न्यायशास्त्रम्— 'काणादं पाणिनीयञ्च सर्वशास्त्रोपकारकमिति', 'मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्', 'प्रधानञ्च षडङ्गेषु व्याकरणं', इति व्याकरणशास्त्रं सर्वैर्महतोत्साहेन पठनीयं पाठनीयञ्च, किन्तु तेन साकमान्वीक्षिक्यादिविषयाणामुपेक्षा न विधेया।

'प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमाणाद्धि' इति न्यायशास्त्रस्याध्ययनस्यापि महत्युपयुक्तता वर्तते पदार्थनिर्णये। गच्छता कालेन न्यायशास्त्रीया अवच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना पदावली व्याकरणशास्त्रमपि प्रविष्टा। सेयं पदावली परिष्कारनिर्माणे बहु बहूपकरोति छात्रस्याध्यापकस्य च। अनया परिष्कारपद्धत्या मूलग्रन्थार्थस्य वैशद्यं जाजायते। कस्य पदार्थस्य कुत्र केन संबन्धेनान्वय इति मूलस्पर्शिज्ञानार्थमियं पद्धतिर्नितरामावश्यकी। अत्रैकमुदाहरणं कृपया द्रष्टव्यम्। अस्माभिर्यदा 'समर्थः पदविधि'रिति सूत्रं पाठ्यते तर्हि किं नाम पदविधित्वमिति स्पष्टीकर्तव्यं भवति। तच्च परिष्कारेणैव। एतद् विशदीभवति। पदत्व-प्रयोजक-प्रत्यय नेष्ठ-विधेयतानिरूपित-उद्देश्यतावच्छेदक-संज्ञियोद्देश्यतावच्छेदकसम्पादकशास्त्रविधित्वं पदविधित्वम्। यत्र च पदविधिस्तत्र सामर्थ्यमुपतिष्ठते। तदेवं पदविधिलक्षणसमन्वयोऽपि कृत्तद्धितसमासैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपासु पञ्चसु वृत्तिषु दर्शनीयश्छात्राणाम्।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अत्रैकमन्यदुदाहरणमपि समीक्षन्तां श्रीमन्तः। 'तण्डुलं पचती'त्यर्थे एव तण्डुलपदार्थस्य कर्मतासम्बन्धेन धात्वर्थविक्लित्तौ अन्वये, तण्डुलः पचतीति वाक्यस्य साधुत्वापत्तिवारणाय नामार्थनिष्ठ-प्रकारता-निरूपित-विशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन शाब्दबुद्धित्वावच्छिन्नम्प्रति विशेष्यतासम्बन्धेन प्रत्ययजन्योप-स्थितिः कारणमिति कार्यकारणभावो वाच्यः। एतेनात्र इत्थं फलति यद् नामार्थ-धात्वर्थयोः साक्षाद् भेदसम्बन्धेनान्वयोऽव्युत्पन्न इति।

परिष्कारेण हि तत्तदर्थनिरूपणे निर्दुष्टता समायाति। अन्ये चापप्रयोगाः अनया पद्धत्या निवार्यन्ते। तद्यथा 'परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः' इतिवद् 'अतिकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः' इति प्रयोगः कथं न? अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः इति प्रयोगः कथम्? तदुत्तरार्थमयम्परिष्कारो वैयाकरणैर्विधीयते यत् स्वान्तपर्याप्तशक्तिनिरूपकार्थनिष्ठविशेष्यतानिरूपितप्रकारतानिरूपित-अवच्छेदकता-प्रयोजकत्वमुपसर्जन-त्वमिति अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्र इत्युदाहरणे उपसर्जनष्यङः ष्यङन्ततदादित्वाभावात् सम्प्रसारणं न भवतीति।

अन्यदपि उदाहरणमत्र विषये पश्यन्तु श्रीमन्तः। तद्यथा 'चैत्रो ग्रामं गच्छती'त्यादौ धात्वर्थसंयोगस्य ग्रामे इव चैत्रेऽपि सत्त्वात्, संयोगस्य च द्विष्ठत्वात् चैत्रस्य कर्मत्वं कथं नेत्याकाङ्क्षा-यां अत्र नैयायिकाः — 'द्वितीयाप्रकृतित्वेन विवक्षितं यत्कारकं तत्प्रतियोगिकभेदवत्समवेतो यो हि व्यापारः, तादृशव्यापारजन्यधात्वर्थतावच्छेदकं यत्फलं, फलतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धेन फलाश्रयस्य कर्मसंज्ञा भवतीति न्यायमतम्। तेन चैत्रस्य न कर्मत्वातिप्रसङ्ग' इति। अधुना विचारविमर्शोऽयं समाप्यते।

तदेवं प्राच्यपण्डिता महता कष्टेनाधुनापि शास्त्ररक्षां कुर्वन्ति, किन्तु तैरावश्यकं प्रोत्साहनं न लभ्यत इति चेखिद्यते हृदयम्। सामान्यतः सुशिक्षितकुटुम्बे अभ्यासं कुर्वतां यूनां युवतीनां च संस्कृतं प्रति काऽपि अवहेलनादृष्टिर्भवति। संस्कृतं पठन् युवा कौटुम्बिकैरन्यैः सभ्यैरुपहस्यते। एवमेव पूर्वकाले प्रार्थनाभिषेणापि संस्कृतस्तोत्राणां पाठः सामूहिकगानं वा कौटुम्बिकैः सभ्यैर्विधीयते स्म, किन्त्वस्मिन् यान्त्रिकयुगे समयाभावात्तदपि त्यज्यते। पुरा शतशः संस्कृतसुभाषितानां मुखपाठो व्यधाप्यत, किन्त्यधुना तद् न दृश्यते। स्कूलकॉलेजादिषु कुत्रचित्तादृशाः शिक्षकाः प्राध्यापकाः संस्कृतं पाठयन्ति येषां मूलविषयः संस्कृतं न भवति।

संस्कृतं कठिनमिति पूर्वग्रहाविष्टचेतसः संस्कृतवर्णमालामपि शुद्धतया पठितुं न प्रभवन्ति, का पुनः कथा ह्रस्वदीर्घादीनां शकारसकाराणां यथावदुच्चारणे। एवं मूले कुठाराघातः भवति। एतन्न योग्यम्।

अनुसन्धानादिक्षेत्रेष्वपि यो नाम विषयोऽनुसंधानायानुशीलनाय च ग्रहीतव्यः स पूर्णरूपेण पूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गमभ्यस्यते स्म। तत्संदर्भग्रन्थाः पारेशतं तुलनाग्रन्था अपि वीक्ष्यन्ते स्म। नाद्यत्वे तथा। आधुनिकानुसंधानसंशोधनकार्येषु केचनार्वाचीनाश्छात्राः प्रमादिनो भवन्ति। अन्यलिखित-पदानि, अन्यकृतीश्च विचारांश्च स्वस्येति दर्शयन्ति। महता प्रमाणेन अन्यतः आहरणं कुर्वन्ति। तदर्थं यावानपेक्षितः पुरुषार्थस्तावान्न विधीयते। तादृशैरर्वाचीनैः सुहृद्भिः सुखमनोरञ्जनसामग्रीं गौणीकृत्य स्वाध्यायतपो विवर्धनीयम्। यो हि स्वाध्यायरूपं कठिनं तपो विधत्ते स हि ब्राह्मणः। तेन च भगवतो मनोरयमादेशः कथमपि न विस्मरणीयः यत् 'ब्राह्मणस्य तु देहोऽयं क्षुद्रकामाय नेष्यते। कृच्छ्राय तपसे चेह प्रेत्यानन्तसुखाय चे'ति।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

संस्कृतपाठशालासु भोजनाच्छादननिवासादीनां विहितेऽपि सौकर्ये छात्राः संस्कृताय न स्पृहयन्ति। तेन चोत्तरोत्तरं तेषां संख्या ह्रसन्तीव लक्ष्यते। यद्यैतादृश्येव स्थितिर्भविष्यति, तर्हि पञ्चदशवर्षाणामनन्तरं तत्तच्छास्त्रास्य पण्डिता उपलप्स्यन्ते न वेति महीयानसौ चिन्ताया विषयः।

पूर्वमासीदयमादर्शो यद् 'ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणं षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्चे'ति, किन्त्वधुना अर्थप्रधाने यंत्रयुगे बहुभिरिदमेव विचार्यते यद् 'अर्थकरी विद्याध्येतव्ये'ति। वेदा नाम भारतीय-संस्कृतेः सर्वस्वम्। अस्मत्पूर्वजैः सुकठिनं तपो विधाय वेदानां आनुश्रविकं ज्ञानं परम्परातः प्राप्तमक्षुण्ण-तया रक्षितं च। किन्त्वधुना तत्प्रत्यपि उपेक्षावृत्तिर्दृश्यते। संस्कृतशालापाठशालासु षडङ्गानि तु न्यूनान्यूनं कथञ्चिन्मात्रया पाठ्यन्ते, किन्तु यः स्वयं अङ्गी स उपेक्ष्यते। एतन्न योग्यम्।

संस्कृतशालामहाशालादिषु अभ्यासक्रमनिर्माणेऽप्यस्माभिः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विचारणीयम्। आंग्लमहाविद्यालयेषु यः विविध आधुनिकविषयसंनिवेशः सः शालापाठशालासु न संनिवेश्यः। यतो हि उभयोः शिक्षास्वरूपं भिन्नम्। संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयेषु मुख्यताया तलस्पर्शिपाण्डित्यस्य संरक्षणे दृष्टिर्देया। अतो यथा ग्रन्थविषयकशास्त्रपाण्डित्यं न हीयेत तथाऽभ्यासक्रमो निर्धार्यः इति।

अयि सतीर्थ्याः पण्डितेन्द्राः।

जानन्ति तत्रभवन्तो भवन्तो यत् संस्कृतं न कस्यापि नियतैकदेशस्य भाषा अपि तु समग्रस्य सभ्यविश्वस्य सम्मान्येयं भाषा। अस्यां ननु उपासितायां समग्रं विश्वं संस्कारसम्पन्नं भवति। एतदीयं साहित्यं समग्रशिष्टसाहित्येभ्योऽतीव प्राचीनतमं व्यापकतमञ्च। अधुनैतन्महत्त्वम् आधुनिकैर्भारतीयैः किञ्चित् किञ्चिदिव ज्ञातम्।

अधुना केन्द्रशासनं राज्यशासनं चांशतः संस्कृतस्य रक्षणाय सन्नद्धं दृश्यते, किन्तु तत्र संस्कृतपाठशालासु वर्गीयच्छात्रसंख्या इयती आवश्यकी इति राजकीयनियमः, संस्कृताध्यापकानाञ्च वयोमर्यादानिर्धारणं न संस्कृतविकासाय, किन्तु संस्कृतविद्याह्रासाय, इति मामकीनं निश्चितं मतम्। प्राच्यसंस्कृतवैदिकाः पण्डिताश्च स्थाने स्थाने सम्मान्यन्ते पुरस्क्रियन्ते च। केचन धर्माधिकारि-णोऽपि काश्चन च प्राच्यविद्यानुरागिण्यः संस्था अपि एतादृशं सम्मानादिकं योजयन्ति तथापि तेषां सर्वेषां लघीयसी मात्रा।

अतः प्राच्यपाण्डित्यरक्षायै अस्माभिर्बद्धपरिकरैर्भवितव्यम्। अस्य च कार्यस्य 'श्रीगणेशः' राजशासनत एव भवेद्। इयं खलु हर्षस्य वार्त्ता यत् भारते बहुभिः शासनैः संस्कृतपरीक्षाणां कक्षा आंग्लपरीक्षाणां समकक्षतां नीता। तेन शास्त्रि-आचार्यपरीक्षोत्तीर्णाः, बी. ए., एम्. ए. समानाः सन्तः तुल्यवेतनायाधिकारिणो भविष्यन्ति, तथापि सर्वकारेणाच विशेषतः इदमपि कर्तव्यं यत् (१) राज्यपत्रिताधिकारिणां (गेझेटेड) अधिकारिणां राजदौत्याधिकारिणां नियुक्त्यवसरे संस्कृतस्य ज्ञानमपि आवश्यकताकोटौ संनिवेष्टव्यम्। (२) भारतवर्षे भाषात्रयस्थाने भाषाचतुष्टयसिद्धान्तः स्वीकरणीयः। (३) अष्टविकृतिसहितानां वेदानां संरक्षणार्थं पारम्परिकशास्त्रीयाध्ययनसंरक्षणार्थञ्च प्रतिराज्यं प्रमुखेषु नगरेषु राजकीयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः, राजकीयविद्यालयाश्च स्युः। अत्र च प्राथमिकसंस्कृतशिक्षाया आरभ्योच्चसंस्कृतशिक्षापर्यन्तमध्यापनार्थं प्रबन्धो विधेयः। तत्र च कदाचन

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

संस्कृतछात्राः संस्कृतपाठनाय नागच्छेयुः कामं नागच्छन्तु तदर्थं नियुक्ताः पण्डिता अनुसंधान-संशोधनादिकार्यं कुर्वन्त्विति।

अत्र स्मराम्यहमेकं प्रसङ्गविशेषं यत् काशी-हिन्दू-विश्वविद्यालय-संस्थापका महर्षिवर्य्या मदनमोहन-मालवीय-महोदयाः एकदा विदेशप्रवासार्थं गताः। तदा कस्मिंश्चिद् विश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतविभागे कियत्यत्र संस्कृताध्यायिनां संख्येति पृष्टे तत्रत्योऽधिकारी होवाच यत् नास्मिन्वर्षे कोऽपि छात्रः। किन्तु तेन न कोऽपि अत्रत्यः संस्कृताध्यापको निवृत्तिं लभते, प्रत्युत संस्कृतविषयक-गवेषणतत्परः तत्साहित्यश्रीवृद्धिं वितनुत इति। अनेन प्रसङ्गेनायं खलु निर्गलितोऽर्थो यत् प्राचीन संस्कृतशिक्षणसंस्थासु छात्राभावेऽपि तत्रत्यः प्राच्यपण्डितो गवेषणादितत्परः सन् नूतनमेव लेखनं-निर्माणं च विदध्यादिति। यतो हि छात्रसंख्याभावे परम्परासंरक्षिण्यः पाठशाला लुप्ता भवेयुस्तदा, तादृशीनां लुप्तानां संस्थानां पुनर्जीवनं प्रायो लुप्तप्रायमेव भवति। अतः सर्वतोभावेन प्राचीनसंस्कृत-पाठशालानां रक्षा विधेया।

शालामहाशालासु समुचितवेतनस्तरसद्भावात् छात्राणां शिक्षकाणां अत्राकर्षणं भविष्यति। शिल्पस्थापत्यादिकलाशालादिषु ये प्राध्यापका भवन्ति, तेभ्यः इतरविषयप्राध्यापकापेक्षायाऽधिकं वेतनस्तरो दीयते, तथा संस्कृतप्रोत्साहनार्थं शालापाठशालापण्डितानामपि वेतनस्तरोऽधिकं विधातव्य इति। एवं कृते पण्डितानामाजीविकाविषये चिन्ता व्यपैष्यति।

संस्कृतविषये औदार्येण छात्रवृत्तिप्रदानार्थं प्रबन्धो विधेयः। प्रतिमहाविद्यालयमावश्यकता-नुसारेण पण्डितानां न्यूनान्यूनं दश स्थानानि, इतरव्यवसायापेक्षयाऽधिकवेतनस्तरान्वितानि संस्था-पनीयानि।

तासु तासु विद्याशाला-महाशालादिषु वादविवादप्रतियोगिता, संस्कृत-वक्तृत्व-स्पर्धा, संस्कृतकवि-सम्मेलनादीनि, स्थाने स्थाने च संस्कृतविदुषां व्याख्यानानि आयोक्तव्यानि। व्यास-वाल्मीकिकालिदासादीनां जयन्तीमहोत्सवा अपि सविशेषं योजनीया इति।

आकाशवाणीतो ये संस्कृतकार्यक्रमाः प्रसारिता जायन्ते, तेषां संख्या कियताप्यंशेन परिवर्द्ध-नीया। दूरदर्शनतोऽप्येतादृशी व्यवस्था यथा स्यात् तथा द्रष्टव्यम् इति सुज्ञेषु किं बहुना!।

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

CULTURE OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL GUJARAT SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

H. G. SHASTRI

Fellow Delegates Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all I express my sincere thanks to the Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University for nominating me as the President of this section devoted to the Culture of this region. The All-India Oriental Conference devotes a special section to the history and / or culture of the respective region where its session is held. The Head Office of the Conference has chosen to devote a special section to 'The Culture of Ancient and Medieval Gujrrat' at this session. The presidentship of this session is, indeed, a great honour conferred upon me, obviously in the appreciation of my humble devotion to higher studies and research in the history and culture of Gujarat. I am fully conscious of the high responsibility of this, but hope to discharge my duties aptly with the active co-operation of you all.

On this occasion I am naturally reminded of the interesting lecture contributed by Shri Ratnamanirao B. Jote as the President of the Section of Gujarat-History and Culture at the seventeenth session of this Conference held at this great city of Gujarat in 1953. More than thirty years have elapsed thereafter, during which considerable progress is made in the studies of the cultural history of Gujarat.

The most out-standing event in the post-independence history of Gujarat is the bifurcation of the bilingual Bomby state and the emergence of the unilingual Gujarat State in 1960. It has not only contributed much to the material and cultural development of the state, but also given an immense impetus to higher studies and research in the history, culture and archaeology of Gujarat.

In my Presidential Address delivered in the History Section of the 29th Session of the Conference held at Poona in 1978, I made a succinct survey of the recent research activities in the history of Gujarat. In this Address I would like to highlight some select out-standing events in the cultural history of ancient and medieval Gujarat with special reference to the recent research works and publications related to it.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Recent explorations in Gujarat have revealed prehistoric culture through paleolithic remains of all the three phases in all the major parts of the State, and even neoliths are discovered in South Gujarat. Dr. H. D. Sankalia has given an adequate account of the pre-historic and proto historic cultures of Gujarat in his *Pre-history and Proto-history of India aud Pakistan* (1962, 1974). Among proto-historic sites Lothal in Ahmedabad District has distinguished itself as one of the prominent Harappan sites situated in the post-partition territory of India. A detailed account of the cultural remains unearthed at Lathal is given by Shri (now Dr.) S. R. Rao in his *Lothal and Indus Civilization* (1973). Rangpur in Surendranagar District has revealed archaeological evidence for the gradual decadence of the Harappan civilization along with the simultaneous emergence of a different post-Harappan culture.

Epical and Puranic traditions have preserved some account of the Śāryātas, the Bhṛgus and the Yādavas in Gujarat. Kum. Sumana P. Jadeja (now Dr. Smt. Sumana S. Shah) made a critical study of the traditions about the Yādavas and their genealogies in her thesis for the Doctorate (1965). As regards the problem of the location of original Dvārakā recent archaeological excavations and marine archaeological explorations seen to favour the location of original Dvārakā in the vicinity of present Dvārakā in Okhamandal.

According to the Puranic traditions this region was known as Ānartta during proto-historic times. In the Early Ancient Period the denotation of the name got confined to North Gujarat, while the entire region got known as Lāṭa. During the Caulukya Period the name *Lāṭa* got restricted to South Gujarat, while the entire region received the name *Gurjaradeśa* or *Gujarāt*.

The documented history of Gujarat commences with the Mauryan Period (*circa* 322–185 B. C.). The construction of the Sudarśana (Beautiful) Resevoir at Girinagara (Junagadh) and providing it with canals is the earliest known example of the importance attached to irrigation in Gujarat.

The Kṣatrapa Period covers a long period in the ancient history of Gujarat. Shri (now Dr.) Rasesh Jamindar made a critical study of history and culture of this period for his Doctorate (1967) and presented the results of his research in *Kṣatrapa Kālanuṁ Gujarat* (1975). The Janagadh Rock Inscription (150 A. D.) of King Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I is one of the earliest Sanskrit records composed in an ornate prose style. The Kṣatrapa king, though of the Scythian race, adopted Indian language, religion and culture. The recent discovery of the early inscriptions of Cāṣṭana, dated years 6 and 11, necessiates the reconsideration of the problem of the origin of the Śaka Era and enchances the plausibility of ascribing it to King Cāṣṭana rather than King Kaniṣka I of the Kushan tribe. It pushes the upper limit of the Kṣatrapa Period four to five decades before 78 A.D.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Broach was an eminent centre of trade and commerce. Gujarat had close commercial and cultural contact with Rome. Archaeological explorations and excavations have brought to light remains of rock-cut structural monuments, mostly Buddhist, and strata of human habitation characterised by Red Polished Ware.

The Gupta period has a short span of about 55 years (*circa* 415–470 A.D.) in the history of Gujarat. The regime of the Gupta sovereigns increased the popularity of Vaishnavism in Gujarat, the extinct temple of Cakrabhṛt Viṣṇu built at Girinagara being the earliest known historical example of Brahmanical temples in Gujarat.

The Maitraka Period (*circa* 470–788 A.D.) is the next long period in the ancient history of Gujarat. An exhaustive study of tne Maitraka Kingdom was made for the Doctorate by Kum. (now Dr.) K. J. Virji as well as this author in 1947. The latter amplified his subject by incorporating contemporary kingdoms in South Gujarat and his publication *Maitrakakālīn Gujarāt* (1955) covered entire Gujarat. The Maitraka Kings issued numerous grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and Buddhist monasteries. The city of Valabhī, their copital, also flourished as a renowned centre of learning which ranked just next to that of Nalanda, and as an eminent centre of trade and commerce, where rare and costly commodities of the world were available. The Gupta Era, modified into the Valabhī Era, survived in Gujarat even during the post-Gupta times. Gujarat was remarkably rich in architectural monuments, especially Brahmanical temples and Buddhist monastories, during this period.

The Post-Maitraka Period (788–942 A. D.) formed rhe subject of research by Smt. (now Dr.) Malati K. Bhatta for her Doctorate (1973). The Chinchani Plates of the Rastrakūṭas, discovered in 1955, have favoured the dating of the settlement of the Zoroastrian Parsis in South Gujarat in 716 A. D. rather than 936 A. D. Buddhism declined and vanished in Gujarat as in many other regions, while Jainism continued to flourish since long.

The Caulukya Period (942–1304 A.D.) is styled as the golden period in the history of Gujarat. The cultural history of this period was delineated by Dr. A. K. Majumdar in his *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (1955) and by Dr. N. A. Acharya in his *Gujarāt-no Solaṅkīkālīna Itihāsa* (1973). The latter made an exhaustive study of the Vaghela sub-period for his doctorate (1965). The Caulukya Period has left such a number of literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources of information which, being studied intensively, would throw still ampler light on the cultural history of this glorious period. Sub-castes among Brāhmaṇas and Baniyās came into vogue by this time. Jainism attained unprecedented popularity. Arabs settled at several places in Gujarat. Gujarat vied with Malwa in the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

sphere of literature and learning. The full-fledged Nāgara form of the temple developed during this period. The Vikrama Era got popular in Gujarat since this period.

The extension of the power of the Delhi Sultanate over Gujarat in 1304 A. D. marked the transition of history and culture from the Ancient Period to the Medieval Period. Shri R. B. Jote undertook to delineate the cultural history of the Sultanate period, but expired before he could supplement Part V on culture to his *Gujarat-no Sāṁskritik Itihās*: *Islam Yuga*, Parts 1–4 (1945–58). The Arab-Persian culture made a considerable impact on the language, dress, diet and other cultural aspects of life in Gujarat. Nine *Nārus* and five *Kārus*, added to the four traditional *Varṇas*, formed the Eighteen Castes. The position of women deteriorated. The port of Cambay attained pre-eminence in Western India. The Gujarati language evolved out of Later Gurjara-Apabraṁśa and was enriched by the literary contributions of poets like Narasinha Mehta and Bhalan. The Puṣṭi sect of Śrī Vallabhācārya spread into Gujarat by the end of this period. It enhanced the popularity of Vaishnvism especially among the Baniyās. Among Muslims of Gujarat, Vahoras and Khojas of the Śiyā sect deserve special notice. A number of remarkable Islamic monuments were built on peculiar synthetic lines. The capital of Gujarat was shifted from Anahilwad Patan in the Sarrsvati region in North Gujarat to the new city of Ahmedabad on the Sabarmati.

An exhaustive study of the Mughal period (1573–1757 A. D.) in Gujarat was contributed by Prof. M. S. Commissariat in his *History of Gujarāt*, Vol. II (1957). Dr. N. A. Acharya supplimented the cultural history of the period in his *Mughal-Kālīna Gujarāt* (1974). The port of Cambay declined, yielding place to Surat. The Gujarati literature was enrichtd by the contributions of poets like Akho, Premananda and Shamal. Even Hindu and Parsi authors made considerable contributions to the Persian literature. The Gujarati script evolved as a cursive rapid mode of the Nāgarī script. The Western school of art attained high development in miniature paintings during this period.

The history of the Maratha Period (1757–1817 A. D.) prepared by Prof. M. S. Commissariat as his *History of Gujarāt, Vol. III* is recently published by Gujarat Vidya Sabha in 1980. Ir covers only a short span of sixty years in the history of Gujarat. By the end of this period a Saint who hailed from North India founded the Swami Narayan sect, a sober form of devotional religion which led even the depressed and the decoit to good conduct. Religious music (in Vaishnava and Jain temples), folk-dance (*Rās, Garbo and Garbī*) and folk-drama (Bhavāi) flourished even in times of political upheaval and economic crisis. A number of enterprisers from Gujarat settled at Bombay and contributed to its early growth and development.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The British Period (1818–1947 A. D.) characterised by the dominant impact of the western culture, the rise and growth of nationalism, the leadership of Gandhiji and the wide-spread impact of his ideology on the life and culture of the people belongs to modern Gujarat, which does not fall within the range of the subject assigned to me. The same is the case with the Post-Independence Period I would, however, like to survey some recent factors that encouraged studies and publications pertaining to the cultural history of Ancient and Medieval Gujarat.

The Directorates os Archaeology, Museums and Archives have been active in their respective fields ever since their inception after the emergence of the State of Gujarat. The offices of the Gujarat Disrrict Gazetteers and the Gujarat unit of the Census Department. too, have been enhancing higher studies in the cultural history of Gujarat.

The M. S. University of Baroda has been making valuable contributions to it, especially through its Oriental Institute as well as its Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. The discovery of the Mahāstūqa containing the sacred relics of Daśabala (Buddha) at Devnimori near Shamalaji is a remarkable outcome of the excavations conducted by the latter. The relic-casket bore an inscription dated year 127 of the Kathika Era. The universities in Gujarat have been encouraging research in this subject through their theses for the Doctorate and their publications pertaining to it. The role played by Gujarat University deserves special notice in this context. The Universiiy Book-Production Board of Gujarat State has been fulfiling a long-felt desideratum in the production and publication of books written for higher education in the Gujarati language.

Gujarat Itihas Parishad has been contributing considerably to higher studies in the cultural history of Gujarat through its projects of competitive research papers, publications and studied lectures, wherein its series on the Bibliography of the history of Gujarat deserves special notice.

The outstanding publications on the successive periods in the cultural history of Gujarat are already surveyed above. I should supplement them by a general survey of other important publications in the subject.

The Oriental Institute, Baroda published Vol. I of *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat* in 1980. It ranges from the Mauryan period to the Post-Maitraka Period. Unfortunately the project was not pursued further. An outline account of the ancient history and culture of Gujarat was contributed by this author (1964–1973) while an outline cultural history of medieval Gujarat by Dr. N. A. Acharya is recently published by University Book-Production Board in 1984. Dr. M. R. Majumdar highlighted several aspects of the culture of Gujarat (1966) in his *Cultural History of Gujarat* (1966).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad undertook the project of preparing and publishing a series of nine volumes on the *Political and Cultural History of Gujarat*, its various chapters being contributed, by scholars specialised in the respective aspects. Each volume generaly contains chapters on social and economic condition, language script and literature, religious sects, art and architecture. Vol. I: *Prelude to History* (1972) to Vol. VII: *Maraṭhā Period* (1981) pertaining to ancient and medieval Gujarat are already out. The State Government has been granting a lion's share towards the expenses for this project through its Sahitya Academy.

In *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Parsian Supplement 1961* Dr. Z. A. Desai published Arabic Inscriptions of the Rajput Period from Gujarat. The Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay published *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat Part IV: The Sultanate Period* (1979) and *Part V: The Mughal Period* (1981). An up-to-date supplement to its parts I–III (Ancient Period) is a long-felt desideratum. The same is the case with catalogues of the coins in the Museums of Gujarat. A monogram on the coins of Gujarat is contributed by Dr. N. A. Acharya in 1980. Some descriptive catalogues of MSS. in Gujarat are already published, while some others still lie unpublished.

Culture is a complex concept, consisting of varied aspects. It is, therefore, natural that scholars have been generally studying only some particular aspects of the cultural history, wherein they have specialised themselves. In this context I would like to cite some recent publications on the different aspects of the cultural history of ancient and medieval Gujarat. In Archaeology reports on excavations at different sites (such as Vadnagar, Dvarka, Amreli, Devnimori, Shamlaji, Nagara and Somanath) throw some light on the cultural history of the particular places. Dr. Sankalia's lectures on Gujarat in Archaeology are published in the form of a monogram in 1983. *Charotar Sarvasaṁgraha* (Parts I and II) published in 1954 throws ample light on the life and culture in Charotar represented by Kheda District. *Kacchanuṁ Saṁskṛti-darśana* (1959) by Shri Ramasimha Rathod depicts the culture of Kachchh as revealed at its various places. The Souvenir entitled *Gujarāt: Eka Paricaya* (ed. by Shri Ramlal Parikh) published at the Bhavnagar Session of Indian National Congress in 1961 presents a vivid picture of the various aspects of the history and culture of Gujarat. *Baroda through the Ages* (1053) by Dr. B. Subbarao, *Surat: Sonānt Mūrat* (1958) by Shri I. I. Desai, *Gujarāt-nī Rājadhānio* (1954) by Prof. R. C. Parikh, *Māngarol* (1967) by Prof. K. K. Shastree and *Khambhātnum Sāṁskṛtika-darśana* (1976) by Shri N. T. Bhatta are some notable studies on the cultural history of certain particular places in Gujarat. Sacred places form a more popular subject for publications on particular places. *Gujarāt-nāṁ Tīrtha-*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sthāno (1950) by Shri D. K. Shastri and *Jaina-Tīrtha-Sarvasaṁgraha*, Part I (1953) by Shri A. P. Shah give a succinct idea of the Brahmanical and Jain *Tīrthas* in Gujarat respectively, while monographs are published on a number of single sacred places such as Somanath, Shamalaji, Radhanpur, Arasan, Ambika Koteshvar and Kumbharia, Prabhas and Somanath, Bahucharaji, Narayan Sarovar, Dvaraka, Junagadh and Girnar, and Shatrunjaya.

Through an analytical study of ancient inscriptions Dr. Sankalia contributed his *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarāt* in 1949, while the thesis on the Data supplied by the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Muslim Period by Shri (now Dr.) I. V. Trivedi has proved useful in the reconstruction of the cultural history of the Sultanate and Mughal Periods in Gujarat.

This author delivered five lectures on the Inscriptions of Gujarat as a Source of History, at the University of Bombay. They are published by Gujarat Vidyapitha In the form of a book in 1983. This author has also just completed his research work on the Historical and Cultural Study of the Inscripttons of Gujarat from earliest times to 1300 A. D.

The castes, tribes and communities in Gujarat form a very large number, while special studies have been done only on a few of the such as the Nagars, the Modhs, the Mumnas, the Sumras, the Mers, the Vaghers, the Bhils, the Dublas and the Muslims or Musalmans. *Gujarat-nī Loka-Saṅskṛti* (1976) by Shri Joravar Jadav deserves special notice in this context. *Fairs and Festivals of Gujarat* (1965) published by the Census Department and *Gujarat-nā Utsavo ane Melāo* (1984) by Kum. (now Dr.) Mridula H. Mehta are valuable contributions on the cultural life in Gujarat.

The economic aspect of the cultural history of Gujarat is well represented in *Gujarat-nā Vahāṇ-vaṭa-no Itihāsa* i. e. History of Shipping in Gujarat (1976) by Shri (now Dr.) Shivaprasad Rajyagor. Several other aspects of the economic history of ancient and medieval Gujarat deserve speciel studies at the earliest.

As regards the evolution of the Gujarati Language and Literature, recent contributions by Prof. K. K. Shastree, Dr. H. C. Bhayani and Dr. B. J. Sandesara as well as *Gujarāti Sāhitya-no Itihāsa* (History of Gujarati Literrture). Vol. I (1973) and Val. II (1979) published by Gujarati Sahitya Parishad shed ample light on this subject. The heritage of the Prakrit and Sanskrit literature in Gujarat has yielded some monographs like *Jaina Āgama-Sānityā-māṅ Gujarāt* (1952) and *Mahāmātya Vastupāla-nuṁ Sāhitya-maṇḍala tathā Saṁskṛta Sāhityamaṁ temno phāḷo* i. e. The Literary Circle of Māhāmatya Vastupala and

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

its contribution to Sanskrit Literature (1957) by Dr. B. J. Sandesara, *Bhaṭṭikāvya: A Critical Study* (1970) and *Solaṅkīkālīna Sāhitya* (1977) by Dr. Smt. Nilanjana S. Shah and *Kavi Someśvara-nuṁ Jīvana ane Kavana* (1977) by Dr. Smt. Vibhūti V. Bhatt. Dr. C. R. Nayak made a critical study of the Influence of the Arabic and the Persian on the Gujarati language (1954–55). He also contributed a monograph on the cultivation of the Persian language and literature by the Nagars of Gujarat (1650).

Paleography is an important branch of learning for the studies of ancient and medieval inscriptions and manuscripts. Shri (now Dr.) P. C. Parikh did research for his Doctorate on the evolution of the Brāhmī script into the Nāgarī script in Gujarat (1966) and Gujrart University published this work in 1974. It also contains a chapter on the evolution of the Gujarati script.

Chronology is the bacbone of history—political and cultural as well. Kum. Bharti K. Thaker (now Dr. Bharati K. Shelat) made an investigation into different chronological systems used in Gujarat during different periods (1969). Her work entitled *The Cronological Systems in Gujarat* is in the press.

Prof. (now Dr.) Y, I. Dixit did research on the administrative systems in Gujarat from the Maitraka Period to the Caulukya Period for his Doctorate (1975).

Religion plays a prominent role in the cultural history of Gujarat. Prof. C. B. Sheth published an account of Jainism in Gujarat in 1953. Shri (now Dr.) J. P. Amin did research on the rise and the growth of Shaivism in Gujarat for his Doctorate in 1964. *Gujarat-nuṁ Śiva-Mūrti-Vidhāna* represents the chapter on iconography in his research work. Dr. N. A. Acharya contributed a monograph on the Religious Sects in Gujarat in 1983.

Art and architecture depict cultural history in concrete forms. Shri M. A. Dhaky published the results of his studies in the *Chronology of the Solanki temples in Gujarat* in 1961. Shri (subsequently Dr.) K. F. Sompura made a historical and critical survey of the structural temples in Gujarat for his Doctorate in 1963. Gujarat University published his *Structural Temples of Gujarat* in 1968. Shri (now Dr.) H. A. Majumdar made cultural study of the sculptures in North Gujarat in 1957 and published his *Some Medieval Sculptures of North Gujarat* in 1968. Shri J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky brought out their studied monographs on the *Ceilings of the Temples of Gvjarat* (1963) and *The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat* (1969). Dr. U. P. Shah contributed his monograph on *Akota Bronzes* in 1959 and that on *Sculptures from Samalājī and Roḍā* in 1960. In 1963 B. J. Institute published *Gujarāt-nuṁ Mūrti-Vidhāna* (iconography of Gujarat) by Shri K. B. Dave. In 1968 was

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

published *Gujrāt : Its Art Heritage* by M. R. Majumdar. The Census Depatment published *Wood Carvings of Gujarat* by Shri R. K. Trivedi in 1965. Gujarat University brought out Kum. (now Dr.) Sudha Desai's research work on *Bhavāi-a Medieval Form of Folk-drama Prevalent in Gujarat.*

The research works and publications cited above are pertaining only to the cultural history of ancient and medieval Gujarat. Again they should be taken as select illustrations and not an exhaustive bibliography on the subject. Most of them may be familiar to delegates from Gujarat, but I have cited them here in detail in order to give the other delegates a succint idea of the recent research works done and published after 1947, espacially after 1960 when Gujarat emerged as a separate state.

Here I have not dwelt upon the salient features of the Culture of Gujarat, which were depicted in detail by my predecessor in the 19th Session. However, some of them will be brought out by the learned contributors of the papers in this section.

The sections on the regional culture in the sessions of the Conference held in different States of India give ample scope for getting conversant with the cultural history of the respective states and it proves conducive to grasp and develop a comprehensive picture of the varied and yet unitary culture of the entire nation.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, sincerely for your rebounding response and hope to recieve your constant co-operation in the reading of papers and the subsequent deliberations thereon.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

VEDIC SECTION

UKHĀ — VARIATIONS FROM THE *ŚATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA*

By

S. A. DANGE

This paper is a part of the study of variations from the Brāhmaṇa texts.[1] The Brāhmaṇa texts in general, and each text in particular, show variations in rituals. At various places they quote authorities for these variations, though at other places the indications are made only with the word *eke*. Thus for example, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*) mentions the following authorities: In addition to Yājñavalkya, Kahoḍa Kauśītaki, Āsuri, Śvetaketu – the son of Uddālaka, Śālīki, Āruṇi, Buḍila – the son of Aśvatarāśva, Rāma – the son of Upatasvin, Śāṭyāyani, Svarjit – the son of Nagnajit, Nagnajit from Gandhāra, the Carakādhvaryus, and many others. Some of these are mentioned in other Brāhmaṇa texts also (cf. Śāṭyāyani, *J.* Br. I. 32, II. 45 etc.). These authorities are mentioned in connection with variations of rituals, which would show that the ritual was not the same everywhere: and a standardization in ritual is the aim of the *Śat. Br.* In many cases it is not possible to reconstruct the ritual of the schools represented by these authorities, unlike the *Śrautsūtras* where the classification is clear, though part-reconstruction is not entirely ruled out. Yet, it is interesting to mark the variations in the rituals, in the same Brāhmaṇa on the one hand and the various Brāhmaṇa-texts, on the other. It is seen that the variations are sought to be supported by means of explanations that mark a unique phase of *arthavāda*, or ritual-preaching. In this paper we restrict ourselves to the case of the *ukhā*, and to the *Śat. Br.*

Ukhā is not a cooking-pot, as is said to be.[2] The various references to it do not corroborate the meaning. It is a container, especially for the ritual-fire and also held the heads of the beasts sacrificed at the Agnicayana. According to the *Vāj. Saṁ.* (XI. 56 ff.) which described it in details, it is made from clay, a portion of whlch was earlier used for making the brick named *Āṣāḍhā*. It is said that the wife of the sacrificer made the brick from the clay, with three lines

1. From my Project (UGC aided) *Variation and Evolution of the Ritual from the Brāhmaṇa Texts*.

2. Macdonell A. A. and Keith A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, under *Ukhā*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

supermarked upon it; and the sacrificer prepared the *ukhā* (cf. *Kāt. Śr. S.* XVI. 3. 23). In the case where one beast is to be sacrificed, the size is said to be one *prādeśa* (the space berween the thumb and the index-finger both stretched) in circumference and the same in height; and the case of five beasts the circumference and the height should be twenty-two and a quarter fingers or more by a span *prādeśa-āyāma-vistara-ūrdhvām*, and *tribhāgona-trayoviṁśati-aṅgulaāyāma-vistārām ūrdhvām vā prādeśena*). In both cases, it is said to be four-cornered (*caturasrām*), probably to match the description of the simple Vedic altar referred to at the *Ṛgveda* (X. 114. 3 *catuṣkapardā yuvatiḥ*; cf. Sāyaṇa, *catuṣkoṇā*). The clod of clay was "the head of the sacrifice", which rendered the *Āṣāḍhā* and the *ukhā* as part of the "head" of the sacrifice. There is reason to believe that, like the brick *Āṣāḍhā*, the *ukhā* was also originally prepared by the wife of the sacrificer as the *Vāj. Saṁ.* refers to Aditi preparing it (*Ib* 57 *ukhām kṛṇotu śaktyā bāhubhyām aditir dhiyā*). The *ukhā* was meant to be the mother of the sacrificia fire, and was believed to hold the fire-foetus as a mother holds the son (*Ib.* : *mātā putraṁ yathopasthe sā'gnim bibhartu garbha ā*). This shows that it was not the cooking pot. The sacrificer addreses the *ukhā*, which is the womb of the fire-god and, symbolically, of all males, to bestow upon him a son.[3] The upper third portion of the *ukhā* was marked by what is called the *mekhalā* (Cf. Mahīdhara on *Ib*, 59), with clay, which yet more makes the *ukhā* a replica of the fire-altar (which is generally said to have three such *mekhalās*). This *mekhalā* was called, in the origin, *rāsnā*, which is a girdle and could be of the shape of interwoven streams of hair giving the appearance of the *venī*. The spaee from the bottom to the *mekhalā* at the top was devided into four; and on the upper fourth part two breasts with teats were shown. All these details are not provided in the *Vāj. Sam.*; but, are to be found in the commentary (esp, of Mahīdhara), which takes hints from the *Śat. Br.* and *Kāt. Śr. S.* The *Kāt. Śr. Su.* uses the word *varti* and not *mekhalā* in this context. Mahidhara says that the teats should be on all the four sides facing the four quarters, and in the front (*pratidiśam caturvṛttir agre*). This seems to be the latest view. Actually the Samhitā, as in many cases, leaves away the details; they are provided by the Brāhmaṇa; and they are further glossed by the Sūtra. To restrict ourselves to the Brāhmaṇa, *Śat. Br.* here, we see variations in the practice. The point is, how many teats are to be shown, which also includes the points of the sides. The *Śat Br.* mentions that according to some only two teats are to be shown, while according to some others four were to be shown (may be, two in the front-side and two on the back-side); and it further pointed out that some even showed eight teats (*Śat.*

3. *Vāj. Saṁ.* XI. 58 *dhāraya mayi prajām*; earlier 57 *mātā putram yathopasthe sā 'gnim bibharṭu garbha.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Br. VI. 5. 2. 19). These eight could be two on each side, though it is not specifically stated (we may compare Mahīdhara above). But, the final opinion is that there should be only four teats; and the reason given is interesting. It is said that the *ukhā* is the cow (*Ib.* 17 *saiṣā gauḥ*). It is further said that, if more teats are shown the *ukhā* would not be the cow but a female of the lower catagory, which would not sustain the sacrificer. Hence, it is said, those who make the *ukhā* with more teats than four do not make it a cow; they make it a bitch, or a ewe, or a mare (*Ib.* 19 *atho ha te na gāṁ kurvate, śunīṁ vā avīṁ vā vaḍavāṁ vā*). Hence, it is said, one should not do that way (*tasmāt tathā na kuryāt*). If one compares this instruction of the *Śat. Br.* which appears as the final authority, what about the guidance of Mahīdhara? One certainly cannot think of teats on the four sides, with Mahīdhara, and yet say that he enjoined only four. The position could be, to match the *Śat. Br.*, one teat on each side. And, if Mahīdhara saw, in his times, the *ukhā* having two teats on each side, it was in controvertion of the final suggestion of the Br. The suggestion of only four teats seems to be welcome in view of the fact that the *ukhā* was associated with Aditi, for whom the goddes Sinīvālī is said to have held it (*Vaj. Saṁ.* XI. 56 *sinīvālī ... tubhyam adite mahīm ukhāṁ dadhātu hastayoḥ*), and further that Aditi is often identified with the cow. It is probable that the original practice was to show the *ukhā* only with two teats to match the anthropomorph of the goddses.

The shape of the *ukhā*, thus, underwent a change. There are other points where there is indication of variation, as we shall see presently.

It has been noted above that the *ukhā* was the receptacle of the ritual fire (cf. also *Vāj. Saṁ.* 59 *mahīm ukhāṁ mṛṇmayīṁ yonim agnaye*). It was customary to place the mixture of sand and milk in the *ukhā*, sand being the symbol of (Agni's) semen (*Śat. Br.* VII. 1. 1. 44; cf. also earlier *Ib.* 10, 12, 41 etc.). There are two views about the flame of the fire generated into the *ukhā*. According to one view, if a flame is seen in the *ukhā*, at baking embers should be placed thereupon (to minimise the flame?) This is the view to be discarded; and the practice approved by the *Śat. Br.* is that the flame should be maitained. The explanation of the first practice was that flame and embers are the forms of the fire itself; so, there was no objection if embers are placed. But, then, it is difficult to see, according to this same view, why the flame itself could not be retained! The newer view of the *Śat. Br.*, while prohibiting the placing of the embers, says, "A beast is born with bones (no doubt); but, then the foetus is not formed along with the bones (the bones come afterwards). Hence, let the *ukhā* be with the flame alone" (*Śat. Br.* VI. 6. 2. 9). It is clear that here, the embers or coals symbolize bones. The practice of putting the embers, as fire, in the *ukhā* is discarded in favour of the fresh flame.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Now, about the Audgrabhaṇa offerings. These are six in number (Mahīdhara saying they are five), which are the common, ordinary, offerings at the initiation for the Soma-sacrifice; one more for the Agnicayana make them seven in all (*Vāj. Sam.* XI. 66).[4] The Saṁhitā does not mention where these offerings are to be placed; hence, there is difference. There is a view that these offerings are to be thrown into the *ukhā* itself. The reason given is as follows: These are thrown for the accomplishment of the desire of the sacrificer. The *ukhā* is the very self of the sacrificer (*ātmā u eṣa yajamānasya yad ukhā*). Hence, the desires in the form of these offerings should be established in the "self" (*ukhā*) of the sacrificer. The injunction of the final authority is, that the above practice should be discarded (*na tathā kuryāt*). Why? Here is the explanation: The flame in the sacrificial fire (i. e. Āhavanīya) is nothing but the essence of the offering put into it. Thus, the sacrifice is well settled in this fire; and the offerings are to be put in this fire itself (*Śat. Br.* VI. 6. 1. 22).[5] Actually, the preparation of the *ukhā* is done very near to the Āhavanīya fire itself.

About the number of *ukhās* to be prepared at the time of the Agnicayana, there was difference of practice. According to the practice that is sought to be discarded, three *ukhās* were to be prepared. The reason advanced according to this school is that the *ukhās* represent the three worlds (*Ib.* 5. 2. 22 *trayo vā ime lakā ime lokā ukhāḥ*). The explanation offered by Sāyaṇa is that if one gets broken, the other may be used; and if the second one gets broken, then the third one could be used. The final opinion is that there should be only one *ukhā*. Why? Thss world, rhe earth, is the moat important one (for sacrifice). If more than one *ukhās* are prepared, and kept ready, the other worlds also would be brought over here, by implication. That would be a burden, as also it would be something in excess; this is to be avoided. Hence, only one *ukhā* is to be prepared (at a time) (*Ib.*). The preparation of three (or, actually more than one, the symbolism of the three worlds apart) *ukhās*, probably, due to the fear of their getting broken, is to be traced in the Saṁhitā itself. where there is invocation to Mitra to guard the *ukhā* from breaking (*Vāj. Saṁ.*, loc. cit. 64 *mitraitām ta ukhām paridadāmy abhittyai, eṣā mā bhedi*); and, further, at the time of heating it (not so much to get hardened but simply as a ritual) on the Āhavanīya fire, 'she' (*ukhā*) is addressed as follows: "O woman, do not get broken; get not destroyed; perform the brave deed (of bearing the fire); accomplish it along with the fire" (*Vāj. Saṁ.* loc. cit. 68). It is interesting to note that the *ukhā* is called *āsurī māyā* (*Ib.* 69 *āsurī mayā svadhayā kṛtāsi*).

4. The deities to whom the offerings are made are: Ākūti-Agni, Medhā-Agni, Vijñāta-Agni, Vidhṛti-Agni, Prajāpati-Manu, and Agni-Vaiśvānara.

5. Eggeling J. suggests that the essence is collected not in the usual fire, but in the *ukhā* (fire-pan), *SBE*, III, p. 251.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

To sum up. It is clear that, in the absence of clear directions in the Saṁhitā (both the Śukla and the Kṛṣṇa), various practicea arose, though the kernel was about the same. In the context of the ritual of the *ukhā* no particular authorities are mentioned for the variants. This does not, however, indicate that the mention of the variants is imaginary. This itself could be a tempting suggestion, suggesting further that the later tradition of the Pūrvapakṣa and the Uttarapakṣa (*siddhānta*) has its rise in the Brahmanical 'imagery' of the variants. But, that is not true. The variants were as true as the final practice that is sought to be established. If we try to reconstruct the ritual of the *ukhā*, and toe its evolution, we would not be wrong in saying thus : The *ukhā* was a fire-pan made on a special occasion, here Agnicayana. It was made from a soft lump of clay from which also was made the *Āśāḍhā* brick. Both were made by hand by the sacrificer and or his wife. The *ukhā* was considered as the woman and the mother of the fire. Hence, human breasts and teats were shown. As a further evolution, the *ukhā* was conceived as the cow. But, that the gender of the *ukhā* could be evident, two breasts were shown on the four sides each in the earlier (or, the contemporary) practice, which made her a woman. But, this practice was censured, when it was said that the *ukhā* was a cow. A variant of the practice of showing more teats (i. e. more than four) on the same side is indicated, when, in such a case, the *ukhā* is likened to a bitch. This also indicates that the normal prrciice was to show teats on different sides (preferably on two opposite).

About the shape of the *ukhā*. We have noted above that, according to Mahīdhara, the *ukhā* was four-cornered. The Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa are silent about the point. But, we may call attention to the word *ukha-chid* in the *Ṛgveda* (IV. 19. 9). *Ukhā* is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* thrice more (I. 162. 13, 15; III. 53. 22) but there is no indication of its shape. At IV. 19. 9, however, there is slight indication to that effect. And, it is that of an ant-hill, if we follow Sāyaṇa (*ukha-chid valmīkākhyāyā ukhāyāḥ chedakāni*); and the context supports the surmise. It is said that the son of Agru was being eaten by the ants; but, due to the favour of Indra he could see, though originally blind; and he came out "breaking the *ukhā*" (*Ib. nir bhūd ukhacchit*).[6] The seer visualizes the ant-hill as the inverted *ukhā* (?!). In that case, the shape of the *ukhā* is of a circular V-shaped jar. with a broad open mouth tapering down and with a flattened base. This shape is corroborated by the *Satyāṣāḍha Br.* (XI. 1. 53). In other words, it would be like a *kumbhī*, but without the upper narrow rounded opening. This shape of the *ukhā* connects it to the later concept of the Head-

6. Geldner K. F. has a long note on this point, *Der Rigveda*, I. p. 445; he understands the word as "breaking the fire-pan"; but, he strays away from the image of the ant-hill, which is so clear from the context, and suggests the actual birth, *ukhā* being taken as the womb.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

less Goddess[7] found at Ter and other places. We may compare the goddess Vāgīśvarī,[8] who had a close association with the fire-god like the *ukhā*, which is said to be the mother of the fire-god. In popular practice, Vāgīśvarī is the name of the small oven of the gold-smith, in some parts of India; and in shape, it is like the V (*kuṇḍī*). This would show that the most original form of the *ukhā* was that of the V-shaped *kuṇḍī*, which remained in practice, though it had variations in the four-cornered fire-pan, the *catuṣkapardā yuvati* (*ṚV* noted above; called *cvtuḥ-śikaṇḍā* at the *Taitt. Br.* II. 4. 7), the altar with the four corners being the norm.

Before we close this discussion, it may be of some use to note that the *Śāṅkhāyana Br.* (19. 1) mentions the *ukhā* as *uṣā* (*eṣā saṁvapanīyā uṣā saṁbharaṇī*),[9] which does not seem to be merely the interchange of the letter *ṣ* and *kh*, which is the trait of the Yajurveda. *Śāṅkh. Br.*, being of the *Ṛgveda*, the mention *uṣā* seems to be genuinely a case of alternation. It could mean that both *uṣā* and *ukhā* were true; and, if it be understood that it is *ṣ* that could be original (in spite of the fact that the *Ṛgveda* has only *ukhā* and not *uṣā*), the original concept in the name is that of heat (*√ūṣ dāhe*). This is supported by the ritual evibence, where the fire is said to be born from the Mother *ukhā* (*uṣā*).

Another important point to be noted, is that the *ukhā* figures is important sacrifices, such as the Darśapūrṇamāsa, the Agnicayana and even in the Horse-sacrifice. At the Agnicayana, after the Audgrabhaṇa-rite, it is to be kept on a high-tied holder (*sikya*), which is like a small swing, for a year, or for some drys, prior to the start of the *cayana*; and ultimately, it is to be placed in one of the layers. We have already seen that the *ukhā* is the "mother" of the fire. If, in additiou, if we remember that it is said to be given to Aditi by Sinīvālī, the feminine nature of the *ukhā* gets a unique importance (*Vāj. Saṁ.* XI. 56

7. Thh Head-less goddess is shown in the form of a big jar. without her head, but with prominent feminine traits—breasts and widened genitals—figured on the surface The earthen jar to which *ukhā* (rounded and tapering down) is likened marks also the goddess Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma, at the *Mahābhārata*, Vana, 116. 1ff.. esp. *mārttikàvata*, in whieh she carries water, and in which she sees the reflection of the love-sport of Citraratha; see my paper, "Reṇukā", *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Annual Number*, Nagpur, 1983. Incidentally, Reṇukā is concieved as being in the form of the ant-hill, *SkandaP.* II. 1. 9. 60, *valmīkākāra-saṁsthitām*.

8. According to the *LiṅgaP.* (II. 25. 67–68) Vāgīśvarī is invoked at the altar (which appears to be an improvised altar, like the popular V-shaped rounded *kuṇḍa*). Like the *ukhā*, she had prominent female traits. *Ib.* 68, *śyāma-varṇām viśālākṣīm yauvanonmatta-vigrahām ṛtumatīm vāgīśvarīm*. The epithet *ṛtu-matī* goes well with the fire that is in the *kuṇḍa*-altar.

9. Geldner does not note this reading in his *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas* HOS, 1920, see Ānandāśrama Ed.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

sinīvālī su-kapardā su-kurīrā svaupaśā, sā tubhyam adite mahy ukhā dadātu hastayoḥ). She is the symbol of Mother-goddess; and, there is also another aspect of the concept of the *ukhā*. She is closely associated with the ant-hill. We have indicated that at one place in the *Ṛgveda*, there is a faint note of the ant-hill. Now, in the ritual context, the *Aḍādhā* brick and the *ukhā* are actually made from the clay mixed with the ant-hill particles. It is of importance to mark in this context, that when the clay is placed in the square pit made to the east of the Āhavanīya fire-place, the soft clay from the ant-hill is placed in between this pit and the Āhavanīya; and priest looks at the pit (filled with the clay) through a hole in the heap of the clay from the ant-hill. In later mythology the ant-hill is a clear symbol for the Mother-goddess and of the earth. From this angle, there is a high probability that the *ukhā* (*uṣā* " Heater ") is not only the mother of the Vedic fire, but also the percolating symbol of the Vedic Mother-goddess. The point gets support from the later Puranic tradition, as we have seen. Here it is possible to mark two stages of the Vedic fire-worship. One is already current; and it is famous as the three altar stage, which shows a well settled agticultural religion. But, the *ukhā*, which is specifically used even in the well set fire-cult, indicates the nomadic stage where a moving fire-altar was necessary. This was the *ukhā*; and due to this ancient importance of the *ukhā*, it persisted in well and developed sacrifices.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

SOME REMARKS ON *ATHARVAVEDA* 19. 53 & 54

By

S. G. KANTAWALA

There are some hymns of cosmogonic and theosophic contents in the *Atharvaveda* (*AV.*), e. g. 9. 1, 2; 11. 5; 13. 1; etc. and "many a deep and truly philosophical idea occasionaly flashes forth in these hymns out of the mystical haze .. "[1] and amongst these hymns those to *kāla* (time) *viz.* 19. 53 and 54[2] attract our attention, because concepts of Time (*kāla*) and Space (*diś*) occupy a very important place in the later Indian philosophical thinking and there were *kālavits* in ancient India (vide *Gauḍapādakārikā* 2. 24).

In these two hymns i. e. 19. 53 and 19. 54 Time is personified as a primordial principle and the contents of these two hymns may be briefly summarised as follows:

Time is spoken of as a steed rich in seed, with seven reins and having thousand eyes. The *kavis* (seers)[3] are said to mount it, i. e. control it, i. e. to say they transcend the Time.[4] With seven wheels it rides; it has seven naves. Immortality is its exle. It is the first god; it hastens onwards and carries all beings. A full jar is placed on it. It is seen in many forms. It is in the highest heaven. It creates beings here and encompasses them. There is nothing higher than it. Being a father he becomes a son. In it is everything and everything is founded on it. Bhṛgu, the seer of these hymns, points out that it is the highest entity and creator of everything.

In these two hymns the prominent characteristic that emerges is its creative aspect and the creation includes all beings, heaven, earth, *brahman*, *tapas*,[5]

1. Winternitz M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, 1927, Calcutta, p. 150.

2. On Kāla-hymns vide Bloomfield M., *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, SBE., Vol. XLVII, Oxford, 1897; pp. 524 ff. & 681 ff.; Whitney W. D., *Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā*, HOS Vol. VIII, pp. 987 ff. Muir J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, London, 1884, pp. 407 ff.; Kane P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, BORI, Poona, 1958, pp. 463 ff.; Joshi J. R., *Kāla*, CASS Studies No. 5, pp. 13 ff.; Sukumari Bhattacharji, *Literature in the Vedic Age*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1984, pp. 327–28.

3. On Kavi in the *AV* vide Shende N. J., *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, Poona, 1967, pp. 1 ff.

4. Vide Yāska, *Nirukta* 12. 13.

5. *tapas* < √*tap*. M. Winternitz renders it by "heat", "some creative heat", "fervour of austerity" (*Ibid.*, p. 99, fn. 99) but by "asceticism" in the context of *AV*

(*Continued on the next page*)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

regions, worlds, *ṛcs*, *yajus*, past, future, parameṣṭhin, Kaśyapa,[6] sky, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Aṅgirases etc. It is significant to note that in 19. 54. 1 Sūrya is said to rise with it and enter in it.

Now the *AV* 19. 6 is the Puruṣasūkta, wherein Puruṣa is said to create everything. In the Puruṣasūkta of the *ṚV* (10. 90) also Puruṣa is said to create everything. In *AV* 19. 53. 3 *ṛcs* and *yajus* are said to emerge from Time. In *AV* 19. 6. 13 *ṛcs*, *sāman*, *chandas* and *yajus* are said to be produced from sacrifice and in *AV* 19. 64. 4 Time is said to put forth sacrifice. In 19. 54. 5 *kāla* is said to create *bhūta* and *bhavya*, whereas in *AV* 19. 6. 4 Puruṣa is said to create, whatever is past and whatever will be and the Puruṣasūkta of the *ṚV* (10. 90. 2) also declares similarly. With slight variations Time in these two hymns is shown in a cosmogonic role as Puruṣa of the *ṚV* and the *AV*. It is quite true that Time in the *AV* is not connected with the mythological motif of primordial sacrifice and self-immolation; but sacrifice is said to emerge from it, i. e. Time as other beings and things are said to emerge from it.

Yama in the *ṚV* is also conected with creation and stands in some relationship with Puruṣa[7] and both appear as progenitors in the cosmogonic accounts. Now "several speculative thoughts of the *Atharvaveda* are modelled upon the image of Primeval Cosmic Giant from whose limbs the world comes into existence[8] and there is a tendency, e. g." to graft *brahman* doctorine upon the Puruṣa speculation;[9] similarly it may be said that here is a case of a tendency to graft the Time-doctrine upon the Puruṣa speculation and thus the *AV* supplies a myth of Time as a creator, a counterpart of Yama and in this light one would like to say that the *AV* enlarges the Ṛgvedic material[10] and to this extent it may be said that the *AV* marks a step further in the development of the fertilisation of philosophical speculation from the *ṚV* to the Upaniṣads.

Regarding the knowledge of the triple division of Time it may be said, as noted earlier, that not only the hymns to *Kāla* evince the knowledge of past and future, but the Bhumisūkta (*AV* 12. 1. 1) also refers to *bhūta* and *bhavya*.

(*Continued from the last page*)

19. 54 (*Ibid.*, p. 151), but he gives no reason. According to Chauncey J. Blair the vocable *tapas* has about eight nuances of meaning and one of them in this context is "Heat as an abstract philosophical entity", (vide *Heat in the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda*, American Oriental Series, Vol. 45, Connecticut, 1961. pp. 9, 10; 35, 74, 78, 119).

6. *AV* 19. 53. 10; vide Kane P. V., *Op. cit.* p 463, fn. 652; Bloomfield M., *Op. cit.*, p. 686.

7. Vide Dandekar R. N., *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 129 ff.

8. Gonda J., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Vedic Literature), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 295.

9. Gonda J, *Ibid.*, p. 295.

10. Gonda J., *Ibid.*, p. 294.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The present which stands as a link between the past and the future is suggested in the *AV*, when the poet uses the present tense-form *vahati* in *kālô áśvo vahati* (*AV* 19. 53. 1a). *En passanta* it may be noted that the vocable *kāla* occurs in an Indra hymn in the *ṚV* (10. 42), wherein it is said that a gambler wins his *kṛta*-throw considered to be the best in the time (*kāla*) (*ṚV* 10. 42. 9) and thus the *ṚV* evinces its use in a non-philosophical sense. Elsewhere in the *ṚV* there is a reference to a cognate concept viz. of *saṁvatsara* (*ṚV* 10. 190. 2) which is said to originate from the cosmic waters and *saṁvatsara* is a unit of time. This tends to suggest that a non-philosophical concept came to be philosophised by the time of the *AV* and came to be promoted to the rank of a creative principle and the highest principle described as *prathamô dèvaḥ* (*AV* 10. 53. 2), *paramó dévaḥ* (*AV* 10. 24. 5) and *tásmād vái nā́nyát pā́ram asti* (*AV* 10. 53. 4).

The *AV*-poet puts forward mythologically a theriomorphic concept of Time, when it is concieved as a steed rich in seed and this theriomorihic concept indicates in one strain its immense and unimaginable flow and in this connection its derivation from √*kal* (causative) in the sense of movement as given by Yāska will not be out of place to refer to here.[11] On the other hand it suggests also its high potentiality of creative power (cf. *bhū́riretas AV* 10. 53. 1*b*) which goes well with its function of being a creator. *Kāló áśvaḥ* is a case of metaphor[12] and "in the most cases it is god's function rather than his outward appearance that is indicated by these images and metaphors".[13]

In these two hymns one of the important features of Time is its absolure character.

In *AV* 19. 53. 3*a* the poet says that "a full jar has been placed upon Time"[14] and according to Ludwig "the full jar" refers to the sun[15] and in the mystic language the poet further describes *kāla* as in the highest heaven (*AV* 19. 53. 3*d*). Now a kinship of ideas is seen in *AV* 13. 2. 39 wherein Rohita is said to be *Kāla* and Rohita is "sun", 'Red Sun'.[16] In this context *kāla* spoken of metaphorically as *aśva* with an epithel *saptaraśmi* (*AV* 19. 53. 1*a*)

11. *Nirukta* 2. 25; cf. *kālaḥ kalayateḥ gatikarmaṇaḥ* / vide Hannes Sköld, *The Nirukta*, 1926, p. 23; Siddheshwar Varma, *The Etymologies of Yāska*, 1953, p. 62.

12. On 'figurative' use or equalization vide Gonda J., *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, Moulton & Co.'s Gravenhage, 1959, pp. 210 ff.

13. Gonda J., *Op. cit.*, p. 213; vide also Macdonell A. A., *The Vedic Mythology*, Delhi, 1971. pp. 15 ff., 89.

14. Bloomfield M., *Op. cit.*, p. 224; cf. *pūrṇáḥ kumbhó 'dhi kālá āhitaḥ* / *AV* 19. 53. 3a.

15. Vide Bloomfield M., *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

16. Vide Bloomfield M., *Op. cit.*, p. 207; Winternitz M., *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

gains in significance, because in the *ṚV* (7. 77. 3) he is alluded to as a white and brilliant steed brought by Uṣas.[17] Sāyaṇa also explains *aśva* to refer to Sūrya.[18] Does this idea then refer to Sūrya ?

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (1. 1–2; 6. 1) refers to several creative principles and Time is one of them and in this context some phraseological references are of suggestive interest, e. g. the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* has a question-sentence : *kva ca saṁpratiṣṭhāḥ* and *AV* has positive statements, e. g. *tad u tasmin pratiṣhitam* (*AV* 19. 53. 9*b*), *kāle lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ* (*AV* 19. 54. 4*d*).

Thus the above-going observations tend to suggest that these two hymns to Time mark some development in the speculative thinking. In its creative function Time comes to be connected with the Puruṣa-Yama-Manu equation in the cosmogonic account. The concept of Rohita and Kāla have a kinship of speculation and the answer-statements in the *AV* serve as a faint background to question-statements in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.

17. Macdonell A. A., *Op. cit.*. p. 31.
18. Vide Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on *AV* 19, 53, 1

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

SOME NON-VEDIC RITUALS IN THE VEDIC TRADITION

By

SINDHU S. DANGE

The Vedic texts indicate that the Asuras, Rākṣasas and others of such catagory were antagonists of the Vedic people, and were constant source of trouble and competition for them. There are also traces of assimilation of these other people into the Vedic fold, as is clear from the example of the Sarpas etc. who figure in the Pāriplava. This close contact can hardly be said to keep the Vedic ritual pure in the real sense of the word. The Asuras, especially, are often mentioned, along with the Devas (the Vedic word-symbol for the Vedic priests), as having their own speciality in ritual. This conflict, and competition, goes back to the very *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*), where India is said to be destroying the Asuras;[1] and the Brāhmaṇa-texts are replete with the conflict. The problem of the identity of the Asuras is tackled by many scholars; and, it is not necessary to probe the mater further at this juncture.[2] But, there should be no doubt that the Asuras were the enemies of the "gods", and the latter are said to have vanquished the former, though the Brāhmaṇa-texts tell us that they were "brothers", being born of Prajāpati, their common father.[3] This is clear from the fact that the Asuras are said to be having the *bhrātṛvya-sāpatna* relationship with the gods.

What has been said would indicate that these were two separate clans. As such, it would be interesting to see if we could get some details regarding the rituals of these people. These details are reflected in the accounts from the Brāhmaṇa-texts, which get mixed up with the *arthavādas*, the glorificatory portions. However, to take every such account as indicative of a socio-cultural, or historical fact might lead one to amusing results.[4] Yet, close scrutiny could help to differentiate social facts from the *arthavāda*, though the latter is used to show the

1. For Asuras see Macdonell A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Hindi Tr. by Ram Kumar Rai, Varanasi, 1961, pp. 296–298.

2. Shendge Malati J., *The Civilized Demons — The Harappans in the Ṛgveda*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 11–29; Hale W. Edward, *Asura: In Early Vedic Religion*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi (Forthcoming).

3. Thus देवाश्चासुराश्चोभये प्राजापत्याः is an oft-mentioned expression in the Brāhmaṇa texts; for their rivalry cf. the expressions अस्पर्धन्त, पस्पृधिरे.

4. *Śat. Br.* I. 6 1. 2–4 refers to the importance of the seasons; in this Shendge sees that the Devas obtained the knowledge of the seasons "only later, and probably from the Asuras" (*op. cit.*, p. 95); also see her remarks regarding the Audumbara (*op. cit.*) and barley (*op. cit., loc. cit.*).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

superiority of the Vedic ritual.[5] The point will be clear from a few instances that we take here as example.

As the first example, we take up the case of the Rauhiṇa. Acoording to an account from the *Śat. Br.* (II. 1. 2. 13–17), the gods and Asuras competed for supremacy. The Asuras thought of constructing a fire-altar, named Rauhiṇa; and they actually started the work, with the idea of ascending the heavenly world. Indra thought that if the Asuras would construct the Rauhiṇa, they would go to heaven and would overpower the gods. Hence, he took the guise of a brāhmaṇa, and went to the Asuras with a brick of his own, requesting them to lay it on the rising fire-altar that they were constructing. The Asuras agreed, and Indra placed his brick there on the layer of the altar. The altar went on rising with the bricks being placed on into subsequent layers. As the altar was about to get completed, Indra pulled out the brick placed by him; and the whole structure came tumbling down. Indra created several bolts from the bricks that fell helter-skelter, and cut the necks of the Asuras. The gods, who saw this spectacle, exclaimed with surprise, " O, what a wonder (*citram bata*) ! we have killed so many enemies ". Because, it is said, the brick created the wonder (*citram*), it got the name *Citrā*. Hence, as a further step in *arthavāda*, it is enjoined that a person who is a Kṣatriya and wants to perform a sacrifice, should establish his fire on the constellation called *Citrā*. This would give him the power to kill his enemies.[6]

Apart from the *arthavāda* of extolling the constellation *Citrā*, the fact that comes to the surface is that the " rising " (*rauhiṇa*) fire-altar was a speciality of the Asuras. Before we study the point in some detail, it would be better to set aside the opinion that fire-worship itself was adopted by the Vedic people (" devas ") from the Asuras.[7] In the very face of it, this opinion has to be set aside, as it presupposes that there was no fire-worship anywhere apart from the people known as Asuras. It is very well known that fire-worship, like the worship of the sun, obtains in regions far and wide.[8] The point in question is the

5. Cf. *Arthasaṁgraha* प्राशस्त्यनिन्दान्यतरपरं वाक्यमर्थवादः ।

6. The same account occurs in the Kāṇva recension of the *Śat. Br.* Almost a similar account is recorded by *Taitt. Br.* I, 2. 4–6 where the Asuras are named Kālakañjas. It is said that the Asuras who tumbled down became the spiders; and, two of them, who flew up, became the heavenly dogs.

Kuhn A., *Über Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung*, p. 129) quoted by Eggeling J., (SBE Vol. XII, *Śat. Br.*, Pt. I, pp 286–87, fn. 2) compares such Indian myths with those from Homer's *Odessy*, xi, 305–325, where Otes and Ephialtes piled Ossa on Olympus, and Pelian on Ossa, in order to fight the immortal gods, and are ultimately destroyed by Apollon. In the Homer-myths mountain appear in the place of altar-bricks.

7. Shendge, M. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 91–92.

8. See V. Londhe, *The Cult and Lore of the Vedic Agni*, Thesis, University of Bombay, 1977.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

altar-brick. Now, on the basis pottery-techniques disclosed by archeological surveys of India, Converse suggests that the use of bricks in altars, like the Agnicayana ("laying down the fire-altar") was adopted by the Vedic priests from the indigenous culture, by which he means the Harappans.[9] The reasons put forth are: (1) The Harappans used millions of fired bricks; but, the *Ṛgveda* does not even refer to bricks — it has no word for brick; and (2) The Agnicayana is the only rite which used bricks, the other Vedic altars being of packed earth. This view is refuted by Naama Drury, with the support of a passage from the *Śat. Br.* (VI. 2. 1. 10) which brings out the difference between the *iṣṭakā*-s and the *aniṣṭakā*-s. The *iṣṭakā*-s are those that are seen by one after offering (*iṣṭvā*) an animal, this getting associated with the animal-sacrifice; and *aniṣṭakā*-s are those which have no such connection. From this distinction Drury surmises that the baked bricks were used only at the Agnicayana; or, there was a distinction between the baked bricks themselves, those called *iṣṭakā*-s being used or seen after an animal-sacrifice. What the ordinary ones were called is a mute point, which may go both ways. According to Drury there is much Vedic content in the Agnicayana which could not prove its origination from a non-Vedic society.[10] In that case, the brick said to have been taken by Indra need not be a speciality of the Asuras. The real point is rather different.

Apart from the question whether the Agnicayana was, or was not, of the Vedic origin, the point to be noted is that the fire-altars made by the Vedic Aryans were not much above the ground. The *mekhalā* of the later period also was not for making the altar high; it was only for decoration, as also to make the altar a women. In all cases, the altar shows a pit in the earth, or it was a surface-to-surface structure in the main. But, here we have the Rauhiṇa going up, as the very name and the account show. The Rauhiṇa of the Asuras recall to memory the tower of Babel, that went high up, but was got tumbled when the apprehensive gods confuse the language of the labourers, with the result that none could understand other's instruction; and the tower remained incomplete. In connection with the Rauhiṇa, we may compare a fire-altar from about the same region. This is the Achaemenian fire-altar, thought to have been built about the 6th century B. C. It was excavated near Cyru's capital of Pasargadae. In a photograph of this fire-altar actual steps are seen to reach the top which appears to be quite high.[11]

9. Converse H., "The Agnicryana Rite: Indigenous Origins?", *History of Religions*, Vol. XIV, 2, 1974–75, p. 81.

10. Drury Nāma, *The Sarrificial Ritual in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Delhi, 1981, p. 95.

11. For the photograph, Graves Robert, *New Larousse Encyclopadia of Mythology*, London, Paul Hamlin, 1968, p. 310; for the drawing from this photograph, Drury Nāma, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Could the fire-altar excavated at Pasargadae be a later modification of the Rauhiṇa ? In any case, in the face of the Vedic account and later period (which is very near the Brāhmaṇa-period) raised altar noted above, one could strongly say that the Rauhiṇa was a definite ritual-artifice of the Asuras.

With this, we now go back to the *Ṛgveda*, which mentions Rauhiṇa twice. At both the places, Sāyaṇa (and almost all translators) understands the word to mean an Asura, and Yāska takes it to be the cloud.[12] At one of the places (II. 12. 12.), Rauhiṇa is said to be ascending the sky (*dyām ārohantam*), much like the case in the account from the *Śat. Br.* A marked difference between Rauhiṇa, on the one hand, and other Asuras on the other is that the latter do not appear as names of objects, as is the case with Rauhiṇa. Some of the mythological Asuras figure in the context of the Vedic ritual, but only symbolically; they are presented in the form of some objects, which, in many cases, stand for some part of the body of the so-called Asura. Thus, the Soma-vat is said to be the head of Vṛtra (*Śat. Br.* V. 5. 1. 3); also *Maitr. Saṁ.* IV. 7. 4; or a round piece of lead is tossed away as the head of Namuci in one rite associated with the Rājasūya.[13] On the other hand, Rauhiṇa appears as the name of the fire-altar of the Asuras. The case does not appear to be of an imaginary demon turning into a fire-altar in the Brāhmaṇa-period; on the contrary, there is a point for suspicion whether the *Ṛgveda* itself did not present an Asura-device as a formidable "demon" in its mythopoetic style! In Rauhiṇa, then, we certainly see the Asura-altar — a raised one as against the Vedic one that was practically close to the earth.

Another instance of a non-Vedic glimpse is in the method of the pressing of Soma and in the ritual of Soma. *Ait. Br.* (VI. 1) mentions a sacrificial session of the gods; and it is said that they could not destroy the evil, or the sinful, with the result that their sacrifice remained unsuccesful. There came a seer from the Sarpa clan, named Arbuda Kādraveya (= the son of Kadrū), who pointed out to them that their ritual was lacking in a detail that could destroy the evil. This detail was the invocation of the pressing-stones at the midday pressing. This he did; and the juice of Soma thus obtained invigorated the gods. But, the gods had a suspicion. They said the Sarpa-seer looked at Soma, their lord, and thus putrified him. They wrapped his eyes with his head-wear. But, they imitated the scene in the tradition; and, from that time onwards, they started wrapping their own eyes with the head-wear while invoking the pressing stones. The gods contemplated that the Sarpa seer was invoking Soma with his own chants; so, they mixed his chants with their *ṛc*-s. Sāyaṇa glosses that the gods mixed the chants

12. *ṚV* I. 103. 2c; II. 12. 12; *AV* XX. 128. 13.

13. *Śat. Br.* V. 4. 1, 9–10.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of the Sarpa-seer with the *ṛc*-s to remove the poison in the chants of the Sarpa-seer.[14] The fact seems to be that in addition to the invocation of the pressing stone, which is a speciality of the Sarpa-seer, the special chant and (or, at) the mid-day pressing at the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, where the account is ushered in[15] was a loan from the Sarpa clan. The manner in which the Sarpa-seer is brought in supports this suggestion. Otherwise, had the speciality been indigenous to the Vedic tradition, one would not expect the Sarpa, nor the remarks about the putrification feared to be caused by him. The *Ṛgveda* has already the hymns by the seers of the Sarpa clan (X. 76; 94, 175), which appears to have influenced the Vedic ritualists in the later phase of the Ṛgvedic period itself, especially in the method of pressing Soma with the pressing stones.[16] The passage from the Brāhmaṇa noted above indicates not only the loan of the methodical ritual but also of the chants, not unmixed with a sense of rivalary.

The ritual of Soma itself has traces of loan. Not only is Soma said to be coming for a very far off place, but the rite of the purchase of Soma hints that it was borrowed from a non-Vedic (or non-Aryan) clan. The same germ of rivalry is reflected when Soma is said to be ritually purchased from a Śūdra or from a person of a lower status, called Kautsa who was, then forced out (*Śat. Br.* III. 3. 3. 7; *Tait. Saṁ.* I. 2. 7).

We, now, turn to the account of Purūravas, is already a figure in the *Ṛgveda*, along with Urvaśī (X. 95). At another place in the *Ṛgveda* Purūravas is said to be *su-kṛt*, i. e. "the performer of a ritual" (I. 31. 4). Both these references to him occur in the later part of the *Ṛgveda*, a point to be noted. With this, it may also be noted that the references to the Sarpa seers — Arbuda Kādraveya and Jaratkarṇa (X. 94; and X. 76) — also occur in the later books of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 94 occurring just before the hymn of Purūravas, may be taken as accidental). The *Śat. Br.* (XI. 5. 1. 1–17) which gives the legend in detail points out that Purūravas learnt a new method of sacrifice from the Gandharvas. At first, they give him fire in a fire-pan for the sake of sacrifice. But, on the way that fire is lost; but, the Gandharvas say that, what was the fire is now an Aśvattha tree, and what was the pan is now the Śamī tree. To gain the fire back, the Gandharvas suggest two methods: (i) cooking of a mess of rice, sufficient for four persons; then, taking each time three faggots from the Aśvattha tree, anointing them with ghee and placing them on the (ordinary) fire, with verses having

14. *ṚV* I. 91. 16=IX. 31. 4; the *ṛc* is : आ प्यायस्व समेतु ते विश्वतः सोम वृष्ण्यम् ।
भवा वाजस्य संगथे ॥

15. Sāyaṇa on *Ait. Br.* VI at the very outset — ब्रह्मणः कर्तव्यविधानेन प्रावस्तुदबुद्धिस्थस्तस्याग्निष्टोमे कर्तव्यं विधातुमुपाख्यानमाह.

16. Soma-pressing with the *ulūkhala* and *musala* (mortar-pestle) seems to be a later method, as these are mentioned only in one hymn (*ṚV* I. 28. 1–4, 5, 6).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the words *samit* and *ghṛta Ib.* 14. The idea seems to be that the ordinary fire itself gains the status of the fire that was lost. The fire given earlier was, obviously, the house-hold fire of the Gandharvas, who, like all tribes including the Vedic Aryans, constantly maintained it for practical purposes. The difference seems to be only in the ritual and the faggots: and (ii) making the upper *araṇī* of the Aśvattha and the lower one of the Śamī wood (*Ib.* 15). The Gandharvas say that both these methods are recondite (*parokṣam īva vā etat*); and they instruct him in the third method. in which both the *araṇi*-s are prepared from the wood of the Aśvattha tree. The fire that would result from these two *araṇi*-s of the same wood (Aśvattha) is said to be the very old one that had been lost! Here we have a clear evolution of the kindling method, and it is indicated that the final method was learned by Purūravas from the Gandharvas. Even so, the earlier method of churning fire from the lower *araṇi* made of Śamī continued,[17] in spite of the great status that Purūravas gained in the Vedic ritual tradition, which identified him and Urvaśī with the upper and the lower *araṇī*.

Now, even with the importance of Purūravas in the Vedic ritual tradition there is reason to believe that he was not entirely an authority, nor was he respected totally. The Purāṇic tradition says on the one hand that he introduced three fires in the place of the original one fire.[18] It should be noted that the *Ṛgveda* does not mention three fires, as they are known later. The word *gārhapatya* occurs thrice (*ṚV* I. 15. 12; X. 95. 27; and 36); but, it does not indicate the ritual-fire of that name. *ṚV* states (II. 4. 2) that the Bhṛgus established the earthly fire for the benefit of men, which itself was good for ritual.[19] On the other hand, certain Purāṇas say that Purūravas was beaten by the Brāhmaṇas of the Naimiṣa region.[20] If this detail cannot, and should not, be discarded as being merely from the Purāṇas, the question that stares us in the face is, who was Purūravas in the origin ?[21] Himself of the tribe of the Gandharvas ? Probably, Yes ! In that case, the tribe influenced the Vedic ritual immensely, itself going into oblivion, merging into the mist of myths. This would show, that the tradition remained Vedic, but the tribes that loaned to it got mythical. But, this is exactly the proven characteristic of the Vedic priestly class, which continued even in later times. The Rauhiṇa, however, was never borrowed, even with the modifications of the old altars.

17. Cf. *Śākuntala*, IV. 4d *agnigarbhāṃ śamīm iva.*

18. *BrahmāṇḍaP.* II. 3. 66. 19 : एकोऽग्निः पूर्वमासीद् वै ऐलस्तं त्रीनकल्पयत् ।

19. *ṚV* II. 4. 2 : इमं विधन्तो अपां सधस्थे द्वितादधुर्भृगवो विक्ष्वा३ योः ।
एष विश्वान्यभ्यस्तु भूमा देवानामग्निररतिर्जीराश्वः ।

20. *VāyuP., Pūrva*, 2. 15–21; *BrahmāṇḍaP.* I. 2. 15–23.

21. Dange, Sadashiv A. says that Purūravas was a neo-ritualist Purūravas : A Research for Identity, *A corpus of Indian Studies* (Gaurinath Shastri, fel. Vol.), Calcutta, 1980

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

UŚIJAḤ IN THE *ṚGVEDA*

By

G. V. DAVANE

The word *uśij* in the various grammatical forms occurs 31 times in the *ṚV*. Sāyaṇa mostly derives it from the root *vaś* 'to desire' and explains it as *kāmayamāna* i. e. 'desiring, desireful, zealous'. Sometimes he understands it as *medhāvin* 'intelligent'. The Western scholars like Langlois, Wilson, Ludwig, Grassmann and Griffith follow him. It is Bergaigne,[1] who for the first time suggests that it could be taken as a proper noun. Oldenberg[2] supports him in his notes on *ṚV* II. 31, 6. Geldner,[3] in his German translation of the *ṚV*, takes *uśij* as a proper noun in 23 places. In 2 more places he translates it as a common noun, but in the foot-notes he suggests that it can be taken as a proper noun. Prof. H. D. Velankar's[4] English translation of Maṇḍalas II, III and VII has been published. In the course of this portion the word *usij* has occurred 14 times. He understands it as 'an ancient priest'. Prof. Renou[5] has translated some select portions from the *ṚV* into French. He always translates it as 'a model priest'. Hence it is interesting to investigate as to what this word signifies in the *ṚV*.

I have attempted to understand the word individually in every occurrence. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word is not acceptable for various reasons. Since the scholars coming after Gedlner have not accepted it, it is unnnecessary to discuss it in details. Yet one can point out a few instances where Sāyaṇa has to strive hard to remain consistent to his explanation. He is often not sure as to which is the substantive qualified by this adjective e. g. I. 60. 2 :

अस्य शासुरुभयासः सचन्ते हविष्मन्त उशिजो ये च मर्ताः ।

First he says, उशिजः कामयमाना देवाः and then यद्वा उशिज इति मेधाविनाम । मेधाविनः स्तोतारः । III 27. 10. He is not sure whether *uśij* is to be taken

1. *Vedic Religion*, Vol. I, French (1877), Translation into English by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Ārya Saṁskṛti Prakāśana, Poona 4, 1969, pp. 57–59.

2. *Ṛgveda, Textkritische und Exegetische Noten*, Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1909, pp. 212–213.

3. *Der Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, Göttngen, 1923. H. O. S. Volumes 33 to 35 Leipzig, 1951.

4. *Hymns from the Ṛgveda Maṇḍala* VII B. V. B. 1963, Maṇḍala II, University of Bombay, 1966; Maṇḍala III, University of Bombay, 1968.

5. *Etudes Vediques Panineennes*, Editions E De Boccard, Paris, 1960–66.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

in active or in passive sense. He says, पुरोडाशादिहविः कामयमानोऽग्निः। 'Agni, desirous of oblations, like Puroḍāśa' or कामार्थिभिः काम्यमानः। 'longed for by desireful sacrificers'.

Whenever this word occurs in a clause giving a comparison with *na* as the *upamāvācaka* Sāyaṇa takes *na* in a quite different manner and faces a difficulty in explaining the clause e. g. II 4. 5 उशिग्भ्यो नामिमीत वर्णम्। Sāyaṇa explains : अस्मदीयं रूपं कामयमानेभ्यः ऋत्विग्भ्यः स्वसदृशं रूपं निर्मिमीते। 'Agni reveals to the priests his form as they would like it'. Here he understands *na* as 'and' नशब्दश्चार्थे।

In VII 10. 2 he explains यज्ञं तन्वाना उशिजो न मन्म। as यज्ञं विस्तारयन्तः ऋत्विजो मननीयानि स्तोत्राणि पठन्तीति शेषः। He has to add the word *paṭhanti* : 'The priests carrying forward the sacrifice (are singing) songs of praise'. He understands *na* as 'now' नेति संप्रत्यर्थे।

Often his explanation of *uśij* as *kāmayamāna* sounds very unreasonable e. g. III 15. 3 कृधी नो राये उशिजो यविष्ठ। Here he explains it as अस्मान् धनं कामयमानान् कुरु। 'Make us long for wealth'. As we know the Vedic seers are ever eager for wealth. Angi need not create that longing in them. Sāyaṇa has, therefore, to explain this somehow as अभिलषितधनप्रदानेन प्राप्तकामान् कुरु। 'fulfil our desire by giving us the desired wealth'. While explaining IV 6. 11 : होतारमग्निं मनुषो नि षेदुर्नमस्यन्त उशिजः शंसमायोः। He says आयोर्मनुष्यस्य शंसनीयं होतारं त्वां पूजयन्तः पश्वादिलक्षणं धनं कामयमाना मनुष्या ऋत्विज उपाविशन्। 'The men i. e. priests, desiring wealth in the form of cattle etc. have sat near you honouring you, the praiseworthy invoking priest of the mortals'. When the same line recurs in V 3. 4 with दशस्यन्तः for नमस्यन्तः. Sāyaṇa takes *uśijaḥ* as a form of Gen. sg. qualifying *āyoḥ* and explains : "The priests, offering oblations, attend upon you, 'O Agni, for the sake of the mortal sacrificer, desiring covetable fruit".

He has to explain same portions somehow in order to understand *uśij* as *kāmayamāna* e. g. X 46. 4 :

मन्द्रं होतारमुशिजो नमोभिः प्राञ्चं यज्ञं नेतारमध्वराणाम्।
विशामकृण्वन्नरतिं पावकं हव्यवाहं दधतो मानुषेषु ॥

He explains : उशिजः कामयमाना ऋत्विजो मनुष्येषु मध्ये होतारमग्निं दधाना विशां यजमानानामर्थाय स्तुतिभिः (सुप्रीतं) कृतवन्तः।

'The desireful priests placing the invoking priest Agni amidst the mortals rendered him (agreeable) with praises for the sake of the people i. e. sacrificers. He has to take *aratim* as *arthāya* and *viśām* as *yajamānānām*. Then he

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

attempts alternative explanation as follows : यद्वा विशां प्रजानामरतिमर्यं स्वामिनं कृतवन्तः। 'They made Agni the lord of the people', now explaining *arati* as 'the lord'.

There are at least 5 places where Sāyaṇa has to add the substantive *Aṅgirasaḥ* as qualified by *uśijaḥ*, III 34. 4 : इन्द्र उशिग्भिः पृतना जिगाय is explained by him as युद्धं कामयमानैरङ्गिरोभिः सह इन्द्रः परकीयाः सेना जिगाय। 'Indra conquered the inimical forces in company of Aṅgirasas who were desirous of battle'. In IV 1. 15 ते गोमन्तं व्रजमुशिजो वि वव्रुः। *uśijaḥ* is explained as 'desiring Agni' and the pronoun *te* is taken as standing for Aṅgirasaḥ — when the same line recurs in IV 16. 6. Sāyaṇa explains *uśijaḥ* with Marutaḥ as 'the desireful Maruts enveloped the cowpen (belonging to Aṅgirasas)'.— In VII 90. 4 गव्यं चिदूर्वमुशिजो वि वव्रुः। his explanation is — "The desireful Aṅgirasas obtained the wealth in the form of cattle". In X 104. 4 he takes *uśijaḥ* with Aṅgirasaḥ and explains it as 'Aṅgirasas, desiring you, O Indra'. In some places *uśijaḥ* and *icchamānāḥ* stand together. Hence Sāyaṇa has difficulty in explaining the term e. g. X 45. 11 त्वया सह द्रविणमिच्छमाना व्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि वव्रुः।

Here in connection with the same clause व्रजं गोमन्तमुशिजो वि वव्रुः he takes 'the Gods' as the subject of वि वव्रुः and explains उशिजः as मेधाविनः 'intelligent'. Similarly in X 46. 2 गुहा चतन्तमुशिजो नमोभिरिच्छन्तो धीरा भृगवोऽविन्दन्। he construes उशिजः with भृगवः, explains it as कामयमानाः 'longing' and then he has to add (आत्मनः) before इच्छन्तः. 'The wise longing Bhṛgus found out Agni, moving secretly in waters, since they desired to have him (as their own)'.

Thus the possibility of taking *uśij* as an adjective meaning 'desireful' is completely ruled out. Now before discussing as to what the word signifies let us put together what the *ṚV* says about *vśijaḥ* — The mortal *uśijs* obey the precepts of Agni (I 60. 2). Agni is *uśij* i. e. a representative of the *uśijs* (I 60. 4). Indra protects *uśijs* who desire friendship with him (I 131. 5). (In ancient times) when Agni was polished i. e. decorated by the *uśijs* he became agreeable to them (I 189. 7). Agni had formerly revealed his real form to the *uśijs* (II 4. 5). The *uśijs* found their way through the sacrifice (II 21. 5). The *uśijs* in ancient times offered excellent praise to Agni. The singers now desire to offer similar praise (II 31. 6). The immortal *uśij* i. e. the ancient ancesters of the present *uśijs* ordained three fuel-sticks in the fire. One of these was for the mortals, the other two for the neighbouring worlds or the sister-worlds (III 2. 9). The ancient *uśijs* were favoured with excellent wealth by Agni. Hence the present singer says, "For the winning of treasures make us *uśijs* (III 15. 3). Indra conquered the inimical forces and won light with the help of the *uśijs* (III 34. 4.). The poet Viśvāmitra Gathina tells the Ṛbhus that his ancesters the *uśijs* have come to know about the miraculous powers,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

with the help of which the Ṛbhus have obtained a share in the sacrifice. This they could know through a lot of thinking, through family-ties and through the knowledge of the *Sagas* (III 60. 1). With their divine speech the *uśijs* have thrown open the cowpen of the cows-Vala myth— (IV 1. 15; IV 16. 6; X 43. 11). After that the waters flowed in ancient times (VII 90. 4). The *uśijs*, the men have sat beside Agni, the invoking priest (IV 6. 11; V 3. 4). Agni has carried forward the sacrifice just as the *uśijs* extend their thoughts i. e. their thoughtful songs (VII 10. 2). The *uśijs*, the clans invoke Agni in the sacrifices (VII 10. 5). The *uśijs* caught hold of fire first (IX 86. 30). The *uśijs*, the Bhṛgus, have found out Agni, hiding in the waters (X 46. 4) The *uśijs*, the connoisseurs of the right ways, praising Indra, stayed in the house of Manu (X 104. 4).

In the light of the above description of the *uśijs* I feel certain that *uśij* is the name of an ancient family or a small clan well-known for its religious inclinations, for its priestly efficiency and for its mystic powers. *Uśijaḥ* and *manuṣaḥ* are mentioned in apposition in IV 6. 11; V 3. 4 and *uśijaḥ* and *viśaḥ* are mentioned together in VII 10. 5. This proves that the present *uśijs* form a well-known family or clan among the mortals. They seem to form a branch of Aṅgirasas, especially of the Pajra-Aṅgirasas (*ṚV* I 116. 7). As seen above even Sāyaṇa who takes *uśij* as an adjective has to bring in the Aṅgirasas in connection with the *uśij* in 5 places. Prof. Velankar, who translates *uśijaḥ*, as ancient priests has referred *uśijaḥ* to Aṅgirasas in his foot-notes on III 2. 9, III 34. 4 and VII 90. 4. In X 46. 2 *uśijaḥ* and *Bhṛgavaḥ* are standing in apposition. In III 2. 4 Agni has been described as *Bhṛgūṇām rātiḥ* 'a gift of the Bhṛgus'. It has been accepted by all scholars that Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas form an ancient priestly clan. Sāyaṇa always explains the phrase *pūrve ṛṣayaḥ* as *Bhṛgvaṅgirasaprabhṛtayaḥ*. From very ancient times Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas have been intimately connected with the cult of fire. Dr. Rahurkar[6] says, "This can only mean that the illustrious priestly family of the Bhṛgus claimed that their ancesters taught men to produce fire by friction and also initiated them into the proper fire-cult". Similarly, the prestigeous position of the Aṅgirasas in this regard has been clearly brought out by Dr. Shende[7] in the following words, "The Aṅgirasas thus form the ancient family of the priests of Agni. They found out Agni, churned him and employed for the sacrificial purpose. Agni is Aṅgiras or Aṅgiras is from *aṅgāra*, the burning ember. They must have first started the worship of Agni. This is acknowledged by all seers of the *ṚV* and the Brāhmaṇas". In the same article Dr. Shende points out that according to Mr. B. G. Tilak Aṅgirasas must have been the ancient sacrificers of the whole Indo-European race.

6. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, University of Poona, 1964, p. 218.
7. *Aṅgirasas in the Vedic Literature*, Dr. N. J. Shende, ABORI, XXXI, p. 121.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Following this history of the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirasas I feel that *uśijs* formed a small clan belonging to this illustrious priestly clan. Geldner has already explained 25 occurrences of this word, taking *uśij* as a proper noun. I feel the remaining 6 occurrences also can be explained in that light as follows— (1) I 60. 4 : Agni has been installed in the human clans as the chosen priest among the mortals. He is *uśij* i. e. a representative of the *uśijs*, a purifier and a Vasu. (2) I 189. 7 : O Agni, at the evening time be agreeable to us just as you become agreeable to the *uśijs* when they polished i. e. decorated Agni (in ancient times). (3) III 3. 7 : O Agni, you are *uśij* among the gods very intelligent of the singers. The implication is that Agni is representative of the *uśijs* among the gods. Similarly, (4) III 3. 8 : Agni is *uśij* among the inspired singers. (5) III 11. 2 Agni is immortal *uśij*, implying that Agni is *uśij*; but he is immortal whereas the present *uśijs* are mortal. (6) X 92. 12 : the poet Saryāta Mānava requests Ahirbudhnya 'to listen, even from a distance, to the praise that we *uśijs* are offering you'. Here the exact relation between Śaryāta and *uśijs* cannot be explained. Perhaps *iva* is to be added after *uśijām*.

The fact that *uśij* was the name of an ancient family or a clan is further corroborated by the presence of its secondary derivative *Auśija* in the *ṚV*. It has occured 10 times in the *ṚV*. All scholars have explained it as a proper noun. Only in 3 places Sāyaṇa has somehow explained it as a common noun. In IV 21. 6 and 7 he explains it as 'a sacrificer' and in V 4. 6 as the Sun. Kakṣīvat, the poet of a few hymns in the *ṚV* is *Auśija* (I. 18. 1). The merchant DIrghaśravas is *Auśija* (I 112. 11). The king *Ṛjiśvan* in the Piprumyth is *Auśija* (X 99. 11).

Sāyaṇa,[8] on the evidence of *Anukramaṇī* explains *Auśija* as a matronymic in the case of Kakṣīvat. According to him Kakṣīvat's father is DIrghatamas and his mother is a Śūdra maid-servant of the queen of Aṅga. He takes *uśij* as the name of that Śūdra woman. On I 112. 11 Sāyaṇa[9] says about DIrghaśravas that *uśij* is the name of wife of Dīrghatamas. Her son, the sage DIrghaśravas worked as a merchant during the course of a drought. Because of this *Auśija* has been understood as a matronym by later scholars; but it can be definitely explained as a patronym. In the *ṚV* the seers are rarely designated by their matronyms alone. Kakṣīvat is *auśija* because he is a son or a descendant of *Uśij*. The evidence provided by Mr. Pargiter[10] is very helpful in this regard. It is true that he has mostly depended upon the evidence of the Purāṇas. Yet,

8. *Vedārthadīpikā* on I. 116, V. S. M., p. 712.

9. *Ibid.* : p. 680.

10. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, F. E. Pargiter, 1st edition, 1922, Reprint Motilal Banarasidass, 1962, pp. 160–162.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

he has ably corroborated it with the evidence from the Vedic literature. Since Ṛjiśvan also is called *auśija* in *ṚV* X 99. 11 Pargiter points out that *auśija* must be taken as a patronym. Ṛjiśvan was a son of Bharadvāja Vidathin and had no connection whatsoever with the Śūdra woman. He points out that *uśij*, an ancient member of Aṅgiras family had three sons Ucathya. Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta. Dīrghatamas was a son of Ucathya and as such he was an *auśija*. Kakṣīvat, therefore, is naturally an *auśija*. According to Mr. Pargiter[11] " A man had various patronymics from different ancesters and the choice in poetry was often governed by the metre ". He feels that this can explain why Kakṣīvat is called *auśija* and not Dairghatamasa or Aucathya. Pargiter has further pointed out that the name of the Śūdra woman was *auśīnarī* according to the *Mahābhārata* II. 20. While discussing the genealogy of Bhāradvājas Dr. Rahurkar[12] mentions that Bhāradvāja Vidathin was son of Bṛhaspati and grandson of Aṅgiras according to the *Sarvānukramṇī*. Then with the evidence of the Purāṇas he gives a table according to which *uśij*, a descendant of Aṅgiras family had three sons Ucathya, Bṛhaspati and Saṁvarta. Bṛhaspati had two sons Dīrghatamas and Bhāradvāja. Kakṣīvat was a son of Māmateya and a grandson of Dīrghatamas, while Ṛjiśvan was a son of Vidhathin, and a grandson of Bharadvāja. Thus both Kakṣīvat and Ṛjiśvan are *Auśijas*. According to Mr. Pargiter, *auśija* is one of the 15 branches of Aṅgiras family in the genealogies given by the Purāṇas. He, therefore, is of the opinion[13] that " *uśij* – (as Śūdra mother of Kakṣīvat) – seems to have been invented to explain *auśija* through the lack of the historical sense ".

All this leads to the proof that the Ṛgvedic seer Kakṣīvat was a descendant of the *uśij* family, forming a part of the Pajra-Aṅgiras clan. In *ṚV* I116. 7 he is called *pajriya* and Sāyaṇa there says पज्रा वा अङ्गिरसः ।

It is interesting to note that the word *uśijs* is found in the Avesta also in a slightly different form as *Usikhsh*. In his paper on ' An Avesta-amulet for contracting friendship ' Mr. Jivanji Jamshetji Modi[14] has provided very interesting information in this regard. He refers to the following portion from the Gāthās : " O Mazda, I ask this. The Daevas who fight according to their wishes and through whom the Karapans and the Usikhshs have entrusted the cattle to Aeshma Daeve, and thorugh whom the Kavis grew in power, have they ever been good rulers. They did not procure for these (cattle) water or pasture through piety ".

11. *Ibid*,, p 140.
12. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, pp 100–101.
13. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 161.
14. *Anthropological Papers*, Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1911.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Here the Karapana, the Usikhshs and the Kavis form a trio of wicked persons. According to Mr. Modi it corresponds to a similar trio in the Avesta-amulet and a similar one in Ahur Mazda Khodae prayers. He gives the following table —

Avesta-amulet	Kura	Tarvani	Karapan
Gāthās	Kavi	Usikhsh	Karapan
Ahur Mazda Khodae prayer	Kikan	Shastaran.	Karapan

Thns Usikhshs of the Gāthās are the same as Tarvanis of the Avesta-amulet and Shastaran (Sg. Shastar) of the Ahur Mazda prayer. Mr. Jivanji Modi further points out that according to Zad Sparam [15] Usikhshs and Karapans were two families that were related to Zoraster, but were opposed to his new religion. According to Zad Sparam XV five Karap brothers and their first cousins Usikhshs have descended from the demon wrath and a sister of the king Manuskihar. The three family names in the above trios signify moral vices. Kavi means 'mentally blind' i. e. 'unmindful of moral truth'. Karapan or Karafan means 'mentally deaf' i. e. 'unmindful of moral instructions'. Usikhsh or Shastar means 'oppressive, cruel'.

Dr. Shende[16] hss already said, "The Aṅgirasas seem to be the champions of Deva-worshippers and hence Zarathushtra turned them into archdemons, leading the Daevas". The *uśijs* or the Usikhshs, forming a branch of the same family naturally became the enemies of Zoraster.

Thus the word *uśij*, which has been explained as an adjective by Sāyaṇa and the earlier Western scholars is definitely a proper noun. It can be so explained in all 31 places where it occurs in the *Ṛgveda*. From the references to the *uśijs* in the *ṚV* it can be said that *uśij* was the name of an ancient family or a small clan, belonging to the Pajra branch of the Aṅgirasas. They are expert priests possessing mystic powers. They are intimately connected with cult of fire. The presence provides strong evidence in this regard. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the term as a matronymic of Kakṣīvat, on the basis of the story of the Śūdra woman *uśij* occurring in the *Sarvānukramaṇī* is not at all convincing. The word is a patronymic. This fact finds support from the evidence given by Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* and by Dr. V. G. Rahurkar in his *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*. The presence of an ancient family called *uśij* in the period of the *Ṛgveda* is further corroborated by the evidence from the Avesta. Usikhshs have been mentioned in the Avesta and the Gāthās as being inimical to Zarathushtra.

15. S. B. E., Volume XLVII, p. 143.
16. *ABORI* XXXI, p. 129.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ABOUT THE REDRESSING RITE AFTER THE RĀJASŪYA

By

MADHAVI KOLHATKAR

The Rājasūya is one of the prominent sacrifices in ancient India. It is a Soma-sacrifice to be performed by a Kṣatriya king. To perform a Rājasūya was always considered to be a point of honour for a king. In later literature, this sacrifice is many a time described as *Mahākratu* (*MBh.* 2. 11. 55), *Mahāyajña* (*MBh.* 2. 13. 17); *kratuśreṣṭha* (*MBh.* 2. 42. 46) etc. In *ŚatBr.* 5. 5. 4. 14 also it is said, *sarvān vā eṣa yajñakratūn avarunddhe sarvā iṣṭīr api darvihomān yo rājasūyena yajate* 'He who performs the Rājasūya assuredly gains for himself all sacrificial rites, all offerings, even the spoonful oblations.' (tr. by Eggeling).

However, at the same time, one comes across such references also as, one who performs the Rājasūya becomes deprived of certain things, viz. sensual powers (*indriya*), vitality (*vīrya*), speech (*vāc*), milk (*payas*) etc.

Thus in *AV*(*Ś*) 4. 8. 1c, it is said *tasya mṛtyuś carati rājasūyam* 'Death attends his royal consecration'. In *ŚatBr.* 5. 4. 5. 1 it is said *varuṇād dha vā abhiṣiṣicānād bhago 'pacakrāma* 'When Varuṇa was consecrated his lustre departed from him'. In *MaiS.* 4. 4. 9 it is stated, *vācā vā eṣa vyṛddhyate yo rājasūyenābhiṣicyaté* 'One who is given a sacred bath by the Rājasūya, becomes deprived of speech'. (cf. also *TBr.* 1. 8. 1. 1 *ŚatBr.* 5. 4. 3, 2: *TMB.* 18. 11. 3), In *KāthS.* 12. 10 and *MaiS.* 4. 1 it is said, *indriyeṇa vā eṣa vīryeṇa vyṛdhyate yo rājasūyenābhiṣicyate* 'One, who is given a sacred bath by the Rājasūya rite, becomes deprived of strength and vigour.

Nevertheless, it is nowhere said in these texts that since a person, who performs the Rājasūya becomes deprived of his strength and vigour, he should not perform that sacrifice. On the contrary, it is prescribed that the sacrificer should perform certain rites after the Rājasūya, in order to regain the strength and vigour and other things which have gone away from him and reinstate these in him and thus redress himself. In *MaiS.* 4. 4. 2 and *TMB.* 18. 11. 3 it is prescribed that the Yajñāyajñīya sāman should be sung for one, who has performed the Rājasūya. Thus the priest restores to the sacrificer the power and valour which had gone away from him, *because* the priest restored to Indra, these things which had gone away from him at the time he killed Vṛtra, by the singing

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of this Sāman. The Vāravantīya Sāman also is prescribed for this purpose. (cf. *MaiS* 4. 4. 9).

In *MaiS*. 4. 3. 1 it is said, "Power and valour go away from him who performs the Rājasūya. Therefore, a sacrificial cake is to be offered to Indra. Then these deities furnish him with power and valour."

The Sautrāmaṇī rite also is prescribed for this purpose. Thus it is said, "One, who is consecrated by the Rājasūya becomes deprived of the strength and vigour. As much strength and vigour have gone away from one, the Adhvaryu reinstates in one by this rite". (cf. *MaiS*. 2. 4. 1; *KāthS*. XII. 10).

However, we do not find in any of these passages the reason as to why it is said that these things, i. e. the power, valour, strength etc., go away from one, who has performed the Rājasūya sacrifice. Discussion regarding this problem is not found in the works of Weber[1] and Heesterman[2] who have dealt with the ritual of the Rājasūya in details.

The Rājasūya sacrifice is described in the *Ait. Br*. also. Adhyāyas 33 to 39 deal with this sacrifice. The description of the ritual of the Rājasūya found here is of a peculiar character. No exact parallel to it is found in any other ritual text.[3] The description contains the well known legend of Śunaḥśepa, some preparatory rites to be performed by a Kṣatriya sacrificer before the consecration ceremony (*dikṣā*) and some rites to be performed after the completion of the sacrifice.

The discussion of the rites to be performed by a Kṣatriya sacrificer before and after the sacrifice is of great significance in the present context. This discussion together with one on the position of a Kṣatriya sacrificer in relation to the sacrifice and the priest, occurs in the Adhyāyas 34, 35, 37 and 39.[4]

In the 35th Adhyāya is described a preparatory rite to be performed by the Kṣatriya sacrificer before the consecration. The name of the rite is *iṣṭāpūrtasyāparijyāni* offerings. It is in fact a set of offerings. The sacrificer offers four oblations of clarified butter before his consecration and four similar oblations he offers at the end of the sacrifice also.

1. Weber A., *Über die Konigswehe der Rājasūya*, Adhandlungen der Preussischen Akademi der Wissenschaft, Berlin, 1893.

2. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, Thesis Utrectt 1957, s Gravehage, 1957.

3. die Weber A., *History of Indian Literature*, translated into English by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae, Second ed., London, 1882, p. 44 also Keith A. B., *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, (HOS. Vol. 21), reprinted by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1971, Intr., p. 61.

4. See also, Manning, *Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. 1, London, 1869, p. 99.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sāyaṇa has explained the word *aparijyāni* as *vināśābhāvaḥ*, 'the absence of destruction'. The word *iṣṭa* means, the duties of the sacrificer to be performed according to his *varṇa* and *āśrama*, and *pūrta* means the benevolent acts such as the erection of water-reservoir etc., performed by him. Therefore, the word *iṣṭapūrtasyāparijyāni* would mean, the absence of the destruction of (the fruit acquired by performing) the duties and the benevolent acts (performed by the sacrificer).[5]

The verses to be recited at the time of making these offerings are very significant. At the time of making the offerings before the consecration the sacrificer recites the *Mantra, punar na indro maghavā dedātu brahma punar iṣṭam pūrtam dāt svāhā*. Thereby he prays, "May Maghavan Indra give me back the holy power (*brahma*, as translated by Keith) and the *iṣṭa* and the *pūrta* done by me. Therefore, I offer this offering."

The Mantra to be recited after the completion of the sacrifice is, *punar no agnir jātavedā dadātu kṣatram punar iṣtam pūrtam dāt svāhā*. Thereby he prays, "May Agni Jātavedas give me back the lordly power (*kṣatra*) and the *iṣṭa* and the *pūrta*. Therefore, I offer this offering."

The contents of these prayers make it clear that these offerings are given by the sacrificer for getting back the fruit of the *iṣṭa* and *pūrto* and also the Brahman and the Kṣatra. It can be said that the first offerings form a kind of a preparatory rite through which the sacrificer wants to acquire Brahman and be consecrated, while the offerings after the completion form a kind of redressing rite by which he wants to acquire the *kṣatra* and be a Kṣatriya again.

In the next sub-section, i. e. *AitBr.* 34. 4, an option to these offerings is prescribed. These optional offerings are called *ajītapunarvaṇya* offerings. They are introduced by a Ṛṣi called Saujāta Ārārṭhi. The name of the rite is explained by Sāyaṇa as follows: 'the thing lost is called *ajīta* and the instrument for getting it back is called *ajītapunarvaṇya*.[6] These offerings are also given before the consecration and after the completion of the sacrifice.

5. The word *iṣṭāpūrta* is thus explained by the tradition :

varṇāśramānvayī dharma iṣṭam pūrtam athetarat |
prapātaḍākādirūpaṁ tac ca sarvatra dṛśyate |
also *smārtam pūrtaṁ śrautam iṣṭam iti kecid ihocire |*

Keith in the *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 310, has translated the word as, 'Prevention of decay of the sacrifice and the gifts to the priests'. Haug, (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛgveda*, Allahabad, 1922, p. 324) has not translated the word, and has kept it as it is and has added its explanation in a footnote, 'Lit. the recompensation (*aparijyāni*) of what has been sacrificed (*iṣṭa*) and filled (*iṣṭāpūrta*). *Iṣṭa* means only what is sacrificed' and *āpūrta* 'filled up to'. For, all sacrifices go up to heaven, and are stored up there to be taken possession of by the sacrificer on his arrival in heaven (see. 1, p. v. 10. 14. 1).

6. Keith A. B., has given the meaning of this word as 'winning again of what has decayed', and Haug has translated it as: 'the recovering of what is not to be lost'.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Mantra to be recited at the time of making the offering before the sacrifice is *brahma prapadye brahma mā kṣatrād gopāyatu brahmaṇe svāhā* He declares thereby : 'I go to Brahma (i. e. the holy power). May Brahma protect me from the *kṣatra* (the lordly power), *svāhā* to Brahma.'

The reason as to why this Mantra is to be recited is also given thus : One who approaches the sacrifice approaches the holy power. The sacrifice is the holy power. One who is consecrated is as if born from the sacrifice. When he offers these offerings, the holy power, being pleased by them, protects him from the lordly power.

Then. again at the end of the sacrlfice, he offers the oblations and recites the Mantra : *kṣatram prapadye kṣatraṁ mā brahmaṇo gopāyatu kṣatrāya svāhā.* "I go to fhe *kṣatra* the lordly power. May the lordly power protect me from the holy power. These are the offerings to the lordly power."

The reason as to why this Mantra is to be recited is given : 'One who approaches the kingship, approaches the lordly power ; as the kingship is the lordly power. When he thus approaches the lordly power, the holy power does not oppress him. When he gives these offerings, the lordly power is pleased with him and protects him from the holy power.'

The very name of these offerings suggests that these are the offerings given by the sacrificer for getting back something that has gone away from him. It is the Kṣatra the lordly power' that has gone away from him.

M. Haug[7] has rightly pointed out, while explaining the word *ajītapunarvaṇya* that, "This refers to the *kṣatra* which the Kṣatriya first lost by his turning towards the Brahman, but subsequently regained it by embracing the *kṣatra* which he cannot throw off, if he otherwise wished to retain his sovereignty.'

But then the question arises as to why he has to approach the holy power before the consecration and again come to the lordly power after the performance ?

To find an answer to this question, it is necessary to see the introduction pertaining to the prescription of both these offerings. For this purpose, the 34th Adhyāya cites a myth at its beginning. This myth is in brief as follows :

Prajāpati created the sacrifice. After creating it, he created the people of two kinds : *hutāda* 'those who eat the sacrificial food' and *ahutāda* 'those who do not eat the sacrificial food'. The Brāhmaṇas are those who eat it and the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and Śūdras are those who do not eat it.

7. Haug M., mentioned above, p. 325, fn. 4.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Once the sacrifice went away from them. The holy power and the lordly power both went to him with their respective weapons. The sacrifice was afraid of the weapons of the lordly power, viz. the horse, the chariot, the corslet, the bow and the arrow consequently. The sacrifice was afraid of the weapons of the lordly power. Seeing his own weapons, viz. the sacrificial utensils, with the holy power he went to the holy power. Therefore, even now the sacrifice finds support in the holy power and in the Brāhmaṇas. Then the lordly power went to the holy power and said, " You call me also in this sacrifice ". The holy power agreed to do this and said, " Lay aside thine own weapons and with the weapons of the holy power with the form of the holy power, and (thus) becoming the holy power (itself) come to the sacrifice ". Then the lordly power, having laid aside its own weapons, and taking with it the weapons of the holy power, assuming the form of the holy power and becoming (thus) the holy power (itself) went to the sacrificer. Therefore, now also the Kṣatriya sacrificer puts away his own weapons, takes the weapons of the holly power, and appearing in the form of the holy power and becoming the holy power itself, goes to the sacrifice. (*AitBr.* 34. 1).

This myth is very significant in that we come to know from that how the Kṣatriya could perform sacrifice and why he had to become a Brāhmaṇa before performing it. He had to put aside his qualities and duties of a Kṣatriya and only then could he perform the sacrifice. Even the king was not an exception to this rule.

Therefore, before the consecration, the Kṣatriya sacrificer has to offer, certain oblations and announce, " I hereby become a Brāhmana ". However, this Brāhmanatva (= state of being a Brāhmana) was a temperory phase. After the sacrifical performance, he wanted to be a Kṣatriya again and for this purpose he had to offer oblations after the completion of the sacrifice also. Only then could he get back his lordly power.

This idea is more clearly expressed in *AitBr.* 34. 5 thus : As a part of the *Ajītapunarvaṇva* offerings, the Kṣatriya has to pay homage to the Āhavanīya fire. While praising this act, it is said in the Brāhmaṇa, " The Kṣatriya has Indra as his deity, the Triṣṭubh as his metre, the *Pañcadaśastoma* as his *stoma*, Soma as his kingdom, and the Rājanya as his relatives. When such a Kṣatriya is being consecrated for a sacrifice, he comes to assume the Brāhmaṇatva. When he covers himself with the black-antalope skin and observes the vows of the consecrated and when the other Brāhmaṇas come around him, Indra takes away his sensual power, Triṣṭubh his strength, the *Pancadaśa Stoma* his life, the Soma his kingdom, and the Fathers his fame and name, thinking : 'He has become somewhat special, somewhat diffrent from us. He has become the holy power.'

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Therefore, he pays homage to to the Āhavanīya fire and declares : " I am not going away from all these deities and, therefore, may all these presiding deities not take away my faculties. With all these qualities of a Kṣatriya, I am approaching the holy power aud the deity Agni, the metre Gāyatrī, Trivṛt Stoma, Soma the king and becoming a Brāhmaṇa."

When he thus pays homage to Agni, it is said that these deities do not take away the respective faculties from him ; but though the faculties are not taken away, it seems that they are made inoperative. Otherwise, the necessity of making offerings for a secnd time would not have arisen. Thus when he has performed the *udavasānīyā īṣṭi* he become a Kṣatriya again and, therefore, in order to set all his faculties into action once again, he makes the after-offerings and thereby declares, " I become a Kṣatriyas by these offerings ".

After offering these oblations, he pays homage to the Āhavanīya fire. This act of his also is glorified in a significant way. Thus it is said, ' when the sacrificer has finished the sacrificial performance, the deities of the holy power think, ' Now he has become a Kṣatriya and has become someone diffrent from us.' Therefore, they take away his splendour, valour, life, fame and name.

When the sacrificer pays homage to the Āhavanīya fire, he announces by the Mantra, "Even if I am becoming a Kṣatriya, I am not going away from all these deities of the holy power. Therefore, may they not take away from me all these things. With all these things, I am becoming a Kṣatriya. May the merit of my acts remain with me. I am the same Kṣatriya and, after the sacrificial performance, I will remain a Kṣatiya."

Thus, by these offerings, the Kṣatriya sacrificer regains his lordly power and sets it into operation again, without losing the fruit of the sacrificial performance.

In the light of the above discussion, it becomes clear that the description of this ritual seems to point to the significance of such statements in the ritual texts as, the strength, *indriya* or *vīrya*, *vāc* goes away from one, who performs the Rājasūya sacrifice ; these statements refer to the inopertative stage of the qualities of the Kṣatriya sacrificer during the time he is consecrated for the performance of the sacrifice. When the sacrificial performance is complete, some redressing rites are performed for the sacrificer by which his Kṣatriyatva is set into operation once again and the (earlier consecrated) Kṣatriya can act again as a Kṣatriya without losing the fruit of the sacrifice.

Now, some two questions arise : (i) why is not such discussion found in any other ritual texts and (ii) why is it that all the other texts, which merely mention that ' certain things have gone away from the sacrificer ' prescribe some redressing rites and remain silent about the reason for it ?

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The answer to these questions may be the chronological position of the *AitBr* among the ritual texts.

The *AitBr* comprises fourty Adhyāyas, the last ten of which are of peculiar character and have received special attention of many Vedic scholars.

According to Weber[8] these ten Adhyāyas are a later addition to the *AitBr*. However, this does not mean that their contents also are of later origin. In this regard, he agrees with Roth,[9] who is of the opinion that, regarding many of the legends in these chapters, it can be assumed that they had already gained a rounded and independant shape in tradition before they were incorporated into the Brāhmaṇa and of this there is ample evidence in the distinctly archaic character of their language, compared with that of the rest of the text.

Among these ten Adhyāyas also, it can be observed that, the first two are, in a way, a continuation of the discussion occurring in the previous chapters. As against this the last eight Adhyāyas deal exclusively with the rites and duties to be performed by the Kṣatriyas in general and a Kṣatriya king in particular; they are not a continuation of any earlier topic.

It is evident that the discussion regarding the relation between the Kṣatriya and the sacrifice and between the Kṣatriya and the priest, found in these eight Adhyāyas of the *AitBr.*, is a discussion of very early times.

As we know, 'to perform a sacrifice' was considered to be a duty of the Brāhmaṇas, but, in course of time the Kṣatriyas also wanted to perform sacrifices. Or, it may be more probable that the Kṣatriyas wanted their rites to be elevated to a higher status and were included among the Śrauta sacrifical ritual, Gradually, perhaps because of the growing influence of the Kṣatriyas, the Brāhmaṇas had to incorporate the rites of the Kṣatriyas in their own sacrificial ritual and give the Kṣatriyas the right to perform sacrifices.[10] The myth cited in *AitBr.* 34. 1 also suggests that, at first, only the Brāhmaṇas had the right to perform a sacrifice, and the Kṣatriyas were granted the privilege to perform a sacrifice, only at a later period.[11]

8. Weber A., *History of Indian Literature*, p. 44.

9. Roth R., *Die Sage von Śunaḥśepa* (zweiter Artikel), Indische Studien, Vol. 2, pp. 112 to 123.

10. Haug M. has suggested possible reason in his Introduction to the translation of the *AitBr.* p. xlvii.

11. See also Weber A., 'Collectanea Über die kasten – verhältnisse in den Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra. *Indische Studien* Vol, 10. p. 17. For a detailed discussion on the relation between the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas, see the article mentioned above of Weber, pp. 26 to 35; and also – Muir J., *On the Relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain

(Continued on the next page)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

This gives rise to some problems : first, if it is considered that to perform a sacrifice is a duty only of a Brāhmaṇa, then how could a Kṣatriya perform it ? This problem was solved by making him a Brāhmaṇa at least temporarily ! When a Kṣatriyas wanted to perform a sacrifice, he had to keep aside his Kṣatriyatva – his differerentiating qualities of a Kṣatriya – and accept the Brāhmaṇatva necessary for the performance of the sacrifice. Therefore, the offerings like *iṣṭāpūrtasyā-parijyāni* and *ajītapunarvaṇya* offerings are introduced into the ritual of the sacrifice. By offering these oblations before the consecration the Kṣatriya sacrificer announced that he thereby becomes a Brāhmaṇa. The next difficulty was where should his Kṣatriyatva abide during that period ? As a solution to this problem it was imagined that, when a Kṣatriya was consecrated for a sacrifice, the Kṣatriya qualities were taken away from him by the deities of those faculties. But this was not all. Since the Brāhmaṇatva of the Kṣatriya sacrificer was only a temporary phase and that he wanted to be a Kṣatriya again, it was necessary to reinstall the Kṣtriya qualities and faculties in him. Therefore, the after-offerings also were prescribed, after performing which he got back his Kṣatriyatva.

In later literature, however, it has become an accepted fact that a Kṣatriya could perform a sacrifice and when he was consecrated, he was born as a Brāhmaṇa, the Brāhmaṇatva abided in him upto the end of the sacrifice; and after the completion of the sacrifice, once again he became a Kṣatriya as a metter of course and still could have retained with him the fruit of the sacrifice which he had performed as a Brāhmaṇa " (during that while) ".

Thus in *ŚatBr.* 3. 2. 1. 40 it is said, *tasmād api rājanyaṁ vā vaiśyaṁ vā brāhmaṇa ity eva brūyād brāhmaṇo hi jāyate yo yajñāj jāyate* let him address even a Rājanya or a Vaiśya, as Brāhmaṇa, since he who is born of the sacrifice is born of the Brāhmaṇa "(and hence a Brāhmaṇa)", (tr. by Eggeling).

Similar statements are found in the *KātyŚS.* and the *ĀpaŚS.* also. Thus it is said in *KātyŚS.* 7. 4. 11, 12 *anyo dīkṣito 'yaṁ brāhmaṇa ity āha trir ucciaiḥ / brāhmaṇa ity eva vaiśyarājanyayor api* and in *ĀpaŚS.* 10. 11. 6 *brāhmaṇo vā eṣa jāyate yo dīkṣate tasmād rājanyavaiśyayor api brāhmaṇa ity eva āvedayati.* In *TaiS.* 6. 1. 4. 3 also it is said, *adīkṣiṣṭāyaṁ brāhmaṇaḥ iti trir upāṁśv āha.*

The *ŚatBr.* states a view of some that an Aśvamedha, which is a sacrifice proper (only) to the Rājanyas, should be begun in summer, which is the season

(*Continued from the last page*)

and Ireland, NS. Vol. 2, pp. 257 to 302; Muir J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Trübner & Co., 1868, Vol. Ch. Iv, pp. 296 ff.; Gonda J., *The Ancient Indian Kingship in the Religious Point of Vte.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of the Rājanyas. This view is opposed by the *ŚatBr.* and it is said in *ŚatBr.* B. 4. 1. 3 *tad vai vasanta eva abhyārabheta ya eva yajate.* "But let him rather begin it in spring : for spring is the Brāhmaṇa's season, and, truly, whosoever sacrifices, sacrifices after becoming, as it were, a Brāhmaṇa : let him therefore by all means begin it in spring " (tr. by Eggeling).

Thus, it is clear from these references that it is assumed later that a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, when he is consecrated, is considered as a Brāhmaṇa during the period of the performance of the sacrifice. It is natural therefore, that one does not come across any such discussions regarding the preparatory and the redressing rites anywhere else, except in the *AitBr.*

The possible answer to the second question is : The later ritualists must have seen that the Rājasūya was performed together with the redressing rites. Though, the real significance had gone from such rites, they might have become a part of the Rājasūya ritual. Devoid of such rites, the Rājasūya could not have been considered as complete; and therefore, the later ritualists might have modified such rites in some measure and accepted them in their own ritual procedures.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

YĀSKA AS A PIONEER OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF BECOMING

By

SATYA PRAKASH SINGH

All the systems of Philosophy can broadly be divided into two types, those of being and those of becoming. In fact, the majority of systems come under the first type as each one of them postulates a certain substance or substances, principle or principles and seeks to explain the reality both tangible and intangible in terms of them. But the critical scientific realism of the modern age has almost done away with any substance of permanent nature forming the substratum of the universe. What was regarded by science at its early stages as substantial, matter, for instance, is now analysed into a sheer chain of actions and reactions of forces. Atom, the eventual building stuff of the universe, has ceased long since to be regarded as of the form of the billiard ball rolling in space and combining with one another in a large number to form tangible objects of the world. It has come to be analysed into electrons, protons etc. charging on each other no doubt but themselves being bereft of all substantiality whatever.

This and kindred scientific positions of the modern times have at last been formulated philosophically in the 20th century most prominently by Henry Bergson and Alfred North Whitehead who both have unequivocally dispensed with the substantiality of the world and have introduced, instead of it, sheer processes. Bergson has done this from the biological side while Whitehead from the physical. As regards we ourselves, Bergson is of the view that " We change without ceasing, and the state itself is nothing but change ".[1] As regards the universe, it " must be conceived as one continuous flow, which is alive, evolution being the mere movement of the flow." He visualizes a centre of the process of evolution no doubt but even that centre is not anything concrete. It is rather a sheer " continuity of flow." The principle which makes the flow possible is termed by him as *elan vital*, the vital energy, which obviously is sheer becoming rather than anything like being.

So is the case with Whitehead, He regards each and every object in the universe as an insubstantial centre of certain processes which he names as

1. Henry Bergson quoted in C. M. E. *Joad's Guide to Philosophy*, (London, 1953), p. 179.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 552.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

concrescence, prehension and self-transcendence. Concrescence, means ingression of aspects of certain processes towards a centre. Prehension means individuulization of the diverse aspects coming into concrescence under the impulsion of what Whitehead calls "the subjective aim." Self–transcendence is the disintegration of the object prehended earlier. Thus, according to Whitehead, there is nothing permanent in the world, nor is there anything which has got to be permanent. All is sheer flux, sheer process. It is not that there is any reality as such here which is in process. On the contrary, process itself is the reality of the world. Of course, along with the process, Whitehead admits eternal objects also as a component of the reality of the world, but only in the form of ideas which are seeking to get actualized by getting ingressed in the process. As regards the actual reality of the world, it comprises events and objects. White the reallty of events lies in their eventuation, the objects are supposed ordinarily to be tangible and durable. But Whitehead finds even the objects as a certain state in the process of eventuation, the state being specifically that of prehension which further is bound to disintegrate via self-transcendence. Thus, in his view, being is a misnomer; becoming alone is real.

This philosophical position, however, is not peculiar to the modern science, though the latter has given considerable elaboration and confirmation to it. As a matter of historicol fact, in the West this position was held for the first time by Heracleitus who was born sometime during 504–501 B. C. Heracleitus was a junior contemporary of Parmenides who flourished *c.* 515 B. C. Parmenides proposed *being* as the permanent reality. He regarded it as indestructible and without a beginning. In his view, the *being* is universal, existing alone, immovable and endless. Since *being* cannot come out of non-being and also since *being* alone can come out of *being*, therefore, argues Parmenides, logic does not permit that "anything spring from *being* except *being* itself". This in his view, is eqivalent to saying that *being* has no beginning and hence no end. As against it, Heracleitus did not believe that anything was permanent. To quote his celebrated observation :

"You could not step twice in the same rivers; for other and yet waters are ever flowing on". By "other" he obviously means "everything else" in the univese. Thus, in his view everything is undergoing change constantly in the same way as the water of the river is ever flowing. Hence to take a particular river as one and the same in all the successive moments is erroneous. As a matter of fact, the river of each previous moment ceases to be in the succeeding moment. It is, therefore, impossible for anyone to step into a river twice, as the second time it has changed into a different one. Moreover, besides the river the individual also is undergoing change in the same manner. Hence at the time of second stepping, it is not only that the river has become anther one but the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

agent also has followed the suit. If he appears to be one and the same, like the river, that is due to the ignorance of the change. To quote Heracleitus again.

"In the same rivers we step and we do not step; we are and we are not".[3] Thus, as against Parmenides *being*, *becoming* is the real reality according to Heracleitus.

On the Indian side, parallel to Heracleitus, Buddha is regarded as the innovator of the philosphy of becoming. In fact, even in his own reckoning, the doctrine of *becoming* outweighs all his personal excellences and achievements. In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* he observes that people admire him on account of his maintainig a high moral standard, abstaining from violence, observing absolute continence, using truthful, polite and sweet words, taking only one meal a day, abstaining from all the luxuries of life and preaching what is good for all the living beings but his real greatness lies in propounding something deep, subtle, hard of comprehension, supra logical, undestandable only by the highly thoughtful.[4] This philosophy lies in the reversal of the views of the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas who according to Buddha, having practised meditation for long come to see through their previous births, thousands in number and conclude that there is something eternal within them and also eternal in the world in which this eternal something, called Ātman, moves in different forms.[5] But all this, according to him, is a sheer misnomer in as much as what they take as eternal Ātman is only a congregation of the five *Khandhas*, namely, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *saṅkhāra* and *viññāna*, which all arise depending on one another. *rūpa* is the sense-datum whose reality depends on the sense-experience (*vedanā*) while the sense experience itself depends on the sense-datum. *saññā saṅkhāra* and *viññāna* are obviously dependent on the *rūpa* and the *vedanā* and also among themselves. Thus the whole concept of a permanent agent indwelling the individual and observiug the constant world is an illusion. Similarly illusory is the constancy of the external world in as much as it is born of the close succession of the moments of *vedanā* of the *rūpa* gaining in durability by passing through the processes of *saññā*, *saṅkhāra* and *viññāna*. In fact, when the percipient himself is reduced to the status of a mere series of perceiving and comprehending processes, there is no *locus standi* whatever for admitting a constant world outside, beyond, of course, what is necessary for immediate purposes of life. Since Buddha had his purpose served by the above intuition of the nature

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. अत्थि भिक्खवे, अञ्ञेव धम्मा गम्भीरा दुद्दसा दुरनुवोधा सन्ता पणीता अतक्कावचरा निपुणा पण्डितवेदनीया, यं तथागतो सयं अभिञ्ञा सच्छिकत्वा पवेदेति, ये हि तथागतस्स यथामुचं वण्णं सम्मा वदमाना वदेय्युं। — *Dīghanikāya* I. 3. 28.

5. *Ibid.*, I. 3, 29–31.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of the self alone, he was not necessitated to elaborate upon the cognate nature of the external world. This was left for the later schools of Sautrāntikas, Vaibhāṣikas, Yogācāras and Śūnyavādins to accomplish with their peculiar emphases on one or the other aspect of the outlook which by all accounts was Buddha's legitimate legacy. An idea of this outlook towards the world can be had from some verses of the *Dhammapada*, for example. In one of the verses he observes that the king of death does not see that person who looks at the world as a bubble of water or a mirage.[6] The simile of the bubble lent support later on to the development of the theory of flux or momentariness upheld by the Sautrāntikas while the same of the mirage gave direction to the Yogācāra and Śūnyavāda schools. As regards the Buddha, he was contented only with the conclusion that nothing composite is eternal.[7] This is as much true about the external world as about the Psychic being. On accouut of being of the composite nature, both of these are non-eternal or momentary. None of their components is durable, for it is more of the nature of process or becoming. If there is anything of the nature of being in this scheme of things, that is only Nibbāṇa which however, has nothing to do with the composition of the world or that of the individual Psyche.

To come to the historical perspective, it is important to note that though Buddha was born in the same century as Heracleitus, which alone incidentally is taken note of, as a matter of fact he is senior to his Greek counterpart by more than half a century. For, while the date of birth of Heracleitus is ascertained between 504 to 501 B. C., that of the Buddha is placed at *circa* 560 B. C. The implication of this differences of age is quite obvious, particularly in view of the fact that by all accounts the Buddha had evolved his doctorine at the age of 36 which falls in 524 B. C. and is earlier to the birth of Heracleitus at least by 20 years. Hence to bracket the two together is a gross injustice to the Buddha. It is he, rather than Heracleitus, who deserves the credit of being regarded as the originator of the Philosophy of *becoming*. He deserves this credit all the more justifiably in view of the fact that while Heracleitus's philosophy has survived only in the form of a few stray observations, the Buddha's words are extant in volumes giving exposition to one of the most detailed philosophical viewpoints ever presented.

If, on the other hand, even meagre observations are to be accredited to the account of the history of the idea, the origin of the idea of becoming can be

6. यथा बुब्बुलकं पस्से यथा पस्से मरीचिकं ।
एवं लोकं अवेक्खन्तं मच्चुराजा न पस्सति ॥ — *Dhammapada* 170.
7. संखारा सस्सता नत्थि । — *Ibid.*, 255.
सब्बे संखारा अनिच्चा । — *Ibid.*, 277.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

taken still far back to the *Nirukta* of Yāska who by all accounts preceded the Buddha by at least a couple of centuries. As is well known, Yāska is not a philosopher but a linguist. Since however, he takes the question of the origin of language, particularly in regard to words, to the last analysable form, he, in a way, hits the rock bottom of things. This is particularly true in the context of his discussion on the relationship between nouns and verbs called by him as *nāma* and *ākhyāta* respectively. He defines verb as consisting mainly of 'becoming' while noun as comprising mainly 'being'.[8] By the term "consisting mainly of becoming" (*bhāvapradhānam ākhyātām*) used in the definition what he intends, as rightly understood by his famous commentator Durga, is not that in the composition of a varb there is anything besides 'becoming' but that the 'becoming' itself is the chief motive having achieved which the verb comes to its fulfilment and vanishes forthwith."[9] This interpretation is confirmed further at the next step where Yāska himself explains the verb as a continuous series of momentary becomings, *bhāvas*. He illustrates the viewpoint by the verbs denoting the act of going and that of cooking. In the act of going for instance, there is involved a chain of momentary acts of raising one of the legs, placing it ahead and then raising the other leg and placing it further onward. This process goes on for quite a long series of moments involving as many units of becoming in the movement until one reaches one's destination. Similarly in the act of cooking, there is involved a long chain of each moments activity which if computed as a whole, would reach a staggering number. Verb is nothing but the chain of these momentary acts ranging from the beginning to the end in a particular sequence.[10]

Now, if verb is the flux of the sequence ot momentary becomings, noun, according to Yāska, is the same sequence stagnated or solidified after reaching its consummation. Thus, if *vrajati* is the verb, *vrajyā* is the noun formed out of stagnation or solidification of the same. Similarly, if *pacati* is the verb, *pakti* is the noun formed out of stagnation or solidification of it. In fact, according to Yāska, when a certain sequence of becoming consummates into *being*, it becomes noun. This is born by Yāska's definition of noun as the verb or sequence of momentary becomings concretized or transformed into *being*.[11]

8. भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् । सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि । *Nirukta* I. 1. 9.

9. भावाभिव्यक्त्युन्मुखीभूता क्रिया तस्याश्च प्राधान्येन वर्तमानो भावः ।··· तदर्था हि सा भावार्था भावसिद्धयर्थमात्मलाभमनुभूय ··· अवसितप्रयोजनैकदेश एव तिरोभवति ।

—Durga on *Nirukta* I. 1. 9.

10. पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमारव्यातेनाचष्टे व्रजति पचतीत्युपक्रमप्रभृत्युपवर्गपर्यन्तम् ।

—*Nirukta* I. 1. 11.

11. मूर्त्तं सत्त्वभूतं सत्त्वनामभिर्व्रज्या पक्तिरिति । —*Ibid.*, I. 1. 12.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The difference of *becoming* and *being* between verb and noun is obvious further from Yāska's use of the words *bhāva* and *sattva* respectively in his analyasis of the two. Needless to point out that the word *bhāva* is derived from the √*bhū*, to become, while *sattva* is rooted in √*as*, to be. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that in Yāska's view it is becoming which breeds being rather than *vice versa*. It is this view, indeed, which opens the possibility of derivation of nouns from verbs.

What is stil more interesing to observe is that from Yāska's viewpoint the verb is pre-eminent not only at the initial stage but even at the subsequent. This is evident from his observation that even where noun and verb both occur together, there too it is the *bhāva*, the becoming or the sequence of becomings which is pre-eminent and not the being as represented by the noun.[12] Noun or *being* is only subordinate to the verb or *becoming*, as in a sentence, for example, as suggested by Durga.

And from this linguistic position it was not very far to reach the ontological, provided there was a definite will for that in the author of the Nirukta. This is particularly so in view of the intimate relationship between language and ideas on the one hand and ideas and the reality on the other. If language is the bearer of ideas, ideas are the human understanding of the reality. Yāska's viewpoint in regard to the relationship between verbs and nouns could very easily have been applied to the understanding of the reality in the form of the relationship between events and objects, as done by Whitehead later on. As has already been pointed out, eventuating through the processes of concrescence, prehension and self-transcendence it is the evants which assume the form of objects, as Whitehead maintains. Similarly according to Yāska, it is the chain of the moments of becoming which results in the noun, the linguistic form of the objects. Thus the insight of Yāska had reduced the distance to the minium for reaching the Whiteheadian position in the regard. But incidentally he had no will in him to take the leap from the linguistic to the ontological. This is very clearly borne out by his way of tackling the problem of extendedness of the earth. While giving justification for the derivation of the word *pṛthivī* from the √*prath*, instead of going in the problem of the formation of the earth in its extended form, as is required by the proposed root, he stops simply with the observation that a linguist is expected only to explain the association of the word with a particular meaning and is by no means obliged to explain the formation of the object denoted by the word.[13]

---

12. तद्यत्रोभे भावप्रधाने भवतः। — *Ibid.*, I. 1. 10.

13. यथो एतन्निष्पन्नेऽभिव्याहारेऽभिविचारयन्तीति, भवति हि निष्पन्नेऽभिव्याहारे योगपरीष्टिः — प्रथनात् पृथिवीत्याहुः क एनामप्रथयिष्यत् किमाधारश्चेति अथ वै दर्शनेन पृथुरप्रथिता चेदप्यन्यैः।

Nirukta I. 14.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ABHICĀRA-RITES AND *MĪMĀṀSĀ*

By

G. U. THITE

It is wellknown that the Vedic ritual is prescribed to be performed in order to get various results[1] like obtainment of heaven, wealth, cattle, food etc. One of the most important result of the Vedic ritual is destruction of the enemy. The ritual which is connected with the result of defeating one's enemy or destroying him or obtaining things possessed by him etc. comes under the heading *abhicāra*.

Mīmāṁsā system of Indian philosophy has tried to face the problem of *abhicāra* in its own way. Since the Vedic texts have described *Abhicāra*-rites, a problem arises whether the *Abhicāra*-rites also can be called *dharma* or not, But Śabara on the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtra* 1. 1. 2 *Codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*, very cleverly excludes *Abhicāra*-rites like *Śyena*, *Vajra* and *Iṣu* etc. from the sphere of *dharma* (religion) on the basis of the word *ariha* (leading to welfare) in the *mīmāṁsā sūtra*. He argues that the word *artha* is included in the *sūtra* in order to exclude these sacrifices which are *anartha* (leading to destruction). They are *anartha* because they lead to *hiṁsā* (destruction) and *hiṁsā* is prohibited. *Hiṁsā* is no *dharma*. Then how the sacrifices like *Śyena* are prescribed in the Vedic texts? The answer is that as such they are not prescribed (by the Vedic texts) to be performed. The Vedic texts prescribe them if someone wants to perform black magic, sorcery (*abhicāra*) etc. The Vedic texts do not prescribe that one should perform *abhicāra* (which leading to *hiṁsā*, is no *dharma*) but prescribe the way of practising *abhicāra* if it is intended.

In this paper it is intended to examine this argument on the basis of the evidence from Vedic texts themselves. The *Mīmāṁsā*-arguments in connection with the *abhicāra* are obviously of the nature of an after-thought and secondary one. The *Mīmāṁsā*-texts try to explain the obviously arbitrary and mutually contradictory "prescientific scientific"[2] texts like the Brāhmaṇa-texts as if they were logical, scientific aud supporting the view-point which is convenient to their

1. Cf. my *Sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts*, Poona, 1975, pp. 222.
2. Cf. in general Oldenberg H., *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte*, Göttingen, 1919.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

doctrines which were a production of later thinking. So, because according to their theory, *hiṁsā* was no *dharma*, whatever contained *hiṁsā* cannot be called *dharma*. Now really speaking all the Vedic sacrifices of Soma-type (and *Śyena* etc. are of Soma-type sacrifices) contain *hiṁsā* because animal-sacrifices form an essential part of any Soma-sacrifice. The *Mīmāṁsā*-texts cannot oppose this *hiṁsā* because it is an essential part of the Vedic religion and they have to modify their doctrine of *ahiṁsā* as an essential factor of *dhvrma* (which again is a later doctrine) as far as the ritual containing animal-sacrifice is concerned by accepting that the *hiṁsā* of the animals is a part of *dharma* (religion) because it is prescribed by the Vedic texts. Now it is worthy to be remembered that while the *hiṁsā* in the Vedic animal-sacrifices (and consequently in the Soma-sacrifices) is the real one, the *hiṁsā* which is a result of the sacrifices like *Śyena* etc. is merely imaginary. Thus nobody can in reality be certain about whether the enemy will really be destroyed if a sacrificer performs *Śyena* etc. But for one who has firm faith in the power of the Vedic ritual in yielding the results, this point is not relevant. For him the difference between the *hiṁsā* in the animal-sacrifices and the one caused by sacrifices like *Śyena* is simply that between the *hiṁsā* of a quadruped and that of a biped. The latter *hiṁsā* was of course more serious and was to be avoided.

Now apart from the difficulties in accepting the *Mīmāṁsā*-doctrine of *abhicāra* mentioned above from the point of view of a modern thinker who is not a follower of Vedic religion there are some other difficulties which can be raised from the point of view of an ancient performer of Vedic sacrifices also as far as the *Mīmāṁsā* doctrine of *abhicāra* and *dharma* are considered. And I think that these difficulties are more serious and cannot be answered by a Mīmāṁsaka.

It is very important to note that the *Mīmāṁsā* has taken into consideration the very famous *abhicāra* rites like *Śyena* etc. and even though the *Mīmāṁsā* argument is an after-thought and possibly not meant by the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts, it is true that the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts prescribe the sacrifices like *Śyena* etc. for one who wants to perform *abhicāra* and they do not prescribe to perform *abhicāra* as such. (Really speaking it is doubtful whether there can be difference between prescribing a means and prescribing an intention, for, one who does not approve the intention will not prescribe the means to fulfil it). But it must be noted that the Vedic *abhicāra* is not limited to these famous *Abhicāra*-sacrifices alone. There are many optional as well as obligatory *Abhicāra*-rites described in the Veda. It is true that *Abhicāra*-rites like *Śyena* are purely optional. Thus only when one wants to perform *abhicāra* one has to perform these sacrifices. If one has no enemy or if one does not want to kill him, then these sacrifices are not to be performed. But there are many *Abhicāra*-rites which are of an obligatory

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

nature. They form a part of the ritual like New and Full moon sacrifices, Cāturmāsya-sacrifices Soma-sacrifices etc. Now it is not possible to avoid those bligatory *Abhicāra*-rites once we start performing these sacrifices. No Mīmāṁsaka can say that the sacrifices like New and Full-moon sacrifices are not a part of the Vedic *dharma* and no Mīmāṁsaka will also be able to say that these *Abhicāra*-rites thould not be performed because they lead to *hiṁsā* and are *adharma*, because those *Abhicāra*-rites are an essential part of these sacrifices and one has to perform them whether one has an enemy or not or whether one wants to destroy the enemy or not. The performance of these rites however, leads to the results like destruction of the enemy etc. according to the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts themselves. There are numerous cases in the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts of this sort, but I am giving only a few examples just to illustrate the point.

In *ŚB* 1. 8. 2. 17 it is said that after the *anuyājas* (after-offerings) the priest should pour out the ghee attached to the *upabhṛt* and *juhū* into fire. Thereby the enemy of the sacrificer is subdued and is made to pay tribute to the sacrificer. Elsewhere it is said that when the *anuyājas* (after-offerings) are offered the sacrificer drives back his wicked spiteful enemy (*ŚB* XI. 2. 7. 26: *tad yad anuyājā ijyante pāpmānam eva tad dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ yajamānaḥ pratyūhati*). Now, *anuyājas* are an essential and integral part of the New and Full-moon sacrifices. The performances of them is obligatory, once one starts performing the New and Full-moon sacrifices. The performance of *anuyājas* gives results like those of *Abhicāra*-rites. Similar is the case of the performance of the *Mahāhaviryāga* in the *Sākamedhaparvan* of the *Cāturmāsya*-sacrifice. By performing it the sacrificer slays his spiteful enemy and gains victory (*mahā-haviṣā ha vai devā vṛtraṁ jaghnus teno eva vyajayanta yeyam eṣāṁ vijitis taṁ tatho evaiṣa etena pāpmānaṁ dviṣantaṁ bhrātṛvyaṁ hanti tatho eva vijayate tasmād vā eṣa etena yajate* — *ŚB* II. 5. 4. 1). In a Soma-sacrifice by drawing the three *Marutvatīya* cups the sacrificer can kill his enemy *TS*. VI. 5. 5. 1–2). At the time of the Dīkṣā ceremony before a Soma-sacrifice the sacrificer applies collyrium to his eyes. Thereby, it is said that he takes away the eye of the enemy (*TS*. VI 1. 1. 5). All these rites are of obligatory nature and an essential part of the Vedic ritual. They are also of the *abhicāra* nature. The argument given in connection with the sacrifices like *Śyena* etc. cannot be applicable here because the sacrifices like *Śyena* are optional but these rites are obligatory. So they have to be performed. And the sacrificer has thus to perform an *abhicāra* as a part of the regular Vedic ritualistic religion and he should expect to get the result of these rites viz. destruction of the enemy.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

By way conclusion it may be said that : (1) *Abhicāra* is a very wide spread and deep-rooted phenomenon in the Vedic ritual.[3] Its scope is more than that of the sacrifices like *Śyena*. (2) The *Mīmāmsā* takes into consideration only the optional sacrifices like *Śyena*, and by way of an after-thought says that the Vedic texts do dot prescribe *abhicāra* as such but the means to perform it if it is intended to be performed. But the *Mīmāṁsā* has not taken into consideration the obligatory *Abhicāra*-rites forming a part of the regular Vedic ritual. (3) Thus we have to accept whether we will like it or not, that *abhicāra* is an essential part of the Vedic religion. Those who were physically weak could not do anything else than try to destroy their enemy with the help of magico-religious weapon in the form of *abhicāra*.

3. Shri P. C. Sahoo is working on the Vedic Abhicāra-rites, for Ph. D. under my guidance at the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona. He is taking into consideration the numerous Abhicāra-rites in the Veda.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PADAPRADĪPIKĀ — A NEWLY DISCOVERED TREATISE ON THE PADAPĀṬHA OF THE *KṚṢṆAYAJURVEDA-TAITTIRĪYA-SAṀHITĀ*

By

N. V. P. UNITHIRI

Padapradīpikā (*PP*)[1] deals with the Padapāṭha of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (*TS*) in 140 Kārikās. There is also a prose-commentary on the work by the author himself. Both the Kārikās and commentary thereon form the treatise *Padapradīpikā*.[2]

Author and his date

From the first verse :

praṇipatya mahādevam prārabdhārtha-prasiddhaye /
nārāyaṇena vātsyena kriyate padalakṣaṇam // (*PP*. 1)

it is clear thai one Vātsya Nārāyaṇa is the author of the work. Here the expression *vātsya* does not mean 'one belongs to Vatsagotra' as is usually explained, but it means 'one who was born in Vatsamūla'.[3] 'Vatsamūla' appears to be a Sanskritised form of a housename. That Nārāyaṇa belongs to Kerala is evident from the last verse forming the colophon to the work which contains the date of its compositian in Malayalam Era (842 = AD 1667) using Kaṭapayādi type of *akṣarasaṃkhyā* which is peculiar to Kerala. The verse runs as follows :

pravāhāmitakolaṃbe dhiṣaṇe jhaṣam āśrite /
padapradīpikā hy eṣā likhitā vyākhyayānvitā //[4]

1. The Ms. of this work is owned by A. V. Krishna vadhyan Namboodiri of Pallithara near Payyannur in Cannanore District, Kerala. This is discovered during a Mss. survey in cannanore District conducted by the present writer in June–July, 1983, in collaboration with Dr, A. N. Aklujkar of the British Columbia University, Canada.

2. Vide the last verse forming the colophon to the work :
pravāhamitakolaṃbe dhiṣaṇe jhaṣam āśrite /
padapradīpikā hy eṣā likhitā vyākhyayānvitā //

3. Vide the commentary theron : *Vātsyena vatsamūlodbhavena nāmnā nārāyaṇena.*

4. *Pravāha* = 842 M. E (= A. D. 1667).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Thus we may easily conclude that *PP* was composed in A. D. 1667 by Vātsya Nārāyaṇa of Kerala.

Aim of the author

The aim of the author in writing *PP* is to make easily known the division of padas in Saṃhitā according to Prātiśākhya which is difficult to be understood by Mantra, Brāhmaṇa or Svara. Thus it will be a ship to cross the ocean of the Vedas for those who cannot afford huge amount of words. This aim is presented in a couple of verses as below :

vistarasyāsahiṣṇūnām viduṣām hṛdayaṃgamā /
vedasindhum vivikṣūṇām ayate yānapātratām //
saṃhitāyām asujñānam yan mantrabrāhmaṇasvaraiḥ /
prātiśākhyānurodhena padarūpam tad ucyate // (*PP*. 3–4)

Padapradīpikā and Pāṇini

Unlike *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* (*TP*),[5] Nārāyaṇa makes use of the technical terms and Paribhāṣās of Pāṇini. For example, upasargas, used in *PP* are according to Pāṇini :

upasargās tv iha grāhyāh pāṇinīyānusārataḥ /
(*PP*. 5*ab*)[6]

The Paribhāṣās of Pāṇini like *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* (I. 1. 66) and *tasmād ity uttarasya* (I. 1. 67) are accepted by the author through the following verse :

vidhir vā pratiṣedho vā vibhaktyottamayodite /
nimitte sati pūrvasya, syāt pañcamyāparasya tu //
(*PP*. 5*cd* 6*ab*)

Then the author introduces some of the Paribhāṣās accepted by him in his work (6–8). He concludes this section saying that the text followed by the preceptors down the centuries should be considered authoritative : *na tasya lakṣaṇāpekṣā pāṭhasyāpy apramādyatām* (*PP*. 8*cd*). The commentary thereon may also be cited : *apramādyatām avahitānām ācāryāṇām pāṭhasyāpi lakṣaṇāpekṣā na bhavati. sarvāpavādo 'yam yatra kutrāpi buddhivyāmohād viruddhoktiśaṅkāparihārāyaivam uktam. tathā ca pāṭha evātra mūlam no gurūṇām apramādyatām.*

5. The *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* with the commentary *Tribhāṣyaratna*, Ed. William D. Whitney. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973.

6. According to Pāṇinīyan system there are twentytwo upasargas while *TP* lists only ten: *Āprāvopābhyadhipratipari vinīty upasargāḥ* (I. 15)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padapradipikā and Saptalakṣaṇa

In the composition of *PP*. Nārāyaṇa has made use of a similar work by name *Saptalakṣaṇa*[7] (*SL*) in seven chapters on Śamāna; [8] Vilaṁghya,[9] Napara, Tapara, Avarṇi, Āvarṇi and Aniṅgya. *SL* is quoted twice as authority in *PP*.[10] A comparative study of these two works may reveal that *PP* follows mainly *SL* in framing rules and choosing examples. *PP* is more scientific and concise. *SL* contains 76 sūtras and 254 kārikās while *PP* has only 140 kārikās besides the last verse forming the colophon. Thus it can be assumed that when Nārāyana says *vistarasyāsahiṣṇūnām* etc. quoted above, *SL* might have been in his mind.

Contents

At first, the author makes rules for the divison of those words for which definition of Saṃhitā was given in *TP* by the sūtras beginning with *atha saṃhitāyām ekaprāṇabhāve* (V. 1). Rules are made here only where there arises doubt. There may not be any doubt in the contexts described by the sūtras from *TP* V. 1 to V. 23.[11] For example in the compound word *tajṭayānām* in the passage *tajjayānāṁ jayatvam* words are split into *tat* + *jayānām*. There is no doubt. Therefore rules for the split of words like this are not included in *PP*. On the other hand, in those contexts where the sūtras *TP* V. 24[12] and V. 27[13] work, there may be doubt how to split the Saṃhitā. For fixing the

7. *Spetalakṣaṇa* with commentary by Vaīdyanātha (in Grantha script), Ed. T. M. Narayana Sastri, Saradavilas Press, Kumbhakonam, 1918. There is also another edition of this work (in Malayalam script) omitting the last chapter (Aniṅgyānuśāsana). The third and fourth chapters of *TP* and the *Tāṇḍam of Kolankara* which is also dealing with the padapāṭha of *TS* are given as Appendices. Ed. A. K. T. K. M. Gupthan Namboodiripad, panjangam Press, Kunnamkulam, Kerala, 1929.

8. *yasya vaidikasya padasya visarjanīyas saṁhitāyāṁ vilupyate tasya śamānam iti saṁjñā pūrvaiś śrotriyavaraiḥ kalpitā* (*SL*, *p*. 2).

9. *ekāraikāravarṇau yau saṃhitāyāṁ vikāriṇau |*
tadantāni vilaṁghyānīty ucyante vedavittamaiḥ || (*Ibid*., II. 2).

10. i. *teṣām vyaktyartham atra pūrvācāryāṇām vacanam-*
ekājagmemam āraṇyā evam vidvāṁsa indavaḥ |
eṣām paśava udyanta ctāvantaḥ parañca ye ||
paro nava uśanto ye vājinam samidhas suvaḥ |
bhakṣa sā tebhya eteṣu vinodevaṃpareṇa tu ||
These verses are *SL*, II. 31. 32.

ii. *atra vyaktyartham purātanam kimapi lakṣaṇam likhyate-*
ṛtunā smopahatyapraparāśrāvyānuvākyayā.
This half is *SL*, VI. 23.

11. *japaro jakāram* (when followed by *j*, *t* becomes *j*-).

12. *nakāra eteṣu ñakāram* (A *n*, before the letter *ś*, *c*, *ch* and *j* becomes *ñ*).

13. *makāras sparśaparas tasya sasthānam anunāsikam* (A *m*, when followed by amute, becomes the nasal of like position with it).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padapāṭha in such places, rules are enjoined in *PP*. The rules in this group begin with the verse as below :

cāditraye tavargīye dvitīyottamavarjite |
lakāre ca vikārī naḥ padāntas spaṣṭm ucyate || (*PP*. 9)[14]

The *n* at the end of a word is pronounced clearly when it is followed by the seven letters : *c*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *dh*, and *l*. This rule is discussed in detail in the kārikās 9–13 forming *Saptaparādhikāra*, and exceptions to this rule are pointed out. Only that word beginning with Udātta or exclusively Anudātta or beginning with *a* or *ā* and with a short penultimate letter, is pronounced as *n* when followed by the above-mentioned seven letters.[15] For example the passage *prāveśayantīrthe* (*snāti*) should be split as *prāveśayan* + *tīrthe*, ending in *n*. But the passage *adhamantamo* (*nayāmi*) is split only as *adhamam* + *tamaḥ* ending in *m* because it begins with an Anudātta.

In kārikās 14–20, Nārāyaṇa describes the rules pertaining to the work ending in the first letter in the mutes. The first rule in this section may be cited below :

anudāttam udāttāntaṁ vā yapūrvagurūpadham |
īdedupāntyaṁ lokānne manthimucyor mukhe na ran || (*PP*. 14)[16]

The word wholly Anudātta or ending in Udātta, with a penultimate long vowel proceded by *y* becomes *k*, *ṭ* or *t*, as the case may be, in the end when it is followed by a nasal. The passage (*taveva me manyur*) *bhūyānnamaḥ* is split as *bhuyāt* + *namaḥ*, with a *t* end. But in the passage *manusyānmanuṣya-yaśasena* the word-division is *manuṣyān* + *manuṣyayaśasena* because of the accent. *Jaganmnkho* (*vai*) is split into *jagat* + *mukhaḥ* while (*phalgunī-pūrṇamāse*) *dīkṣerannmukham* is into *dīkṣeran* + *mukham*. This is because of the last part of the above rule — *mukhe na ran*. The first word should end in the first letter in the mute when followed by the word *mukha*; but if the word has *ran* in the end it should end only in nasal.

The rules pertaining to the division of the words ending in Visarga are given in the kārikās 21–49. After the presentation of general rules with illustration the author gives the llst of specific words which are not covered by them. As an instance the section on Visargas ends with the following verse :

---

14. Cf. *cachajeṣu tavargīye ihakāreṇa vivarjite |*
catuṣṭaye makāre ca lakāre ca pare sthite ||
vikārī naḥ padānto yas takāro ṇaparaś ca yaḥ |
dṛśyate yeṣu tau jñātuṁ pravakṣyāmi padāny aham || (*SL*, 6–7).
15. *Udāttādy anudāttam vāpy avarṇādi laghūpadham |* (*PP*, 10ab).
16. Cf. *Adyād atṛṇad aśnīyād abravīd ajuṣat tataḥ* etc. (*SL*, IV. 1).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

māndāḥ pavayajasyandamānās saspiñjarāś śarāḥ /
...hotrā na deyi hotavyasarpasthāvarahārukāḥ // (PP. 49)[17]

Examples are the following : *māndā vāśāḥ = māndāḥ + vāsāḥ. pavayajasyandamānāḥ – pavamānāḥ yajamānāḥ syandamānāḥ ity arthaḥ.* (*caturviṃśaḥ*) *pavamānā brahmavarcasam = pavamānāḥ + brahmavarcasam. yajamānā rājyam* (*pariyanti*) *= yajamānāḥ + rājyam. syandamānā yathāvaśam = syandamānāḥ + yathāvaśam. Saspiñjarā nīlagrīvāḥ = saspiñjarāḥ + nīlagrīvāḥ.* (*ūrg vai*) *śarā yat = śarāḥ + yat.* The word *hotrā* should end in Visarga except when it is followed by *de*. Example : *hotrā vai* (*varūtrayaḥ*) *= hotrāḥ + vai.* But (*anaḍvān*) *hotrā deyoḥ = hotrā + deyaḥ. Hotrā* ends without Visarga only when it is followed by *d* with the vowel *e*. Otherwise it ends in Visarga. Example : (vi) *hotrā dadhe = hotrāḥ + dadhe.*

Then *PP* takes up the division of padas ending in *e* and *ai*. Kārikās 50–72 form this section. An example may be cited :

sunvater yajamāne syād dadhatau cācaturthake /
yajate rocatī rāṣṭre raṇe viśve vayasvate // (PP. 69) [18]

After *sunvati* the word *yājamāna* will be ending in *e*. Example : *sunvati yajamāna āśiṣaḥ ... yajamāne + āśiṣaḥ.* The word *yajamāna* ends in *e* when it is followed by the verb *dadhāti* within the four succeeding words. Example : *yajamāna eva tejo dadhāti = yajamāne + eva ..., yajamāna āyur dadhāti = yajamāne + āyuḥ ...* . The root *dhā* should definitely be in *Parasmaipada*, hence its presence in the Kārikā in the form of *Parasmaipada* itself. Therefore, the word *yajamāna* does not take the Visarga in the end when it is followed by the root *dhā* in *ātmanepada* in the given situation. Example : *yajamāna ātman dhatte = yajamānaḥ + ātman ...* . Counter-example for this rule : *taṁ vā etam yajāmāna eva cinvīta = ... yajamānaḥ + eva ...* . In both these passages there is no *dadhāti*. If the word is other than *yajamāna* it will not be ending in *e*. Example : *reta eva tad dadhāti*. Here, even though the condition of *dadhāti* is satisfied, the concerned word is not *yajamānaḥ*. Hence the division – *rataḥ + eva ...* . Similar other examples. *garbha indriyam evāsmin dadhāti = gaḥbhaḥ + indriyam ...* . The latter half of the Kārikā gives the list of specific words. *yo yajata upavīr asīty āha = ... yajate + upa ...* . The root *ruc* is intended by the expression *rocati*. Therefore the words derived from the root *ruc* will take the ending *e*. Example : *devānām rocata evam = ... rosate + evam. rocata evaikaviṁśatirātraḥ = rocate + eva ...* . *kṣāmand ruruca uṣasaḥ = ... ruruce + uṣasaḥ.* Since the verb *rocati* is given in the Kārikā, only verbal forms take the ending *e*. Therefore *sūrye ruco udyataḥ = ...*

17. Cf. *Hotrāḥ. Na deparaḥ* (*Ibid*, 74, 75)
18. Cf. *Rocate .... ruruce rāṣṭre rocante rabhate tathā* / (*Ibid*, II., 35)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

rucaḥ + udyataḥ ... . The words *rāṣṭra* etc. will be ending in *e. rāṣṭra eva viśam = rāṣṭre + eva .... nūraṇa āyo ghṛṇe = nūraṇe + āyaḥ ...; maruto viśva ūti = viśve + ūti. vayasvata ukthā yuve = vayasvate + ukthā ...* .

The Kārikā-s 73–98 enjoin the rules regarding the division of the words ending in *a* and *ā*. An example may be cited from this section which also serves as an instance for the rule pointing out certain Anuvākas in particular. The following is the rule :

datvate parapakṣaśrud anyatra prād avagrahāt (*PP*. 74*ab*)[19]

The words in the second part of each mantra in the Anuvāka beginning with *datvate* (*TS*. VII. 5. 12) begin with *a* except that preceded by the Avagraha *pra*. The Anuvāka runs thus: *datvate svāhādantakāya svāhā*; *prāṇine svāhāprāṇāya svāhā*; *mukhavate svāhāmukhāya svāhā* etc. Thus the examples are *adantakāya, aprāṇāya, amukhāya* etc. But in the passage *prajābhyas svāhā prajananāya svāhā* in the same Anuvāka, the latter part begins with *prajananāya*, because of the condition *prād avagrahāt*. Since the expression *śrut* is attached with *parapakṣa*, it can be assumed that the words beginning with *a* according to this rule are as such in other contexts also, i. e. in Anuvākas other than this. Thus in the passage *pūṣāpraviṣṭabhāgo' dantakaḥ* the last word is *adantakaḥ*.

The rest of the Kārikās, i. e. 99–140, forms the section on Aniṅgya. Here the author gives the rules regarding the words which should be pronounced as Akhaṇḍa (partless) in the *Padapāṭha*. As an example we may quote the following half-verse :

māḍhyandline māṃspacanyā maghonītyeva yavyudhaḥ[20] (*PP*. 135*ab*)

The words mentioned here are to be pronounced as Aniṅgya. Examples : *grīṣme mādhyandine, mādhyandinam savanam, mādhyandina eva, māṃspacanyā ukhāyāḥ, mughodī juṣṭir asi*. Since the expressions *iti* and *eva* are put after *maghonī*, it is indicated that among the derivations of this word, only those which are undergone the process of Saṃprasāraṇa are Aniṅgyas. Thus in the passage *tvāvato maghonaḥ*, the word *maghonaḥ* is Aniṅgya. But *maghavā* and *maghavānam* are to be divided into *māghaveti magha-vā* and *maghavānam iti magha-vānam. Ailabṛdā yavyudhaḥ*.

From the foregoing study it is revealed that *PP* deserves a prominent place among the works on Vedic studies especially those pertaining to *TS*.

---

19. Cf. *yadyad datvata ity atra parapakṣagatam padam |···*
... tattat sarvam akārādi, jananāyeti varjayet || (*Ibid., V*. 9)
and *pyadantakaḥ* (*Ibid*, V. 16)

20. Cf. *madhyandine maghonī syān mādhyandina-mātariśvaśabdau* ca / *Ibid.*, VII. 53bc) and .. *māṃspacanyā* ..... (*Ibid.*, VII. 55a)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

MEANING OF THE TERM *ŚĀRADĪ* IN *ṚGVEDA*

By

H. V. DIXIT

Introduction

1. The term *śāradī* (*ŚD*) occurrs in the *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*), I. 131. 4; 174. 2 and VI. 20. 10.

2. Terms namely, *Śāradī* and *Śata-śarad* are to be kept in view, when dealing with *ŚD*.

2. From the *ṚV*, we understand that so-called Aryas under the leadership of their warrior-leader. Indra the Purandara destroyed the Puraḥ of the so-called Dāsas, or Dasyus. This has been interpreted by some scholars (including Archeologists) as the conflict between the Aryans and their enemies — the people of the Indus and Harappan Civilization, sometime between *c.* 1900 and *c.* 1700 B. C. However, now there appears to be a change of heart, in that the decay (not the end) of the Indus and Harappan Civilization is due to causes / reasons other than the so-called invarsion of the Aryas. Close study of the *ṚV* also shows that the Puraḥ, Armas etc. described in it do not match the cities/towns found by Archaeologists.

3. The terms, pura, arma, grāma, nagara occur in the Vedas, Saṁhitās and later Vedic Literature. These terms, have an intimate relation with each other. The term Pur is occassionally, as stated in Para 1 above, qualified by the term *ŚD*.

Intention

4. It is our intention to propose a meaning of *ŚD*, from military point of view. So far, we believe no one has attempted to do so. Majority of scholars interpret the meaning of *ŚD* as autumnal fort or forts/defences constructed in autumn. Yet, confusion or doubt is seen in their interpretation.

Method

5. We propose to argue with the view of arriving at the correct meaning of *ŚD*, as follows :

(a) Recapitulate the *ṚV* hymns in which the terms, mentioned in Para. 1 above, along with the gloss of scholars and commentators and their interpretations of *ŚD*,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(b) Characteristic/nature of Pur as described in the *ṚV*,

(c) Climatic and topographical conditions prevailing before the compilation of the *ṚV*,

(d) Contacts/connections with Mesopotamia including,

(e) Cultural contacts, place-names,

(f) Military considerations affecting the interpretation of the meaning of *ŚD*,

(g) Our meaning of *ŚD*, in view of the above points.

(h) Conclusions.

6. *ṚV references to ŚD and comments of scholars.*

(a) *I. 131. 4*: विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः। पुरो यत् इन्द्र शारदीर् अवातिरः सासहानः अवात्तिरः। शासस् तम् इन्द्र मर्त्यम् अयज्युं शवससपते। महीम् अमुष्णाः पृथिवीम् इमाः अपो मन्दसानः इमा अपः ॥ 4 ॥

(further : ... ते अन्याम् अन्याम् सनिष्णत श्रवस्यन्तः सनिष्णत ॥ 5 ॥)

..... The Purus know this your exploit, that you, O Indra, have overpowered the autumnal Puraḥ, have overpowered [them] as a conqueror. Do, O Indra, chastise the impious mortal. O Lord of strength ! you stole [from him] the great earth [and] the waters here, drunk [with Soma, you stole from him] the waters here ॥ 4 ॥

[Your devotees, O Indra] ..... They conquered one after another all the lands between the rivers ..... ॥ 5 ॥

Sāyaṇa : "शारदीः संवत्सरसंबन्धिनीः संवत्सरपर्यन्तम् प्राकारपरिखादिभिः दृढीकृताः पुरः शत्रूणाम् अवातिरः ..... त्वं महीं महतीं पृथिवीम् इमाः अपःच समुद्रनद्यात्मकानि उदकानि च अमुष्णाः बलात् ..... ॥ 4 ॥

Veṅkaṭagiri, comments as follows :

..... शरन्नामानं असुरं अयजमानं बलस्य पतेः। शासित्वा च तमसुरं महदन्तरिक्षं इमाः वृष्टिलक्षणाः अपः अमुष्णाः तत आहृतवानसि .....

(b) *I. 174. 2*: दनो विशः मृध्रवाचः सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीः दर्तं ॥ ऋणोर् अपो अनवद्य अर्णाः यूने वृत्रं पुरुकुत्साय रन्धीः ॥ 2 ॥

..... O Indra ! You subdued the people who have lost their power of speech when you rent their dwelling places, the seven Śāradi puraḥ, O stainless one ! for your Puru-kutsa. You caused the waters to flow by rending Vṛtra ..... ॥ 2 ॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sāyaṇa ... शारदीः / एतत्संवत्सरलक्षकः ... हे इन्द्र अर्णाः अरणशीलाः अपः तदीय-दुर्गस्थानानि उदकाश्रयाणि तटाकादीन् ऋणोः ... भग्नान्यकरोः एवम् उपद्रुत्य पुरुकुत्साय राज्ञे यूने नित्यतरुणाय तदर्थं वृत्रं एतन्नामकं असुरं रन्धीः ... अहनः। अयम् ऐतिहासिक-पक्षः ..... ॥ 2॥

Veṅkaṭagiri simply comments that the seven Puraḥ belonged to the Asura Śarad. However, he does not clarify whether or not Vṛtra and Śarad are one and the same and not two distinct demons.

(c) *VI. 20. 10* : 'सनेम ते अवसा नव्यः इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्तवन्ते एना यजैः। सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीः दर्तं हन दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन्॥ 10॥

Sāyaṇa's comment : ..... हे इन्द्र त्वं शारदीः शरन्नाम्नोऽसुरस्य संबन्धिनीः सप्त सप्तसंख्याकाः पुरः पुरीः शर्म शर्मणा वज्रेण ..... विदारितवानसि .....

Veṅkaṭagirī : " ... सप्त यदा विशरणीयाः शरन्नाम्नः पुरीः दारितवान् .....

7. It is without question that Sāyaṇa has changed his interpretation from *ŚD* as year related to the seven *ŚD*'s belonging to Śarad the demon. Therefore both Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭagiri are of the same mind that is both cannot define what exactly *ŚD* is? We may therefore legitimately conclude that *ŚD* is not autumnal fort or fort constructed in autumn. *ŚD* is not re-newed or reconstructed on yearly basis; or at the end of each year, or it is old or new/fresh. Surprisingly both Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭagiri introduce a new demon Śarad into the list of *ṚV* demons. However, *ṚV*-text does not support this introduction.

8. From VI. 20. 9 it is learnt that Indra killed Vṛtra by his *vajra*, keeping it on his shoulder while riding in a chariot. We presume Indra used this method in destroying the Puraḥ and the *ŚD*'s.

9. From his comment on I. 174. 2 we understand that the *ŚDs* are protected by walls and that they are protected (surrounded ?) by water (उदकाश्रय) and difficult to reach. However, there is no evidnce for this in the *ṚV*.

10. From the *ṛc* quoted above, we come to know the names of some Asuras : वृत्र, नमुचि, अहि, (or वृत्र/अहि), शुष्ण, पिप्रु, धुनि and चुमुरि. These are the seven Asuras. May we assume that these seven *ŚD*'s belonged to the above seven Asuras ?

11. Now, we turn to the interpretations of modern scholars (including archaeologists)

(a) *Lokamānya B. G. Tilak* :

In his " Arctic Home in the Vedas " deals with the *ŚD* and Śaradi (pp. 259–263). In nutshell he explains that the results of killing Vṛtra are :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(i) a flow of water, and sun dawn and cows are freed,

(ii) battle between Vṛtra and Indra commenced in Śarad and continued to the end of winter,

(iii) if the result of the battle is rain-fall; then the battle must have taken place during rainy season and not after the end of rainy season.

(iv) the *ŚD*'s are related to Śarad season and not to rainy season.

12. He therefore concludes that the real meaning of the battle is the conflict between Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness. But this conclusion appears to be mythological as against Śāyaṇa's "historical interpretation" (see Para 6(b) above).

13. Now, let us consider the interpretations of a few eminent scholars including archaeologists (post-1922).

14. (a) *Sir Mortimer Wheeler* (Wheeler: 1968, emphasis added) "... It is *quite simply this.*

Sometimes during the second millenium B. C. the middle of the millenium has been suggested *without serious support* — Āryan-speaking *invaded* the Land of the seven Rivers ..... The tradition of this *invasion is reflected in the older* hymns of the *ṚV*, the second half of the millenium. ... ... the invasion costantly assumes the form of an onslaught upon the walled cities of the aborigines ..... Sometimes strongholds are referred to *metaphorically* as of metal (*āyasī*). '*Autumnal* (*Śāradī*) *forts are also named*: this may refer to the forts in the same season being occupied against *Aryan attacks or against inuṇdations caused by over-flowing rivers.* Forts with a hundred walls, (*śatabhuji* are mentioned ..."

(b) Wheeler has copied the meanings of the various Sanskrit terms from A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, who borrowed them from H. Zimmer. Wheeler's theory (ideas) has been subscribed to / or accepted by several other scholars, for example, Piggott, Gordon, R. H. Geldern, T. Burrow, Allchins, so also by Indians. It has become almost "the common opinion". So far as we know only one scholar, Dr. S. D. Singh, finds it difficult to explain the significance; yet adds that they (*ŚD*) must have served to guard the people against floods and human attack during autumn. But, as floods do not constitute a regular feature of the autumn, the forts presumably served their primary purpose of defence against man during the cool season of compaigns and predatory activity. This possibly explains the epithet 'autumnal' as applied to the Vedic fortifications.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(Singh : 1965 : 125). Singh's explaination is full of contradiction as well as it is tautological.

In the cotext of Singh's explanation, it is pointed out that the composers of the *ṚV* were fully aware of the seasons : Śarad, Hemanta and Vasanta; vide X. 161. 4 : शतं जीव शरदो वर्धमानः शतं हेमन्तान् शतमु वसन्तान् ... also vide X. 161. 2 and 3. The Ṛṣis are praying for 'शतशारदेन शतायुषा...', 'अस्पार्षम् एनम् शतशारदाय'. All these refer to the length of life viz. hundred years counted in terms of so many autumns, so many winters and so on. The Ṛṣis do not tell us about summer (Grīṣma and rainy season (वार्षिक).

Similarly, in interpreting "यः (इन्द्रः) शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्याम् शरदि अन्वविन्दत्" (II. 12. 11) there seems some confusion as to why Indra has to spend forty years in reaching Śaṁbara in the mountains. Tilak has tried to solve the puzzle : Indra caught hold of Śaṁbara after searching him for seven months and ten days from the commencement of the year. We think that Indra caught hold of Śaṁbara in his fofty-fourth *ŚD* in the mountains in view of the fact that Indra is attributed to have distroyed ninety-nine Puraḥ (II. 19. 6); (VII. 99. 3); (IV. 26. 3). Else where, (VII. 8. 77. 12), Indra found demon boar Emuṣa behind twenty-one stone-forts. See also *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* III. 8. 3 in this context. So it is quite probable that Indra reached Śaṁbara in his forty-forth *ŚD*.

15. Before we proceed to find out the meaning of *ŚD*, we should recapitulate the characteristic of Pur and related terms. Terms such as Arma, Armaka, Vailsthān are not considered here as they do not help us in finding out the meaning of *ŚD*. As per *ṚV*, the Pur consists of ramparts/walls built of mud or stone. Only in two instances as mentioned in Para 1 above, Pur is qualified by the term *ŚD*. It is also called Dehi, *Śatabhuji* (hundred-walled Pur ?) *Śatadur* (Pur with hundred gates I. 51. 3). The *ṚV* is not explicit as to whether the Pur was surrounded by a moat; or whether or not it was resting on the banks of river (उदकाश्रय). The Pur may be inaccessible, in mountains (*parvata, adri*, etc.). Indra as the destroyer of forts is called ram, bull. It is not clear as to whether or not the Pur was permanently occupied. The term *utsedha* (an elevated place is also found. It appears that some of these Puraḥ were in such places so as to control the flow of water through rivers. Very often after the slaying of Vṛtra, water is liberated. Cities, viz., Muanjo-daḍo (popularly known as Mohenjo daro), Haḍāppa (Harāppa) are entirely of mud ramparti/mud or baked bricks, located there on the bank of the Indus and Rāvi respectively.

From Periano Ghundai Shai Tump to Kalibanga, we do not find any settlement having stone walls. Then where can we find cities/towns having earth and stone or earth or entirely stone walls ? The only region is Mesopotamia with the mountains to its north and east.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The *ṚV* also tells us of cattle-pens called Goṣṭha. Being irrelevant, it is not examined here.

16. In the Vedic passages, quoted above "not a word is said ... of the characteristic features of the Indus cities, of brick-walls, brick-houses, brick-paved sheets ... of granaries or public baths. No statement in Vedic literature prompts us to assume an un-identified but formidable civilization ... which presented an extensive fortified front to the invaders (Wheeler : 1968, p. 132)". Nor do we notice any Indus cities with hundred walls and hundred gates.

17. *Climatic and Geographical Conditions* : In order, to see whether or not *ŚD* does mean autumnal (मेघान्त, हेमन्त) it is useful to know about the climatic and geographical conditions, in the Sindhu region :

(a) The Indus is fed both by melting of snow and Monsoons and not only by Monsoons; one would therefore expect a term denoting the snow-melting season Vāsanti (वासन्ती), *graiṣma, vārṣika* etc. allied with Pur. No such term exists in the *ṚV*. The names of all seasons are at times used in the sense of year.

(b) Apart from the Sutlaj, the remaining Punjab rivers are only partly fed by snow and largely fed by the Monsoons. The Punjab floods are not/were not so severe as in the Sindhu region so as to compel the Indus demons to build specially on yearly basis walled settlement leaving there permanent towns. Muanjo daḍó population is estimated as 40,000 souls.

(c) Bearing in mind that the flood plain in Sindhu, extends, on both sides to the width of 16 km./10 miles, where could the Sindhu demons find suitable sites free of post-snow and post-Monsoon stagnant waters, marshes etc. unless, they go far away. It is not easy even to-day to shift people numbering thousands during the autumn. The move had to start twice — one before snow-melting and the another well before the onslaught of Monsoons. This means that the people were always on more leaving their other life-sustaining activities in abeyance. Therefore *ŚD* could never mean autumnal fort or fort built in autumn.

18. The modern idea that the Aryas invaded the Sindhu cities during autumn arose probably from the story of Raghu's compaigns :

वार्षिकं संजहारेन्द्रो धनुर्जैत्रं रघुर्दधौ ।
प्रजार्थसाधने तौ हि पर्यायोद्यतकार्मुकौः ॥ — (रघुवंशः IV. 16)
सरितः कुर्वती गाधाः पथश्चाश्यानकर्दमान् ।
यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत् ॥ — (रघुवंशः IV. 24)

Indra drew back (his) rainy bow, and Raghu took up his victorious (*jaitra*) one; for they both held their bows ready in turn, for serving the purposes

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of the subjects. Making the rivers fordable and the paths dried up of mud, autumn goaded him for campaign even before his own might.

18. Kālidāsa does not give much useful information about Raghu's campaigns in the western lands. But could we apply Kālidāsa's poetic ideas to the Aryan invarions? obviously not.

But, Manu, who precedes, Kālīdāsa, says :

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद् यात्रां महीपतिः।
फाल्गुनं वाथ चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम्॥ —(मनुस्मृतिः VII. 122)

19. We would accept Manu. This leads us to conclude that *ŚD* does not mean autumnal forts.

20. We, however point out that the *ṚV* hymns point to the exploits of Sharrukin of the Agadu (Sārāgon of Agade) and Sharrukin the Asshur second (*c.* 8th century B.C.) whose earthen tablets throw much light on their compaigns.

21. Indra attacked the *ŚD* as stated in the *ṚV*, seating in a chariot during autumn. It is impossible to attack the *ŚD*'s using chariot, when the mobility of the chariots is nil. Chariots are also useless to penetrate the defences of the *ŚD*. Therefore the *ŚD*'s must be something else. This will become clear when we search the etymology of *ŚD*.

22. *Connection between the Sindhu people and Mesopotamia* : One opinion prevalent to-day is that the Indus valley and Harappans were Dravidians. During our study, it was noticed certain similarities in place-names in Mesopotamia and South India. e. g. place-name words ending in u, dur, bur, pur, du, di. (see the list at the end), e. g. Kāldī, Coimbtur, Perambur. In Kutch; Swar-kot–da, Kotda; Rajdī, Limbdi in Gujarat; In Maharashtra (Tapi river region) : Sāvaldā, Sāvdā, Chopdā : Theur, Kendur etc. In Kashmir Manda (a Harappan settlement on the Jhelum); Sharadi on the Kishanganga and Skārdu on the Indus; these are near the source of lapis lazuli, gold etc.

23. The honorific terms such as Lu, Gal were prevalent in Mesopotamia. These are still in use in Andhra. Gal is used in Tamil. Lu Gal means great. Pantalu; Swamigal. In Maharashtra uptill 14th century Lu was in use e. g. Vitta-lu. In Kannada Lu>Ru; Gal/galu is still in use.

In Mesopotamia. two new-year days were used to be observed; first March-April (snow-floods in Euphrates and Tigris) and the second one post-rainy. In South India, the Śaka or Śālivāhana year starts in March-April and is observed as Gudhī Pāḍavā. The second new-year day is observed at the end of the Lamp Festival (Dīpāvali) on the Amāvasyā called the Lakṣmī-pūjā. The Vikrama

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

year starts on the next day. Vāmana vanquishes the Asura Bali on the first day of Kārtika. Surely these point to cultural/mythological connection between South India, from Kutch to Kerala.

24. The Dice game mentioned in the *ṚV* and *Mahābhārata*, has a precedent in Mesopotamia. Dice are found in the tomb of Ur as well as in the excavations of Harappan and Indus towns. (See Prof. Dales; Dice and Men). In the Ellora caves there are fine wall sculptures showing Śiva and Pārvatī playing dice game. The *triśūla* with a bull or buffalo attached to the shaft are found at Ahar (1500 B. C.) as well as in the graves of Śakas (Kurgau burials) in Iran.

25. Trading contacts between Sumeria, Assyria etc. and the western shores of India (from Lutch to Malabar) have been proved by Shereen Ratnagar and S. R. Rao. It is probable that the Mesopotamians might have established trading posts along the coast line. The Indus and Harappans might have used the same posts for exchange of goods.

Sumerian seals (cylinder) were found at Muanjo daḍo. At Nippur (Mesopotamia) Kassite seals resembling Indus seals were found. These Kassites conquered Babylon from the Asshurs. Kosh as well as the river Tigra (Tigris) is mentioned in the *ṚV* (Jeitley).

26. There is plenty of evidence to show that there was deep connection between Harappan people and Mesopotamians from the time of Sumerians Saragon the 2nd.

27. Religious contacts: Mother goddess cult i. e. worship of Goddess Ṇanā, Nāna or Nanai was commen in Mesopotamia, Baluchistan and Maharashtra. In Maharashtra a part of northern plains below western Ghats is called Nāṇe Māwal, the pass is called Nāṇa Ghat. As you come up the pass there is a temple of Mother Goddess. In Kolhapur district at Gad-Hinglaj on a hill there is a temple of Hingalja Goddess. On the Makran Coast there is a temple of Hinglaz. Sindi Hindus, before the partition used to worship it.

28. Sumerian Du (pictograph) means mound, earth-work or hill. In Egypt a king's name is Du du (or Dundu). In Sanskrit Dhanu = sand-bank. Therefore Śār/Śar + Du = king's/prince/noble-man's earth-work=a town with walls. In Marathi the word Dhonda = stone is used also as a personal name. Telugu Konda may mean a fort built by a king. Saragon first is called Saragon of Aga-du. The town or capital city of his is called Dur Śarrukin. Surprisingly settlements on the ancient Saraswati are still known as Luni-da. There are so many place-names in ancient Mestopotamia, ending with Du or Di ; Abdu-di Kaldudu, Haridu.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

29. Muanjo daḍo : Daḍo is a direct descendant from sumerian Dwdu. There are other place-names in Sindh ending with daḍo. Adi Śaṅkara's place is called Kaldi (Gal + di = kaldi) we feel that the evidence cited above is adequate to show that Śar/Śārdi is derived from Śar/Śār-du. And that *ŚD* is not autumnal fort.

30. In Kutch place-names ending with Da are all Harappan or pre-Harappan sites so in the case with places in Gujarat ending with Da or Di.

Etymology of Śāradi or Śaradī

One Vedic scholar has pointed out that " ... despite the rational altitude of modern scholarship to the understanding of *ṚV* and subsequent Vedic Literature, the traditional point of view as reflected in Sāyaṇa's commentary persists and that the interpretation of *ṚV* has not changed radically or freed itself from the traditional approach."

It was T. Burrow, who showed a foreign element in the *ṚV* I. 33. 1. and 3. e. g. vaila which was derived by him from Bel > Vel and Vaila, a secondary nominal derivation. Bel was the Sumerian god Belu (= Lord, Master). Apart from Bel, Bil is also Sumerian and Akkadian term for god. In South India, Vil (Bil > Vil) is still in use. Vit > Vir or Vir > Bir > Pir. Also, it is noticed in a 13th century Marathi inscription pretaining to Lord Vithal, the term vil-desa (the region of vil = Lord Vithal's region).

The term Śāradī or Śaradi is also foreign i. e. Sumerian element in I. 131. 4 and I. 174. 2.

Śāradī = Śār/Śar = God and Di < Du = city/town or Śār/Śar = nobleman a town dedicated to a god or built by a nobleman. The town may be fortified or unfortified.

Conclusion

31. It is said that the Maṇḍals I and X are later additions to the older Hymns. Both are the longest (191 hymns each). Is it merely a concidence to find Sumerian etc. foreign element in them ?

Saragon of Agade's campaign resembles Indra's campaign. Saragon freeing lands and river and canal waters by fighting enemy city-states; the deification Saragon and his successor Naram-sin; similarly the deification of Indra who takes Avatāras (*ṚV* I. 51. 6) from time to time.

32. We therefore conclude that the terms Śāradi or Śaradi mean a fortified town on high ground built by a king etc. and does not mean autumnal fort.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

List of words

Place-name	Location
Kheda	Gujarat
Limbadi	Gujarat
Chang-da	Gujarat
Rojdi	Gujarat
Patapa-du	Karnataka
Savalda	Maharashtra
Savda	Maharashtra
Chopda	Maharashtra
Kotada	Kutch
Sarkotda	Kutch
Śarkote	Kutch
Khavda	Kutch
Mundda	Kutch
Kotdi	Kutch
Vigodi	Kutch
Khurdi	Gujarat
Gorandi	Sindh (west of Chanhu daḍo)
Sharadi (Kishanganja)	Kashmir
Skārdu (Indus)	Kashmir
Manda	Jammu

References

K. T. Jaitaley : मोहनजो दडो-हडप्पा संस्कृति, Pune, 1985.

(Note : Pandit Jaitaley's other contributions : Hat-Vāṇika Script is very useful)

Ancient Mesopotamia : A collection of studies by Soviet Scholars, Moscow, 1969.

Wadell, L. A. : The Makers of Civilization in Race and History, Delhi, 1968.

Rao, S. R. : Lothal and the Indus Civilization, Bombay, 1973.

Yodi, Yigael : The Art of Warfore in Biblical Lands, Landon, 1963.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Possehl, G. L. (editor) : Harappan Civilization, New Delhi, 1982.

Sankalia, H. D. : (a) The Pre-History and Proto-History of India and Pakistan, Poona, 1974.

(b) Review Article on Possehl above in Times of India, Bombay, Feb. 3, 1983.

Piggott, Stuart (editor) : The Dawn of Civilization, London, 1962.

Monier-Williams, M. : Sanskrit-English Dictionary, New Delhi, 1976.

Singh, Sarva Daman : Ancient India Warfare with Special Reference to the Vedic Period, Leiden, 1965.

Wheeler, Sir Mortimer : The Indus Civilization (3rd Edition), 1968.

Rau, Von Wilhelm : The Meaning of Pur in Vedic Literature, München, 1976.

Chauhan D. V. : Understanding Ṛgveda, Pune, 1985.

Unger M. F. : Achaeology the old Testament Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar's Select Writings Vol. I, New Delhi.

Prof. H. D. Velankar : Ṛgvedātila Bhaktimārga, Poona.

Frye R. N. : The Haitage of Persia, London, 1962.

Montet P. : Eternal Egypt, London, 1964.

Saggs H. W. F : The Greatness that was Babylon, London, 1969.

Sonatakke S. N.-Dharmadhikari T. N. : Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, Vol. I–IV VSM, Poona.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

IRANIAN SECTION

A ZOROASTRIAN (AVESTAN) PRAYER FORMULA IN A BUDDHIST (SOGDIAN) MANUSCRIPT

By

S. N. DOCTOR

The subject of this paper belongs to a field hitherto little researched in India, both linguistically and historically, namely, the influence of Zoroastrianism on Buddhism in the backgrouud of the quasi-Zoroastrian, quasi-Buddhist eclectic religion of Mānichaeism.

The main purpose of the paper is to detect the presence of an Avestan (Zoroastrian) prayer-formula of 'Ashem Vohu' (one of the 3 principal prayers of the Zoroastrians, the other two being the Ahuna Vairya and the Yenghe Hātām) occurring in the manuscript-fragment of a Buddhist text written in the Sogdian language.

As can be observed from the text of the fragment given below, which is damaged in places, rendering some readings indistinct, it is no wonder that the Avestan prayer, written therein as a Sogdian transcript, lay couched or disguisde in the manuscript, evading detection.

Now, the Sogdian language was used both by Buddhists and Mānicheans to write their religious literature. Further, to the scholars of the Iranian it is well known that Māni, a Persian, and the founder of the eclectic religion of Mānichaeism, borrowed a number of elements both from Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. In fact, the immediate basis of Manichaeism (in particular, its theology and cosmology) was Zoroastrianism, and hence the find occurrence of a Zoroastrian prayer in a Manichaean text would not come as a startling discovery. Though here too it must be pointed out that the elements of Zoroastrianism, mainly theological nomenclature borrowed by Māni were necessarily disguised, for Māni naturally intended to present a religion having a distinct identity of its own, and hence one would least expect to find overt worship or reverence for elements of the Zoroasttian religion, especially to that extent of a direct mention of a Zoroastrian prayer in a Mānichaean text. However, the occurrence of the said prayer-formula in a Buddhist text (if the same can be proved, which is the object of this paper) would be even more surprising, and may be considered a rather unique find.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Now, to begin with, it is not enough merely to spot the Avestan prayer in the manuscript, which in this case, especially being a fragment, is damaged or defaced in some portions, with the usual lacunae and indistinct readings right in the first two lines, which is the exact place where the prayer-formula occurs, and which lines the author, Hans Reichelt, leaves untranslated (the translation into German of the remaining 8 lines of the fragment being given below the text). The problem at this stage, i. e., after identifying the first two lines, is further complicated by the fact that the Sogdian language (belonging to the Middle Iranian group) was employed for writing religious material by three different religious sects, viz., by the Mānichaeans, the Buddhist and the Christians, each in a different script of the language, viz., the Mānichaean, Buddhist and Christian (Syriac) scripts of the Sogdian.

At the present juncture of the paper I feel that a brief survey of Manichaeism would not be out of place. Hence a few prefatory observations : It was the well-known discovery of Mānichaean manuscripts of Turfan in Central Asia in the first decade of this century that gave a strong impetus to the study ot this religious system, which, since the advent of its founder Māni, a Persian by birth, in the third century A. D., was for centuries to threaten the very survival of the two great religions of Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Manichaeism, after being execrated by orthodox Zoroastrianism, and its followers expelled from Persia, continued to survive and diffuse into Western Asia, Egypt, China and even European countries along the Mediterranean, surviving, though at times in a disguised form, among the Christian sects like the Bogomil Paterine and even the Nestorian Christians.[1] Mānichaean literature was written in several languages, like the Sogdian, the Parthian, Old Turkish and Chinese.[2]

Māni's religion was a clever syncretism of various creeds. He drew his basic material from various sources: He borrowed dualistic principles from Zoroastrianism, adopting asceticism from Buddhism, and pacifism from Christianity, with some material also from Babylonia where he had migrated prior to preaching his creed, as also some ideas from Syriac gnosticism. However Mani did acknowledge Zoroaster, Buddha and Christ as divine messengers.[3] Mani's supreme God was Zarvabaghe, in which one can recognize a reflection of the 'zuruan' of the Avesta (though later he was called simply the 'Living Spirit', a demiurge, or the 'Father of Greatness'). Ohrmazd, the term for God in

1. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, New York, 1932, pp. 17, 19; *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, G. K. Nariman, Bombay 1923, p. 233.

2. Jackson, ibid., p. 5; Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians — their religious beliefs and practices*, London, 1979, p. 112.

3. H. K. Mirza, *Outlines of Parsi History*, Bombay, 1974, p. 136; E. G. Brown, *A literary History of Persia*, London, 1902, pp. 154, seq.; Mary Boyce, ibid., p. 111.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sassanian Zoroastrianism, in Manichaeism designated the Primal Man, whose fall set off the temporal process. Likewise, the names of many divinities in Māni's pantheon were guised in those of Zoroastrian yazatas or angels. This point should be specially borne in mind when searching for the presence or otherwise of Manichaean terms in translating the present manuscript.[4]

In the light of the following considerations, viz., that a) Manichaeism was highly influenced by Buddhism, and b) that Manichaeism had borrowed imperceptibly some elements from Zoroastrianism, though considered by the latter as a heretical movement, the fact at once emerges that Manichaeism served as a bridge of communication, however superficial, between Zoroastrianism on one hand and Buddhism on the other. Hence a study of the influence of Zoroastrianism on Buddhism must necessarily include a study of Manichaeism. Again it may be noted that the general trend of research acknowledges the influence of Buddhism on Manichaeism, but not the reverse. However, a certain measure of "involuntary syncretism" on the part of Buddhism has been suggested.[5] This would bring the three religious systems even closer as regards mutual influence.

With this above introduction of the general background and historical setting, we now come to the main subject, viz., a detailed study of the manuscript in question :

The name of the text (in German) in which the said fragment occurs is; "Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste Des Britischen Museums (in umschrift und mitübersetzung). I Teil: Die Buddhistischen Texte. Author: Hans Reichelt. Heidelberg, 1928."

The book deals with 8 manuscripts, of which the first 3 (larger fragments) bear the names of the Buddhist texts to which they belong, viz., the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra, and others. The texts of the remaining fragments (numbered IIa and III to VI) are unidentified. Fragments IV, V and VI, much smaller than the others, are grouped together as a separate class. The author, when referring to this class in the general introduction, remarks that the source of each of these 3 frags. is 'unascertainable' (unbestimmbaren), but proceeds to state that it is however possible to ascertain the source of V and VI with some certainty as Buddhist (and he thus labels each as "a part of Chinese Buddhist Sūtra". But as to Frag. IV (our subject) the author leaves it unlabelled, the source being uncertain. The uncertainty is again reiterated by the author in an introductory note to the three, where he states he is unable to understand the text, even from

4. Mary Boyce, *ibid.*, pp. 111, 112; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion of Ancient Iran*, Eng. trans., Bombay, 1973, pp. 186 ff.

5. G. K. Nariman, *ibid.*, p. 237.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

its context. Nevertheless the said fragment is included among the Buddhistic fragments, perhaps by reason of its dialectic features.

Thus the first problem facing us is to confirm the probable Buddhist source, to the exclusion of a Manichaean one (a Syriac Christian source being out of the question).

Before proceeding, some important features of the Sogdian language need to be delineated: Sogdian was primarily the language of the ancient province of Sogdiana (Av. Suγδa, O. P. Sugudah), the territory north of Samarkand in the modern province of Uzbekistan in U. S. S. R. Though Mani himself at first wrote in Syriac, and later in M. P. Turfan Pahlavi, it was not long before the Manichaeans began writing in Sogdian, which was the most important East Iranian language of the period and was for several centuries to remain the lingua franca of Central Asia.[6] It was the spoken language not only of the Iranlan population of Samarkand and Ferghana but had diffused as far East as Mangolia and China. The modern Yagnobi dialect can lay claim to the designation of modern Sogdian.[7]

Writing about a number of Sogdian fragments, both Manichaean and Buddhist, W. B. Henning states[8] that as a rule they belong to a period around the eighth to the tenth century, mostly cheap paper and material being used by the Sogdian scribes. Even in the case of some polyglot MSS., where the reverse of a MS. had accompanyiug Chinese material to which Iranists may direct their hopes for a possible dated palaeography of the Sogdian, competent Sinologists have frustrated such hopes (ibid).

On the philological side, a complete grammar of Sogdian has not yet been attempted, still less a dictionary, though we have several glossaries. I have in the main made free use of Ilya Gershevitch's *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1961. As even a cursory persual of this book will reveal, the language is quite a complex one, especially its phonology, rendering pronunciation of many words difficult and at times ambiguous. An extensive inflexional system and the frequent occurrence of prothetic letters, esp. of the prothetic alef, in Buddhist Sog. MSS. are other features. There are again some orthographic peculiarities of MSS., e. g., the doubling of ɔ, y, w, even when they stand for short vowels (Sog. y = phon. i, ē, y, etc.), or the shortening of words, e. g. wɔxšk (wāxšik) = 'spiritual', lengthening of words and even individual letters to fill out a line, and so on.

6. Henning, HS, p. 12; H. K. Mirza, "Ancient Iranian Systems of Writing" in *Journal, K. K. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 47, Bombay 1979, pp. 45, 46.
7. G. K. Nariman, *ibid.*, p. 234.
8. Henning, HS, p. 2.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Sogdian Fragment IV

The text, together with the transcription and translation of the Fragment, as given on p. 68 of Reichelt's book, is reproduced below exactly as given by the author. I have before me a xerox copy of the folio (68), but the type used for the transcription is so small that one would miss the tiny markings below letters (doubtful readings), etc. Hence an exact reproduction as given below is a sort of a facsimile written in a bolder hand :

Fragment IV. : OR. 8212 (84). SERINDIA II. S. 924.

Ch. 00289 Fr. of Sogdian MS., on flimsy greyinh mulberry-bark (?) paper. Obv. 10 11. heavy black writing. Rev. blank. 9″ (incomplete) × $10\frac{1}{2}$″.

Unbestimmbares Fragment. Zwischen dem oberen gezackten Rand und der esrten Zeile dürften noch eine ganze und eine durch die Zacken unterbrochene Zeile gestanden haben, die auf dem Rotophot jedoch bis auf ein paar Spuren völlig verwischt erscheinen. Der untere Rand ist auf dem Rotophot überhaupt nicht zu erkennen. Da ich die zwei ersten (deutlichen) Zeilen nicht verstehe, übersetze ich von der dritten an.

////// mwγšt mršt$^{\circ}$y wšt$^{\circ}$y wšt$^{\circ\circ}$y
?
$^{\circ}$štwγm$^{\circ}$y twrt$^{\circ}$y $^{\circ}$γwšt$^{\circ}$y rtm
woδ$^{\circ}$γty $^{\circ}$YKny $^{\circ}$skw$^{\circ}$z $^{\circ}$γw βγ$^{\circ}$n MLK$^{\circ}$
$^{\circ}$ṛs$^{\circ}$ysty γwpw $^{\circ}$δδβγ $^{\circ}$wyh βwδ$^{\circ}$nt$^{\circ}$k
?
5 rwγšn$^{\circ}$γrδmnyh prw šyr$^{\circ}$kw šm$^{\circ}$r$^{\circ}$kh
pr$^{\circ}$ys WR $^{\circ}$γw $^{\circ}$sptk $^{\circ}$rt$^{\circ}$w zrwšč
γw βr$^{\circ}$ nm$^{\circ}$č MN s$^{\circ}$pt z$^{\circ}$nwk$^{\circ}$
$^{\circ}$kw γw$^{\circ}$r$^{\circ}$nt MN γw$^{\circ}$r$^{\circ}$nt z$^{\circ}$nwk$^{\circ}$
$^{\circ}$kw s$^{\circ}$pt rtγw m$^{\circ}$yδ ptyškwy βγ$^{\circ}$
10 // r$^{\circ}$nk$^{\circ\circ}$rk δ$^{\circ}$tkr$^{\circ}$ δ$^{\circ}$tnm$^{\circ\circ}$n δ$^{\circ}$t
? ? ?

Translation : ..... Damals, als weilte[a] der König der Götter, $^{\circ}$ls$^{\circ}$ysty der gute Obergott, in dem wohlriechenden (5) Paradies in gutem Denken, kam hin der vollkommene, wahrhaftige zr$^{\circ}$ wsc. Er brachte Verhrung dar vom linken Knie zum rechten, vom rechten Knie zum linken und sprach : O Gott, (10) Gutes tuender[b] Gesetzgeber.....

---

a. Zu $^{\circ}$skw$^{\circ}$z vgl. VJ. 58, 968, 1003, 1112, DS. 2.

b. Es ist wohl šyr$^{\circ}$nk$^{\circ\circ}$rk herzustellen.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

As can be seen, the first 2 lines (para in English) is a description of the material and the dimensions of the original MS. The dimensions of the next Fr. V, which is labelled (unlike present MS.) as "a part of Chinese Budd. Sūtra", being nearly the same, it is likely that the present Fr. may be from the same source. Coming to para. 2, which is a short review of the MS. in German, beginning with the cryptic sentence (title). Unknown/undefined Fragment, the author dilates on the title and continues to state (in gist) that the fr. is damaged or faded in parts, rendering readings indistinct, esp. the last or bottom portion which shows clear signs of damage.

Finally, and this is important, the author states that he has not understood the first two lines of the text, and has hence begun translating only from the third line onwords. It is exactly these two lines that comprise the short Avestan prayer, disguised as such, being merely the Sogdian transcript of the Avesta. Identification of the prayer becomes all the more difficult due to the presence of a large lacuna, damaged portions, the repetition of a word (viz. wštʾy), a possible omission of a word/words, one doubtful word (reading), and some words telescoped into their following words.

By merely rearranging some letters (not medial ones), filling up a lacuna, and adding an initial letter aleph (frequently prothetic in Sogdian), I present below my attempt at a reconstruction of the two lines comprising the transcript of the Av. prayer.:

[ʾrt]m [// ?] wγštm rštʾy wštʾy wštʾʾy
ʾštw [ʾ]γmʾy tw [ʾ]rtʾy ?γ wštʾy [ʾ]rtm

I also give here the original Avesta prayer as transcribed from the Avestan language :

Aṣ̌əm vohū vahištəm astī uštā asti
uštā ahmāi hyaṯ aṣ̌āi vahištāi aṣ̌əm

— A striking similarity !

The admirably high resemblance of the two is at once evident, verging on identity, especially if allowance is made for possible errors that can creep in the decipherment of a damaged MS.

Now let us examine some words individually, keeping in mind a few of the several peculiarities of Sogdian phonology as given by Gershevitch, such as:

Sog. ʾ- before velars like k, x, γ often silent.
-ʾk, -k = |-ē|, e. g., -tʾk (participial suff.) = |-tē|
w = w, ū (ō), u (o), uw (ōw), au.
-(ʾ)y = i, ē. y = y, i (ə), iy, ai. yy = y or iy or i.
δ = |δ| or |θ|. γ = |γ| or |x|

e. g., wysp = Av. vispa = 'all'; ryt, ryyṯ = 'face', cf. M. P. rūī.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Our first word is ᵓrtm, corresponding to Av. 'ašəm', Phl. ᵓlt; nom. sing. of Av. stem aṣa-, the etymology of which is ərəta > arta > arša – aṣa. Cf. Av. arštāt or aštāt, Phl. ᵓstᵓt. Thus we may postulate a hypothetical Sog. ᵓrtm as a translation of Av. aṣəm. However, as regards a Sog. transcript of the Av. word, which we are trying to construct, that would be something like ᵓšm or perhaps ᵓšᵓm. All the same, since -rtm does occur in the last word of the Frag., we may be prompted to look for a Sog. word (noun) corres. to aṣa, the Av. word for holiness, purity, etc. Now ᵓrt is not met with in Sog., bnt we do come across a derivative ᵓrtᵓw, an adj., as also a few words in which ᵓrt forms the first component of compounds, one of which, ᵓrtwšt, is discussed below with ref. to 'vahištəm', the third Av. word. As to the adj. ᵓrtᵓw, the word means 'electus', a Manichaean monk, lit., 'holy', or as a noun, 'holy man' (IG., art 1076). ᵓrtᵓw > Av. aṣavan, O. Ir. artavan, where Sog. -ᵓw (adj. suff.) corresponds to Av. -van (possessive suff.).

We next take up wγštm, the Sog. transcript of Av. vahištem. For that we consider a word ᵓrtxwšt in Sog. coming very close to Av. a aṣavahišta, O.Ir. ṛta-wahišta. Now ᵓrtxwšt<*ᵓrtwxšt or *ᵓrtwγšt, for we have O.Ir. h = Sog. x, which is sometimes replaced by γ (both velars), with a metathesis).— IG. arts. 52, 57, 389 to 392, SH, p. 28. This gives us Av. vahišta = Sog. *wγšt or *wxšt (though as a second member of a compound, -xwšt. Of course the two forms being hypothetical, we cannot say Sog. wγšt(m) is the exact equivalent (translation) of Av. vahištəm, the third word of the prayer.

Yet another pair of compound nouns which draw our attention are Sog. ᵓrtyxw and ᵓrtγw (*ᵓrtwγ) Av. aši-vañuhi (O.Ir. ṛtiwahvi), 'the good Ashi', a female angel. (IG., arts. 237, ZPB, p. 3). The *-wγ in the last form is to be seen in ////m- wγ-št in the Fragment. If *-wγ < -vohu/vañhu is accepted, *ᵓrtwγ map come closest to [ᵓrt] mwγ- as a possible equivalent of asa(m) + vohu. But the equation is untenable, for *-wγ can occur only in a compound, while in Avestan there are twn separate words, both neuter and having a different connotation from the Sogdian. Hence most probably, the second word of the prayer, Av. vohu (whose transcript would be wγw) seems to have been dropped in the Sogdian.

Again, Sog. xwmnᵓ<Av. vohumanah can give Av. vohu = Sog. wxw- = xw- (by dropping initial 'w' in compounds — IG, arts. 391, 208). This may induce us te see Av. vohu + vahištəm in wγstm of the Frag. from a haplology as applied to wγw-wγštm. But such a haplology may be considered too far-fetched. Thus, in all probability, it is 'vohu' = good which has been dropped, and its superlative, 'vahištəm' = the best, which is transcribed as wγštm, which is retained. It is also possible that the omission may be deliberate, as it little affects the syntax or even the translation of the first part of the prayer.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The next word is '-rštʾy', corres. to the fourth word of the Av. prayer, viz., astī, the Sog. transcription for which would be ʾsty, sty, or stʾy, etc. The Sog. equivalent (translation) here would be ʾsty (Budd. Sog.) or sṭy (Chrn. Sog.), which is not much different from the transcript, with which we are more concerned.

wštʾy = | uštē | for Av. uštā does not present any difficulty, except for the repetition of the word, which is enigmatic, at least at the present stage of research.

The next word ʾštw, a possible štw, is abscure. Leaving aside a transcript, we do not even have a Sog. word coming close to it, except perhaps, in portion, the second pers. pro. 'tw'.

ʾγmʾy as a transcript for Av. ahmāi is self-explanatory, and requires no comments, the γ(x)–h equation having already been explained above in wγštm.

'tw' is obscure, at least in the present context.

'rtʾy' or 'ʾrtʾy' = Av. aṣāi needs no comment.

As to ʾγwštʾy, the first portion of the word is obscure (possibly an uncertain reading in the original MS. ?). while wštʾy can be the transcript or even a possible Sog. translation of Av. vahištāi, for which the following may be considered : Sog. wštmʾx < Av. vahištəm-ahu, meaning the best existence (Paradise), whence wštm- = vahištəm in the compound words (IG., art. 395.), and hence Av. vahištäi = Sog. wštʾy or wγštʾy, the former being merely a contracted form of the latter.

rtm or ʾrtm has been discussed above as a possible transcript or even a Sog. etymological equivalent of Av. aṣəm, especially in view of its common occurrence in Sog. compound words and its popular etymology, which had perhaps rendered its usage more extensive.

We have thus come to the end of the transcript, and barring a few obscure words, the identity of the Avestan prayer can be said to be more than fairly established or proved. At this junctute (however belated, for in my enthusiasm and hurry to prepare this paper I forgot to acknowledge earlier) I deem it proper to express my indebtedness and gratitude to my teacher, Prof. Martin Schwartz, of the University of Berkeley, California, a great scholar and a pioneer in the field of Sogdian; for it was he who drew my attention to the possibility of the untranslated couplet in the MS. being the Avestan prayer formula. Without his hint and his excellent lectures of Sogdian, I would never have embarked on this paper.

We next take up *the major portion of the Fragment*, i. e, the remaining 8 lines (lines 3 to 12), for which the author gives the translation (in German)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

immediately below the text. I give herebelow the English rendering of the same, the German already having been given (v. supra.) :

" Thereupon when the king of the gods — the good ultimate god, dwelling in the fragment paradise in good thought, there entered the perfect, righteous Zrᵒwšč (Zoroaster), and he brought homage from the left knee to the right and from the right knee to the left, and he spoke/declared : O God, well-doing law-giver,..... "

The necessity of philological notes that immediately follow will be at once evident if we call to mind the allusions made by me earlier in connection with the Sogdian language being written in three different dialects. Since some words are common to all the three, and in particular to Buddhist and Manichaean Sogdian, the majority of words in the present text, when shown to be Budd. Sog. (as revealed by the notes below) and a few words in the text when shown to be having distinctive Buddhistic features or implications, will once and for all establish the Buddhist source of the text. Incidentally, polygot MSS., like polyglot inscriptions, are not unknown. One such is referred to by A. V. William Jackson,[9] which is a fragment written in Turfan M. P., with some glosses in Sogdian.

For the philological notes I had to draw my references from a limited number of books at my disposal here in India, but must also confess that these sufficed for my requirements and standards of scholarship in Sogdian, a comparatively young field in India. I have depended in the main on Ilya Gershevitch's *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Philological Society, Oxford, 1954.

Speaking about Buddhist texts in Sogdian, besides the present work of Reichelt's, I have had little time to study others, except D. N. MacKenzie's *The Sogcian Buddhist Text of the Sūtras of the Causes and Effects of Actions*, Oxford, 1970; W. B. Henning's " A Sogdian Fragment of Manichaean Cosmogony ", in BSOAS, 1948, and some learned articles on similar texts by such pioneers in Sogdian as Henning, Jackson and Schwartz.

Finally, the following are the abbreviations used by Gershevitch in his Grammar (v. supra) to distinguish the particular dialect of the Sogdian to which a word belongs. Sogdian words not bearing any of the 4 abbrvs. are Manichaean.

B = thus spelled in proper Sogdian script in Buddhist texts.

S = thus „ „ „ „ „ „ any text (incl. Budd. texts).

Man. = „ „ „ Manichaean script.

Chr. = „ „ „ Syriac script in Christian texts.

9. Jackson, *ibid.*, p. 323.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(For purposes of easy identification the above abbrvns. will be usually found affixed to a word right at its beginning).

Others: KAD = K. E. Kanga, Avesta Dictionary, Bombay.

MS = Martin Schwartz, his class notes to me.

HS. ZPB, IG.: See end of present paper.

Philological notes:

wyδ^{o}γ ty (B.) = | wiδ axtē |, Chr. wyd^{o}γty, 'then, thus', < Man., B. wyδ, Chr. wyd; demonstr. used for complements of time and for the acc., with ^{oo}γt- (ā-gata), to come; verbal stem, intransitive. (IG. art. 1452., HS, p. 52; MS.). Thus the very first word is Budd. Sog. (though wyδ-, the first component can also be Man.).

^{o}skw^{o}z = | skuāz |, 'he was, stayed', preterite infl. -^{o}z, which, a suff. of duration. The word occurs only in Budd. Sog. In Man. only šw^{o}zkwn, 'he was going', occurs. (IG. art. 814, MS.).

^{o}γw : B., 'he, the', demonstr. pron. and c. Man. Chr. xw or | Xu |, < hau for the nom. mas. and x^{o} < hā for the nom. fem. Also cf. B. ^{o}γšyβt, Man. xšyβt = milk, where again B. ^{o}γ- = Man. x-. (IG. arts. 157, 160; MS.).

^{o}δδβγ : is ^{oo}δβγ, B., 'highest ultimate god'. ^{oo}δ-, aδi = highest, first. Cf. Ind. 'Ādi Śaṁkarācārya', highest pontiff of a Hindu sect. ^{oo}δβγ occurs in Budd. fragments. (IG. arts. 498, 434: f. n. 2).

rwγšn^{o}γrδmnyh (B) = | roxšna-garaθmanē |, effulgent paradise, Av. raoxšnagarōdəmāna, lit., luminous/effulgent House of Songs. (ZPB, p. 53, IG. art. 1218). Orig. an essentially Zoroastrian idea. Bailey (op. cit.) observes that in the Sogdian texts the Buddhists used the old divine name ^{o}zrw^{o} (zurvān) for god Brahmā, and rwγšn^{o}γrwδ- for bright garōδamān..... "It will therefore not cause surprise if other Old Iranian ideas are adapted in Buddhist environment to new uses".

^{o}rt^{o}w = 'electus', is primarily used in the Mānichaean texts (ZPB, p. 107: f. n.). The word has already been explained when dealing with the prayer-formula. Here, however, the word is used in the ord. adj. sense to mean 'righteous'.

zrwšč or | zarušč | = Zoroaster, Av. Zaraθuštra, O. P. *Zarat-uštra, P. Ir. *Zaratuštra O.Ir. *Zarahuštra, Parth. zrhwšt, Gk. Zoroaster. Thus -štr becomes -šč in zrwšč. Also written as ^{o}zr^{o}wsc. (IG., arts. 278, 399, 1171; MS.).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

zɔnwkɔ (B.) = | zānuk |, 'knee', < *zānuka; Av. žnu (āžnu- in compounds), M. P. šnug. Cf. z(n)w(q) = chin, jaw. zɔnwk occurs in Budd. text, V. J. 374. (IG. arts. 978, 378; KAD 195; HS., p. 50, q. v. for detailed etymology).

γwɔrɔnt : S., adj., 'right, right hand'. Av. dašina-. Cf. Khot. 'hvarandaa-' (IG., art. 1066). For details v. ZPB, pp. 73, xxviii. Also cf. Av. Vendidad 3. 28.

There are about 5 or more distinctly Budd. Sog. words, such as B. prɔys, Man. and Chr. prɔγt, but I close the list, which, having served its purpose, would be unnecessary to lengthen.

The influence of Zoroastrianism on Budhism :

Having come to the end of the study of the fragment, which begins with an Avestan prayer, with the theme centred on Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran, one is tempted to speculate about the nature and other implications of the Buddhist text of which the fragment is perhaps a very small fraction, but such speculative excursions are bound to prove strenuous and evasive, if not outright futile. However, this is no place to go into the implications, historical or theological, raised by the present study, which is not possible or at this juncture even practicable, within the brief compass of this paper. All the same, Bailey's remarks concerning Zoroastrian ideas being "adapted in Buddhist environment to new uses" (s. v. ruxšna-garathman- in the above notes) are significant and lead us to an enquiry into this fascinating field, which I propose to go into as briefly as possible, in the semblance of an excursion on the periphery :

To scholars of Indology the influence of Iran on India in the Mauryan period (4th and 3rd centuries B. C.) and especially on the last great Mauryan emperor, the Buddhist philosopher king Ashoka, is well known. It was Dr. Spooner, the eminent archaeologist and historian, who first pioneered the studies of Iranian influence on Hindu and Buddhist India.

K. C. Chakravarti in his 'Ancient Indian Culture and Civilization', probably basing his argnments mainly on Spooner's theories, states[10] that Ashoka's administration, social reforms, political methodsand architecture, were all patterned on Achaemenian features and style. Earlier, Spooner had asserted that the first Mauryan king, Chandragupta was a Zoroastrian, that the ancestors of Buddha were Zoroastrians, and that Buddha's system was an adaptation of the Magian faith to Indian conditions. Spooner wrote so, way back in 1915, later researches in Buddhism having refuted some of his theories.[11] On the other hand, paucity of historical data for the period prior to Ashoka and the Mauryas renders such refutation difficult.

10. K. E. Madon, his paper in Kurus Memorial Vol., pp. 82, 83.
11. E. J. Thomas, his paper in Mody Memorial Volume, Bombay 1930, p. 289.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Again, the distinction between Persian influence on the original or Hīnayāna Buddhism of the pre-Ashokan period, and that on the later or Mahāyāna Buddhism (which is well documented) is an important one. The neo-Buddhistic Mahāyāna school, for instance, was pervaded with Zoroastrian philosophy; the dogma of Ahiṁsā' (which was primarily Hīnyāna) being given a new look by the Mahāyāna and changed into the creed of 'Asish' or benevolence.[12]

The introduction of the Kharoshti scrtpt (written from right to left, in the Iranian style) by the Achaemenian kings through their Aramaic scribes, as witnessed in the legends of some coins and in some of Ashoka's inscriptions; the enlisting of Iranians in Ashoka's services; the style of the Buddhist architecture in Afghanistan and that of Pataliputra, all speak of Iranian influence.[13]

Coming down to the Kushans (their early period corresponding with the Parthian period in Iran) we find Iranian influence gaining firm ground in India, as documented in particular by numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Names of mainly Iranian and some Indian and Buddhist deities appearing on the Kushan and later on Kushano-Sasanian coins, and other Iranian features show that Buddhism, in close contact with Zoroastrianism, had by then made rapid strides, spreading out from north-west India into Khotan, the land of the Śakas.[14] The German scholar, H. Humbach, though, shows some of the names (like 'Ormazd') occurring in certain inscriptions and coin-legends of the Kushan period, to be of controversial origin, and suggests a reassessment of the question of Zoroastrian influence on Kanishka and Huvishka.[15]

P. Schmidt in his paper "Persian dualism in the Far East"[16] gives an account of the Zoroastrian influence on the religions of China. G. K. Nariman, likewise, comments on "the Existence of Zoroastrian texts in the Chinese Language"[17], and hence the possible contacts with Chinese Buddhism. He likewise writes about the 'penitential formulas' found in Buddhist texts of comparatively recent dates, with their lively portrayal of all manner of imaginable sins, that bear a strong resemblance to the Zoroastrian 'Patets'.[18]

12. K. E. Madon, *ibid.*, p. 83.

13. J. J. Modi, *The influence of Iran on other Countries*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 107, 112; S. M. Gharavi, his paper in Kurus Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1974, p. 58; K. E. Madon, *ibid.*, p. 87.

14. 1. Duchesn-Guillemin, *Religion of Ancient Iran* (v. Ref. 4.), pp. 164 et seq.

15. H. Humbach, "Ormuzd with the Indo-Scythians" in *Sir J. J. Z. Madressa Centenary Volume*, Bombay, 1967.

16. H. Schmidt, his paper in Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetjee Pavri, Oxford, 1933, pp. 405 ff.

17. G. K. Nariman, *ibid.*, pp. 304, 334.

18. G. K. Nariman, *ibid.*, p. 235.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Indian-Buddhist goddess Tārāa is believed to have evolved from the Persian 'Anahita'.[19]

Lastly, we come te the interesting association of prophet Buddha with Kapila, the great sage of the Vedic period: Buddha was born in Kapilavastu, the name of the town being thus associated with the sage, who was the founder of the Sāṁkhya philosophy which exerted great influence upon Buddha.[20] Kapila was called the 'First of the intellectuals (Ādividvān)', and represented one of the previous births of the Buddha, making him one of the Bodhisattvas.[21] Kapila has even been inentified with Zarathushtra himself, the Mahābhārata making mention of him as an Āsuri or worshipper of Ahura.[22] More about this interesting association in perhaps a future paper contemplated by the present writer.

Abbreviations

V. = vide.

V. J. = Vessantara Jātaka, Buddhist text, E. Benveniste's new ed., Paris, 1946.

Aram. = Aramaic.

f. n. = foot note.

IG. = Ilya Gershevitch's *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Philological Society, Oxford, 1954.

HS. = W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, Oxford, 1940.

ZPE. = *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, H. W. Bailey, Oxford, 1971.

O. Ir. = Old Iranian.

Khot. = Khotanese.

art. = article in IG.

(*) before a word conjectural reading.

19. J. J. Modi, *ibid.*, (v. Ref. 13), p. 176.
20. M. N. Dhalla, *World's Religions in Evolution*, Karachi, 1953, p. 18.
21. H. Chatterjee, his paper in Proceedings and transactions of the All India Oriental Conference, 22nd. Session. Guhati, 1966, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.; D. Malvania, his paper in *ibid.*, p. 150.; J. J. Modi, *ibid.* (v. Ref. 13), p. 176.
22. K. E. Madon, his paper, *ibid.* (Ref. 10 above), p. 81.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ZARANUMANTƏM SŪRƏM OF *X^{v}ARŠET/MIHIR NYAIŠ* AND *SŪTRATMAN* DOCTRINE OF HINDU TRADITION

By

FARIBOURZ NARIMAN

Generally speaking, references to certain concepts embodied in Avestan or Pahlavi texts are to be found in different places, at times in varying contexts. Such references and their elaborations throw considerable light on various aspects of the concept concerned. Occasionally, however, we find that allusions to certain concepts are made at one or two places and that too rather tersely. We come across one such rarely occurring concept in *Ny* 1. 8 and 2. 8 where 'we worship (or sacrifice unto) the golden shaft' (*zaranumantəm sūrəm yazamaide*). This is rendered by Neryosangh *svarṇamayaṁ śastram ārādhaye*, but in the gloss we get *suvarṇamayanalikā*.[1] The Persian Rivayats throw some light on this 'golden instument: "The Creator Ormazd, the high and the Exalted has created a mountain called Saokantgar and in the midst of that mountain He has made a golden channel (reaching) from the earth to the sky ..."[2] *zaranumatəm sūrəm* is translated 'deadly weapon' by Ervad Kavasji Kanga in his *Xordeh Avestā bā Māinī* in Gujarati.

In *Bundahišn* 13. 5 there is a mention about waters on the Alburz and the Huker flowing through *golden pipes* and with this in view, Modi is inclined to think that the 'golden shaft' is probably a reference to some geological phenomena.[3] Although Dhalla gives 'golden shaft' in his translation of *Ny*. 1. 8, he is unable to make out what it actually means, as he himself admits in his notes.[4]

In *BU* 2. 1 we read about the Self producing a number of things just as a spider spins his web and *KB* 19. 3 mentions about the solar spider who incidentally, is our Self (*ṚV* I. 115. 1) and who spins his web of seven rays (*ṚV* I. 105. 9). Again *ŚB* 14. 2. 2. 22 emphasises: "... the web-weaver, doubtless, is

1. See Ervad S. D. Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, Bombay 1906, Vol. 1, 10.

2. See B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazdyar Framroze and Others*, Bombay 1932, 98.

3. See J. J. Modi, *Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names*, Bombay 1892, 187. It must be recalled that, according to a Rivayat, "Mt. Alburz encircles the whole world", see Dhabhar, *op. cit.*, 97.

4. See M. N. Dhalla, *The Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, New York 1908, 29, 231–32.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

he that shines yonder, for he moves along these worlds as if along a web ... " It is interesting to note that Henning translates a portion of *Zend Ākāsīh* 2.7 thus : " A tether ties each of the seven continents to the great Bear, for the purpose of managing the continents during the period of the Mixture. That is why the Great Bear is called *Haftōreng.*"[5] In his footnote Henning says : " These seven tethers constitute the 'light' counterpart to seven ties which connect the seven planets with the lower regions, and through which the planets exercise their influence upon terrestrial events." While discussing Av. *mərəzu* (*Vd* 19.42) in connection with *Mēx-ī-Gāh* as well as *Mēx-ī miyān āsmān* of the Pahlavi text mentioned above, Henning adds that it " would be an ideal etymon of Ormuri *mažwai*, Pashto *mōẓai* 'peg' (cf. Morgenstierne, EVP., 50, and NTS., V, 24). Hence, the ordinary meaning of Av. *mərəzu* apparently was the same as that of Pahl. *mex*, Arab. *wátad*, etc. This would furnish a satisfactory explanation of Av. *məzəzu-* 'vertebra' (Kurd., etc. mul, mil, etc., 'neck') as from 'peg, pivot'. It seems likely that *mərəzu*, as 'pole', is a translation of Greek πολος 'pivot, axis, pole'... ".[6] According to Hindu Tradition the 'ties' are nothing but " wind cords " (*tat sūtraṁ vāyunā*) *BU* 3.7.2 or *vāta-rajjuḥ MU* 1.4). If we substitute the rather commanplace πολος by Gnostic σταυρος 'axis of the universe' which simultaneously parts and connects Heaven and Earth and which is an equivalent of Skt *skambha*, the basic idea of the traditional Axis Mundi or *sūtrātman* (thread-spirit) doctorine becomes clear.

In the *Ṛgveda* we come across the doctrine in question under different aspects : as a pillar of fire[7] and also as a pillar of life of solar Light.[8] And *ṚV* 1.115.1 declares : " The Sun is the Spirit (*ātman*) of all that is in motion and at rest (*jagataḥ tasahuṣaḥ*) " Again, *ŚB* 7.3.2.13 and 8.7.3.10 maintain that " the yonder Sun strings these worlds to himself on a thread " and the latter goes on to inform us that " that thread is the same as the wind ". The *sūtrātman* doctorine is also to be found in *BG* 7.7 where " All this is strung on *Me*, like rows of gems on a thread." Further, in *Bu* 3.7.1.2 we come across a dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka wherein a mention is made about him " who knows the thread and the 'Inward Ruler' (*antaryāmiṇam iti*). And *AV* 10.8.38 states : " I know the extended thread (*sūtram*) wherein these offsprings are interwoven : the thread of the thread I know, what else by the 'great' (*mahat*, the sun), of the nature of Brahman ? "

5. See W. B. Henning, " An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundhaishn " JRAS, 1942, 232. For transliteration of the Pahlavi text and a slightly different translation see B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh – Iranian or Greater Bundahisn*, Bombay 1956, 2.7.

6. See Henning, *Op. cit.*, 242.

7. *ṚV* 1.59.1, 4.5.1, 10.5.6.

8. *ṚV* 10.5.6, JUB 1.10.10.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In *ṚV* 7. 86. 1 we read: "Wise, verily, are creatures through his greatness who stayed even spacious heaven and earth asunder" and *ṚV* 8. 41. 10 tells us about" ... who pillared both the worlds apart ... " The last citation may be considered along with "The *skambha*[9] sustains both heaven and earth... and hath inhabited all existences ... Whereby these twain are pillared aprat, therein is all that is enspirited (*ātmanvat*), all that breathes and blinks" (*AV* 10. 7. 35).

To revert to *zaranumantəm sūrəm*, it is opportune to call attention to a remarkable coincidence; as already mentioned, Neryosangh renders *sūrəm* by *śastram* and *tejanena* in *ṚV* 1. 110. 5 is rendered by Sāyaṇa *tīkṣṇena śastreṇa*. If we take into account the idea of heaven and earth being "pillared apart" (as mentioned in the Vedic texts cited above) by the golden shaft, the following assertions in connection with one who worships (or sacrifices unto) the Sun, as in *Ny* 1. 14., appear to be most appropriate: "He worships (or sacrifices unto) Ahur mazda, He worships (or sacrifices unto) Amәsa Spәntas." And, significantly enough, our text adds that such a worshipper (or sacrificer) becomes a propitiator of "all heavenly and earthly yazatas."

Before clossing, we need only mention that the doctorine under reference is by no means peculiar only to the traditions referred to above. Coomaraswamy has cited the Islamic *qutb* as one of its parallels.[10] In the Iliad of Homer, Book 8, there is a mention about fastening of "a rope of gold form heaven."[11] An echo of this doctorinsi s to be found in some of the works of the Sufis. For example "Thou art the end of the thread," exclaims Rumi (*Mathnawī*, 1. 2936) and, again, "He gave me the end of a thread."[12] This is Plato's "fastenning of heaven" (*Republic* 616c) which is the "straight line like a pillar extended from above throughtout Heaven and Earth."

Abbreviations

AV — (*Atharva Veda*) *The Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, ed. by R. T. H. Griffith, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Benares, 1916–1917.

9. It may be observed that *tejanam* in *AV* 1. 2. 4 is the *diva-skambha* Axis Mundi.

10. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *An Indian Temple*: *Kandarya Mahadeo* published both in *Art in America* 35 (1947), and in *Śilpi* II (1947). Coomaraswamy has dealt with this doctrine at various places and in different contexts. Two of his monographs merit special attention: (1) "The Sun-Kiss", JAOS, LX (1940), 46-47 and (2) "The Iconography of Dūre's "Knots" and Leonardo's "Concatenatien"" in *Art Quarterly*, VII (1944), 109–28, 18 figs.

11. *The Complete Works of Homer*:*The Iliad and The Odyssey*, the first translated by A. Lang and E. Myers and the second by S. H. Butcher and A. Lang, New York 1950.

12. See R. A. Nicholson, *Odes of Shams-i-Tabriz*, Cambridge, 188, no. 289.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

BG — *The Bhagvad Gītā*, ed. by Swami Nikhilananda, New York, 1944.

BU — (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*) In *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, ed. by R. E. Hume, 2nd ed., London, 1931.

KB — (*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*) *The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, ed. by A. B. Keith, Cambridge, Mass., 1920 (HOS 25).

ṚV — (*Ṛgveda*) *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, ed. by R. T. H. Griffith, 2 vols. 4th ed., Benares, 1963.

ŚB — (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) ed. by J. Eggeling, 5 vols. Oxford, 1882–1900 in *The Sacred Books of the East series*, (reprinted by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1963).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

INDUMATĪ-SVAYAṀVARA — AN APPRAISAL

By

C. PANDURANGA BHATTA

Indumatī-svayaṁvara is described in Canto VI of Kalidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. The kings betraying their passion for Indumatī are described in the ślokas 13 to 19. The commentators Cāritravardhana and Vallabha do not attempt to detect Indumatī's hidden intentions whenever she goes near different princes. On the other hand, commentators like Mallinātha and Hemādri do refer to the hidden intentions of Indumatī on the various actions of her suitors. Hemādri's remarks are surprisingly identical with the remarks made by Mallinātha. Their interpretations do not seem to be correct. Aruṇagirinātha who would have lived in the 15th century A. D. shows great sense of propriety in his commentary viz. *Raghuvaṁśaprakāśikā* while commenting on the said verses. Aruṇagirinātha does not make Indumatī and her suitors interpret the actions in a way favourable to them. The following points may be considered in this regard. The poet only describes the attraction of the kings towards Indumati when she enters the royal road sitting in the palanquin. While commenting on śloka No. 12 Mallinātha himself says that the word "शृङ्गारचेष्टाः" refers to the semblance of *śṛṅgāra* and not to शृङ्गार proper because the love gestures are described only in the kings and not in Indumatī and hence it is one-sided : शृङ्गाराभासश्चायम् । एकत्रैव प्रतिपादनात्। Moreover Indumatī was coming in the royal road. She did not come in the front of any king and this is clear from the words of the poet who after describing the love-gestures says :

ततो नृपाणां श्रुतवृत्तवंशा पुंवत्प्रगल्भा प्रतिहाररक्षी।
प्राक् संनिकर्षं मगधेश्वरस्य नीत्वा कुमारीमवदत् सुनन्दा॥

This verse points out that the maid-servant Sunandā who knew the exploits and the pedigrees of the kings, first led Indumatī to the lord of the Magadhas. Indumatī coming near the princes is described only from this verse onwards and hence it is not proper to point out her displeasure even before actually seeing the princes for herself. There is no justification for not describing the hidden motives of Aja as the poet has used the word महीपतीनां (śloka No. 12) which includes Aja also. Aja doubting about Indumatī choosing him is described by the poet in the following verse :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

तस्यां रघोः सूनुरुपस्थितायां वृणीत मां नेति समाकुलोभूत् ।
वामेतरः संशयमस्य बाहुः केयूरबन्धोच्छ्वसितैर्ननोद ॥

The poet does not describe the undesirability of all the kings because with regard to Aṅganātha he says :

अथाङ्गराजादवतार्य चक्षुर्याहीति जन्यामवदत् कुमारी ।
नासौ न काम्यो न च वेद सम्यग् द्रष्टुं न सा भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः ॥

Thus it is clear that the poet describes only the suitability of the princes but the commentators interpret the verses to bring out their unsuitability. The poet gives only one reason for Indumatī rejecting all the princes exept Aja. According to him Indumatī had chosen Aja as her partner because he was he husband even in her previous birth :

रतिस्मरौ नूनमिमावभूतां राज्ञां सहस्रेषु तथा हि बाला ।
गतेयमात्मप्रतिरूपमेव मनो हि जन्मान्तरसंगतिज्ञम् ॥

Again Indumatī's maid servant Sunandā giving an account of the exploits of various kings assembled at the svayaṁvara is being described in the verses 23, 24, 28, 29, 33, 34, 36, 42, 47 53, 56 and 65 of the same canto : Hemādri and Cāritravardhana try to discover hints in Sunandā's speech- In their opinion Sunandā describes the kings with a bias. This view of the above said commentators is not in keeping with the traditions of the svayaṁvara. Mallinātha is silent as far as this aspect is concerned. The commentary of Aruṇagirinātha does not refer to either favourable or unfavourable hints in the speech of Sunandā. Moreover Aruṇagirinātha wrongly criticises those who interpret the speech of Sunandā as containing good or bad remarks about the kings whom she describes. Aruṇagirinātha points out that the reasons which are discovered by those commentators are not sufficient enough to turn away Indumatī from the princes. He takes up the verses for an analysis from this point. He says that the points which are shown as the reasons for rejecting the princes may be shown as reasons to axcept them; एतानि च व्यावर्तनकारणानि प्रायशो नायकवर्णनेऽपि सुयोजानि।

He strongly criticises the remarks of those commentators and says that it is improper to find out the new reasons neglecting the reasons which are clearly pronounced by the poet himself; किं च कविनैव कण्ठोक्त्या दर्शितं प्रवरतरं कारणमनादृत्य कारणान्तरं मृग्यत इत्यहो विजिगीषुत्वम् ।

In the case of Indumatī her mind was conscious of her relations with Aja in her previous birth and hence she did not like to marry any other person. Aruṇagirinātha further says that the fact rhat there were no reasons to reject the princes is clearly indicated in the line: 'नासौ न काम्यः'. He concludes his discussion by saying : तदेवंस्थितेऽपि यदि गतानुगतिकतैवाङ्गीक्रियेत तत्काममङ्गीक्रियताम् । किं नः छिन्नम् ।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Mallinātha shows better taste in not attempting to discover any hints in Sunandā's speech. Aruṇagirinātha is justified in criticising the commentators who discover hints in Sunandā's speech. Indumatī was supposed to exercise her free choice in selecting her partner.

The attempt by Sunandā either direct or indirect to bias the mind of Indumatī in favour of or against a particular prince would have vitiated the character of svayaṁvara. Aruṇagirinātha's commentary on these verses points out his critical approach.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

DHURTASAMĀGAMA — A REDISCOVERY

By

B. NARASIMHA CHARYULU

There is a MS of *Dhūrtasamāgama* in Osmania University Library. With a view to publishing it, I searched all the material available regarding the work at Hyderabad. This paper is the result of my efforts in that direction.

The Manuscript —

The work, *Dhūrtasamāgama* belongs to the 1st quarter of the fourteenth century and is written by Jyotirīśvara, who bears the title, Kaviśekharācārya. The MS Da 121/29, written in clear Devanāgarī on country paper, contains 12 folios of 24 × 13″ size. Some folios have 9 lines while others have 10 and 11. There are on the average 10 lines and 30 letters on a page. It is written in 1714 Śaka Parīdhāvī year which is 1792 (or 1794) A. D. Thus the MS of DS is approximately 200 years old. Beginning: श्रीसदाशिवाय नमः। श्रीमन्मातृपितृचरणाभ्यां नमः॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः। हर्षादम्भोजजन्मप्रभृति दिविषदां संसदि इत्यादि। Ends — काले संततवर्षिणो जलमुचः... ॥ इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे। इति धूर्तसमागमं नाम प्रहसनं समाप्तं॥ हि सके १७१४ पराधीवी नामाब्दे श्री॥

Others MSS of DS —

(1) BORI has one MS as noticed in their Vol. IV – Nāṭakas Śl. No. 87 *DS* 80/1883–84. Size 12¾ × 5″. 7 leaves, 12 lines to a page and 45 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī; not very old in appearance; handwriting clear, legible and uniform. Age Samvat 1940. Author Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara. Begins — श्रीकृष्णाय नमः॥ हर्षादम्भोजजन्मप्रभृतिदिविषदां प्रीतिमत्वात् इत्यादि। Ends — इति निष्क्रान्तास्सर्वे द्वितीयसंधिः॥ कविशेखराचार्य-श्रीज्योतिरीश्वर-विरचितं धूर्तसमागमाभिधं प्रहसनं समाप्तं। श्रीहरिः संवत् १९४० फाल्गुन कृष्ण ३० भौमवासरे। श्रीहरिः॥

(2) There is one MS of *DS* preserved at TMSSM Library Tenjore. The details are from descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS Vol. VIII Nāṭakas Śl. No. 4630. Burnell's Cat. No. 5302 b. Page 169. Left column. Substance paper; size 9⅜ × 3⅞ inches. Sheets 25 (35–59), lines 6 to 7 a page, Devanāgarī No. of granthas – 250. Author Jyotirīśvara. Complete. Begins — हर्षादम्भोजजन्मप्रभृति दिविषदां इत्यादि. Ends — साम्बशिवार्पणमस्तु ...। Date of the MS not found; the editors of the volume give some details of author, printed editions etc.

(3) A Census of Indic Manuscripts in US and Canada, Vol. 12, Notices of one MS of *DS* on page 108. 9 Folios. size 9.9″ × 5.1″, 10–11 lines (H) 1358. Śl. No. 2262.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(4) Aufrecht notices: *Dhūrtasamāgama Prahasana*, by Jyotirīśvara Oxf. 140a Paris (B85b) L. 85B. 2, 118, Pheh. 6 Burnell 168D Peters 5, 189.

(5) GOML Madras has one MS of *DS*. Śl. No. 9393. R. No. 2380 Paper; Devanāgarī; Incomplete.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji in his essay on "The Varṇa-Ratnākara" (published in the proceedings of 4th AIOC, Allahabad 1928 pp. 453–621) says: "*DS* is quite a popular work. There is a large number of MSS of this farce and besides it has been printed several times. Christian Lassen printed it for the first time in his *Anthologia Sanscritica* (Bonn 1838: text pp. 69–96, Latin annotations, pp. 116–130). C. Capellar published it in lithograph in 1883 from Jena. There are also Indian editions of it published from Bombay and Calcutta, but these I have not seen". The learned scholar could see European editions at least. Unfortunately, I have not seen any printed edition of *DS*. Most of the works on History of Sanskrit Literature, written by foreign and Indian Scholars have given the appreciation of *DS*.

The Author —

All the MSS copies of *DS* and historians of Sanskrit literature have accepted Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācārya as the author of *DS* and it is obvious from the Prastāvanā of the *DS*: श्रीज्योतिरीश्वरेण निजकुतूहलरचितं धूर्तसमागमं नाम प्रहसनं अभिनेतुमादिष्टोऽस्मि॥ But regarding his parentage and his patronage there are divergent views resulting from varient readings of the names in different MSS of *DS*. *CC* of Aufrecht, Lassen, MSS of Tanjore and BORI and some historians of Skt. Literature mention Rāmeśvara as his grandfather. Similarly, MSS of BORI, Aufrecht and M. Krishnamacharya, Manamohan Chakravarti and following him S. K. Chattarji also mention Dhīreśvara as the father of JK. But the Tanjore MS mentions Dhaneśvara as the father of JK. According to the present MS of *DS* Dhīreśvara is the grandfather and Dharitrīśvara his father. Prologue: अनेन सकलसंगीतविद्यानवद्यविद्योतनाभिनवभरतेन, पुरमथनचरणकमलयुगलवन्दारुकरपल्लवपुटेन, निखिलभाषासुभगसरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणेन, अनवरतसोमरसास्वादकषायण्कठपीठलुठन्मीमांसामहोत्सवस्य धीरेश्वरस्य पौत्रेण, तत्रभवतः पवित्रकीर्तेर्धरित्रीश्वरस्यात्मजेन महाशासनेन श्रेणिशेखरश्रीमत्पल्लीजन्मभूमिना, कविशेखराचार्येण श्रीज्योतिरीश्वरेण निजकुतूहलरचितं धूर्तसमागमं नाम प्रहसनं ... ॥

Accordingly the family-tree may be reconstructed thus —

Dhīreśvara
|
Dharitrīśvara
|
Jyotirīśvara

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The Patron —

Christian Lasson, A. B. Keith and P. P. S. Sastry and Aufrecht have wrongly accepted Narasiṁha, the King of Vijayanagar (A. D. 1487–1507) as the patron of the author and fixed 16th century as the period of the *DS*. But the Manamohan Chakravarti (in his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1915, pp. 407–33) and following him S. K. Chattarji in his brillient and informative article on "the Varṇaratnākara" (already referred to), S. K. De. (*HSL* pp. 497–98) M. Krishnamacharya (*HSL* p. 650, para 685) refuting the Narasiṁha theory, firmly establish Narasiṁhadeva of Mithilā as the patron of JK., and fix the first quarter of the 14th century as the period of the work. I have to add only this much — Besides the MSS of *DS* preserved in the ASB MS No. 8224, in Devanāgarī 150 years old, MS of Nepal Durbar Library (p. 66 Catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper MSS, with introduction by C. Bendell. Calcutta, 1905), and the BORI MS, the present MS also mentions Harasiṁhadeva as the patron of JK. The verse under discussion is :

नानायोधनिबद्धनिर्जितसुरत्राणत्रसद्वाहिनी-
नृत्यद्धीमकबन्धमेलकदलद्भूमिभ्रमाद् (म) भूधरः ।
अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेवनृपतिः कर्णाटचूडामणि-
र्दृप्यत्पार्थिवसार्थमौलिमुकुटन्यस्ताङ्घ्रिपङ्केरुहः ॥३॥

Thus, Harasiṁhadeva is his patron and he waged wars with Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlaq (1324), the Sultan of Delhi. The *DS* of Jyotirīśvara and *Dānaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara were composed after the expulsion of or voluntary withdrawal of Mohammadans from Harasiṁhadeva's kingdom. Harasiṁhadeva is the ruler of Mithilā and is of Karnāṭa Dynasty (for further details cf. S. K. Chattarji's article). Dr. Jayakānta Miśra opines that Jyotirīśvara lived at the courts of both kings. Narasiṁhadeva and Harasiṁhadeva (*A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. 1).

His Works —

Besides the *DS* J. Kaviśekhara is credited with, *Pañcasāyaka*, *Varṇa-ratnākāra* and *Muṇḍitaprahasana*.

The *Pañcasāyaka*, as the name suggests, is a work on erotics noticed in the list of catalogues and printed and edited at Lahore in 1921 by Sadananda Sastry. G. O. Ml. Madras has one MS (in two parts) Śl. No. 11062–R 2812 and Śl. No. 11063 R 4494 (b). Aufrecht notices this work *CC* p. 316 L375. K248. B352 Bur. 39 Bik. 533. Katm. 7. Burnell 59a etc. M. Krishnamacharya. PRII 110, TC III. 4035. The two verses, giving the object, plan and the name of the poet, are quoted from the article of S. K. Chattarji :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अस्ति प्रत्यहमर्थिताग्रहरणः (तापहरणः) क्लृप्तैकदीक्षागुरुः,
श्रीकण्ठार्चनतत्परो भुवि चतुःषष्टेः कलानां निधिः ।
संगीतागमसत्प्रमेयरचनाचातुर्यचूडामणिः,
ख्यातः श्रीकविशेखरार्चितपदः श्रीज्योतिरीशः कविः ॥ १ ॥
दृष्ट्वा मन्मथतन्त्रमीश्वरहृतं (कृतं) वात्स्यायनीयं मतं
गोणीपुत्रकमूलदेवरचितं बाभ्रव्यवाक्यामृतम् ।
श्रीनन्दीश्वररन्तिदेवरचितं क्षोणीन्द्रविद्यागमं
तेनाकल्प्यत पञ्चसायक इति प्रीतिप्रदः कामिनाम् ॥ २ ॥

The *Varṇa-ratnākara* an encyclopaedic work, is the earliest in Maithili language giving poetic conventions and kindred subjects. This book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyāpati, who is also a descedant of the Dhīreśvara or a distant relative of Kaviśekhara. It is considered to be a compendium of life and culture of medieval India. It contains 7 Kallolas.

यावन्नीरधिनन्दिनी मुरारिपोर्वक्षस्थलं गाहते,
यावन्नीरजसिन्धु × स × सुखं रत्नाकरो विन्दति।
यावत्पङ्कजबान्धवस्य भुवनान्युद्योतयन्ते कराः,
काव्यं श्रीकविशेखरस्य सुधियां तावत्कृषीष्टोत्सवम् ॥ ३ ॥

(For detailed description of the MS or VR cf. the above mentioned article).

The *Muṇḍita-prahasana* is attributed to Jyotirīśvara by M. Krishnamacharya in his *HSL* while discussing the *Pañcasāyaka*. It is in 3 acts. The author's name is given as Śivajyotirīśvara. *PRII*–122. *CC* of Aufrecht, p. 461 by Śivajyotirvid L125. Peters. 2, 189.

His Personality —

JK is well-vesred in many languages; (Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili) expert in dancing and music and a high court officer. Cf. the prose already quoted. He is the Ācārya of Harasiṁha and renowned as a great poet. He could compose 400 beautiful verses full of poetic qualities and figures of speech in a day and is an expert in 64 arts :

तस्योद्दण्डभुजप्रतापदहनज्वालानिरस्तापदो
राज्ञः सर्वगुणानुरागपदवीविद्योतनाचार्यकः ।
यो धीरेश्वरवंशमौलितिलको दातावदाताशयस्
तस्य श्रीकविशेखरस्य कविता मच्चित्तमालम्बते ॥ ४ ॥
यश्चत्वारि शतानि बन्धघटनालंकारभाञ्जि द्रुतं,
श्लोकानां विदधाति कौतुकवशादेकाहमात्रे कविः ।
ख्यातः क्ष्मातलमण्डलेष्वपि चतुःषष्टेः कलानां निधिः,
संगीतागमपारगो विजयते श्रीज्योतिरीशः कृती ॥ ५ ॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

के नार्चिता दिविषदः कति न द्विजेशाः,
संतर्पिता न कवयः कति पूजिता वा।
के चार्थिनः प्रतिदिनं न कृताः कृतार्थाः
त्यागप्रसादपटुना कविशेखरेण ॥ ६ ॥

The Work —

The *DS* is a farce in two Sandhis. It deals with the theme of five Dhūrtas or rougues. Viśvanagara, a jaṅgama-mendicant, has a row with Durācāra, his own disciple over the possession of Anaṅgasenā, a courtesan. On her suggestion they refer the case to Assajjanamiśra, who used to solve knotty points of law. Anaṅgasenā is so beautiful that Asajjana Miśra gets infatuated and decrees that Anaṅgasenā shall remain with him until it is decidrd to whom she belongs. Vidūṣaka also desires her. The barber, Mūlanāśaka turns up, demands payment of debt from Anaṅgasenā. Anaṅgasenā asks him to collect it from Asajjanāmiśra. He pays the debt with Vidūṣaka's money. In the end Mūlanāśaka ties Asajjana, but Vidūṣaka rescues him and the play ends with the Bharatavākya.

It has some merits though not free from certain flaws like stock characters and overdose of Śṛngāra. But *DS* successsfully evokes the laughter of the readers and viewers. When Viśvanagara and Durācāra go to a dhanika's house his excuses, nay, his description even engenered laughter :

लक्ष्मीविवर्तवशविन्नितसर्वभोगः शश्वत्प्रकीर्णधनचिन्तनवीततन्द्रः।
अग्राह्यनामकत या भुवि यः प्रसिद्धः तस्येदमाश्रमपदं सततं विभाति ॥ १९ ॥

Mṛtanagara Kuthara's, the wealthy man's motto is :

व्ययशीलः कुबेरोऽपि कामं याति दरिद्रताम्।
अपि प्राणाः प्रदातव्या न देयं धनिभिर्धनम् ॥ २० ॥

Seeing the master and disciple come for alms, he says to himself — अहो दुर्दैवमस्माकं, यदेन्महाधनवतः सकलनंगरनिवासिनो मानुषान्विहाय मद्गृहे पतितो धूमकेतुः। तत्कः प्रकारोऽद्य भविष्यति। भवत्वेवं तावत्। (प्रकाशम्)। इत्यादि His excuse and helplessness find expression in the following :

स्थाने यस्य चरन्ति भैक्ष्यमनघाः स्नेहेन युष्मादृशाः,
स स्यादच्युतमूर्तिपूजनविधौ धन्यः पवित्रालयः।
किंत्वस्मत्प्रतिवेशिविप्रवनिताभ्रातृप्रसक्ताङ्गना-
दूती सप्रसवेति सूतकमतः स्थानान्तरं गम्यताम् ॥ २१ ॥

To this, Viśvanagara befittingly snaps back such 'śaucas' as have no relevance to Maskari's i. e. beggar-mendicants — आयुष्मन्! यतीनामस्माकं नायं दोषः।

उक्तं च— न वायुःस्पर्शदोषेण नाग्निर्दहनकर्मणा।
नापो मूत्रपुरीषाभ्यां नान्नदोषेण मस्करी ॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Mṛtanagara does not relent and with one more matching excuse, dismisses them : भगवन् यद्यप्येवं, तथापि न संभवति। पश्य!

अनावृष्ट्या कृषिर्नष्टा राष्ट्रभङ्गाद्धनादिकम्।
वाणिज्यमल्पलाभेन प्रातराशस्य का कथा ॥ २३ ॥

There is an implied indication of invasions in the word *rāṣṭrabhaṅga*. Following is the real and vivid description of mid-day :

दिक्चक्रं मृगतृष्णया कवलितव्यामाणि भास्वत्कर
च्छायाभिश्छुरितं, तुषानलकणप्रायाश्च भूरेणवः।
पान्थाः पल्लवसंकुलद्रुमलताकुञ्जोदरे शेरते,
मज्जत्कुञ्जरजाललोलितजला क्षुभ्यन्ति तोयाशयाः ॥ १८ ॥

The idea *tuṣānalakaṇaprāyāś ca* graphically portrays scorching particles of dust during mid-day. Viśvanagara's love-lorn heart sees his beloved painted in the sky; engraved on quarters; reflected in the eyes; inextribably attached to the mind; become a bee haunting his mind-lotus. Even then where the elegant, charming lady is, he does not know.

आकाशे लिखितेव दिक्षु खचितेवोत्कीर्णरूपेव वा,
दृक्पातप्रतिबिम्बितेव, मनसि श्लिष्टेव बद्धेव च।
सामच्चित्तसरोरुहे मधुकरी वानङ्गकामातुरा,
कान्ता कान्तिविलासहासवसातिः कास्तीति न ज्ञायते ॥ १७ ॥

The goddess Lakṣmī is justly reproached in the following verse for being partial to the mean, unkind non-generous :

अहो धिगस्तु रत्नाकरोत्पन्नां श्रियं

नो जानाति कुलीनमुत्तमगुणं सत्त्वान्वितं धार्मिकं,
नाचारप्रवणंनकार्यकुशलं न प्रज्ञयालंकृतम्।
नीचं क्रूरमपेतसत्त्वमदयं यस्मादियं सेवते,
तद्वंशानुगुणः पयोधिसुतया लक्ष्म्या प्रमाणीकृतः ॥ २४ ॥

When Suratapriyā asks Viśvanagara how many types of dishes does he wish for lunch, he gives the elaborate menu-card.

मांसं माषपटोलतक्रवटिका वास्तूकशाकं वटः,
संजीवन्यथ मुद्गमत्स्यविदलप्रायः प्रकारोऽपरः।
अन्नं स्वादु पयो घृतं दधि घनं रम्भाफलं शर्करा
संक्षेपादिति साध्यतां सुवदने भिक्षार्थमेतद् हृतम् ॥ २६ ॥

This is his brief list of delicasies; though expensive and detailed one, it gives the food habits of his times.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The following is the discription of an old courtesan :

पक्काः कुन्तलराजयः कटकटक्षामौ कपोलावुभौ,
क्षामायाः स्तनमण्डलं निपतितं शुष्का नितम्बस्थली।
दृक्पातस्मितभाषितैः शिवशिव प्रस्तौति नेत्रोत्सवं
ब्रूमः किं किल मामवैति किमियं दुष्टा जरातापसी ॥ २९ ॥

Now see Anaṅgasenā : अहो निर्माणवैदग्धी विधातुः तथा हि

लीलोल्लसल्ललितखञ्जनमञ्जुनेत्रा,
संपूर्णशारदसुधाकरकान्तवक्त्रा।
बाला जगत्त्रयमनोहरदिव्यमूर्ति-
र्मन्ये विभाति जगति स्मरवीरकान्तिः ॥ ४२ ॥

Viśvanagara justifies his passion for Anaṅgasenā as follows :

यावद् दृष्टिर्मृगाक्षीणां नो नरीनर्ति भङ्गुरा।
तावद् ज्ञानवतां चित्ते विवेकः कुरुते पदम् ॥ ३३ ॥

We have parallel verses in Jagannātha — तदवधि कुशलो पुराणशास्त्र etc. Not only he justifies his action but also considers himself blessed to possess Anaṅgasenā and does not care any more for delicious food, pleasures of heaven and blissful salvation.

यत्पूर्वं चरितं तपः प्रतिदिनं या तीर्थयात्रा कृता,
यद् भूयः पुरुषोत्तमार्चनविधौ चेतः कृतार्थीकृतम्।
तस्यैतत्परमं प्रमोदजनकं प्राप्तं फलंकर्मणः
तत्किं शाककथारसेन किमहो स्वर्गेण मोक्षेण वा ॥ ३२ ॥

Asajjanamiśra's Vidūṣaka is cslled Bandhuvañcaka. Asajjanamiśra's motto is indeed vulgar :

त्रैलोक्ये भोजनं श्रेष्ठं ततोऽपि सुरतोत्सवः।
भोजनं वास्तु मा वास्तु जीवनं न रतं विना ॥ ३६ ॥

Judge yourself who is right, Asajjanamiśra or Bandhuvañcaka, AM says :

यद्वामावक्त्रपानं यदलसनयनालोकनं केलिरङ्गै
स्तस्मादप्यङ्गसङ्गः, कुचकलशभरोत्पीडनं चाङ्गभङ्गिः।
एतत्संसारसारं कुरु निजहृदये निर्विकल्पैककल्पं
किं ते कार्यं विवादात्कथितामिति महद्ग्रन्थकन्थाभरेण ॥ ३७ ॥

Vidūṣaka has something more to say :

भो मिस्स ! परंगणसंभोअदोवि परमंदिरे
संधिं कदुअ अत्थो यं परिहरदि।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

तं जेन तिहुअणसारं संपेररव

किं वाणिज्जेण कज्जं विअधनवसिणा सेवआ वा उणो किं,
किं वा कज्जं किसीए पसु वसु जणदा कट्ठदाए जहिच्छं।
किं विज्जाये फलं वा मरणसमअदो चिंतिताए सराअं
एकं तिल्लोअसारं परधनहरणं जूअकीलासुखं च ॥ ३८ ॥

He likes and esteems stealing and gambling. Asajjanamiśra seems to be a wretched when he could not find these pleasures for a week — (सवैराग्यं) अहो नगरेऽस्मिन्निरुपजीवतास्मद्विधश्रोत्रियाणां, यतो दिनाष्टकमारभ्य न कश्चिद्विपश्चिदन्यायवादी समदर्शि न करटश्राद्धलाभो, न च गणिकाजनसंलापः समजनि ॥

When Viśvanagara and Durācāra are ushered in, he takes them to be mendicants and says :

(स्वगतं) किमनर्थान्तरमापतितम् ।
(प्रकाशम्) भगवन्नाग्गन्तव्या वयं तन्नायं भिक्षावसरः ॥

He feels happy and offers them seat, when he recognizes them as Vādin and Prativādin —

Jyotirīśvara employs various metres with ease and skill. His style is lucid and simple, and has felicity of expression. His imagery, power of description of animate and inanimate world in different moods, love in union and separation are superbly unique. Its main purpose, as that of every Prahasana, is to cause peels of laughter through an appeal to the ludicrous, and this is successfully accomplished by *DS*. The wealthy, the wicked and the pretentious and the so-called religious mendicants, the masters, the disciples all are criticized.

The *DS* is significant, for it gives biographical details of the poet, not contained in his other works. It needs to be published and presented to the Sanskrit-reading public, for it relieves them from seriousness and idealism and artificiality prevailing in Sanskrit literature. The comic element, pungent laughter of the Prahasana necessitates due appreciation. It is modelled on Laṭakamelaka of Śaṅkhadhara.

(भरतवाक्यं) राष्ट्रं समस्तं कपटेन मुक्तं धूर्तक्रियाभिर्दयितेयमाक्षा ।
भवान्विनीतो मिलितश्च शिष्यो नातः परं नः प्रियमस्ति लोके ॥ ४० ॥

तथापीदमस्तु— काले संततवर्षिणो जलमुचः सस्यैस्समृद्धा धरा
भूपाला निजधर्मपालनपरा विप्राम्नायीनिर्भराः ।
स्वादुक्षीरनतोधसः प्रतिदिनं गावो निरस्तापदः
सन्तः शान्तिपरा भवन्तु कृतिनः सौजन्यभाजो जनाः ॥ ४१ ॥

Select books and articles used —

1. Manuscript of O. U. Library.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. Catalogue of Manuscripts of O. U. Library.

3. BORI MS. Catalogue Vol. XIV, Nāṭaka.

4. Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Manuscripts, Tanjore, Vol. VIII, Nāṭakas.

5. Catalogus Catalogorum of Aufrecht, Part I, 1962.

6. Hisiory of Sanskrit Literature by :

   (i) S. K. De and S. N. Dasgupta, Calcutta University Publication, 1962.

   (ii) M. Krisnamacnarya, Motilal Banarasi Das, 1970.

7. The theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II : H. H. Wilson.

8. Sanskrit Drama : A. B. Keith, Oxford University Press, 1970.

Articles —

1. " The Varṇa Ratnākara " by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattarji, published in the Fourth Oriental Conference Proceedings, Vol. II, Allahabad, 1928.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

गीतगणेशम् — एक अप्रकाशित काव्य

लेखक : आर. सी. चावडा

संस्कृत-साहित्य के इतिहास में 'गीत-गोविन्दम्' की रचना से एक नई विधा को जन्म दिया गया है। डा. प्रभातशास्त्री मिश्र ने 'गीतपीतवसनम्' और 'रामगीतगोविन्दम्' जैसे काव्यों की भूमिका में इस विद्या को 'रागकाव्य' या 'गीतकाव्य' की संज्ञा प्रदान की है। इस संज्ञा के मूल में ऐसी रचनाओं को पाश्चात्य विचारधारा से प्रभावित 'गीतकाव्य' (Lyrics) से भिन्न पहचान दी गई है। वास्तव में ये काव्य गीतिकाव्य के उदाहरण स्वरुप उल्लिखित 'मेघदूतम्' 'अमरुशतकम्', 'गाथासप्तशती', 'चौरपञ्चाशिका' आदि से इसलिए भिन्न है क्योंकि इनकी रचना गीत-प्रबन्ध शैली में हुई है।

गीतकाव्य सम्बन्धी अपने शोध कार्य के तारतम्य में मुझे सिन्धिया ओरियन्टल इन्स्टीटयूट, उज्जैन में कवि मथुरापति द्वारा रचित 'गीतगणेशम्' की दो पाण्डुलिपियाँ[1] उपलब्ध हुई। एक पाण्डुलिपि में ११ पत्र है। इसमें प्रायः एक पत्र पर ७ पंक्तियां और ३७ अक्षर है। पाठ चतुर्थ सर्ग के दूसरे गीत प्रबन्ध के सातवें पद के बाद "मथुराप..." तक ही मिलता है। इस पाण्डुलिपि के अक्षर सुन्दर, सुवाच्च और पाठ अपेक्षाकृत ठीक है। दूसरी पाण्डुलिपि भी खण्डित है। उसमें कुल २५ पत्र है। एक पत्र पर प्रायः ९ पंक्तियाँ और प्रतिपंक्ति २७ अक्षर है। पत्र संख्या १, ४ से ६, ९ और १२ गुम हो चुके है। पाठ संकीर्ण, स्थान-स्थान पर भ्रष्ट, संशोधित और कीटानुविद्ध है, अतः इससे अनेक भ्रान्तियाँ उत्पन्न हो गई है। पाण्डुलिपियाँ को सुयोग्य सम्पादक की प्रतीक्षा है।

संस्थान को ये पाण्डुलिपियां १९४५ ई. में ग्वालियर के सेठ पन्नालाल, फर्म बिन्द्रावन नारायणदास, चावडी बाजार, लस्कर (ग्वालियर, मध्यप्रदेश) से प्राप्त हुई है। वर्तमान में इस स्रोत का पता नहीं चल सका है।

दोनो पाण्डुलिपियों के साथ-साथ अध्ययन किये जाने पर कवि मथुरापति के विषय में यह ज्ञात हुआ है कि ये गौतमकुल के वाजपेयी परिवार से सम्बन्धित है। कवि की माता का नाम उमा और पिता का नाम काशीपति है। यह जानकारी काव्य के अन्त में कवि ने इस पद्य में दी है।

काशीपतेर्गौतमवंशजस्य, तनूजनेर्मीत्युमुमाभिधायाः।
सतां मुदेस्तान्मथुरापतेर्मे, संश्रूयतां गीतगणेशकाव्यम्।

(श्लोक का द्वितीय चरण भ्रष्ट है)। काव्य के आरम्भ में कवि ने अपने समसामयिक कवियों का उल्लेख किया है —

सीतारामकविः पदार्थरचनोद्दामप्रकामस्फुरद्-
गुम्फो बालमुकुन्द आशुकवने श्रीजीवराजः पटुः।

---

1. क्रमांक ७३९५ और ७३९८ पर अंकित।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

भोलानाथकविः सविस्तरमतिः प्रासेचकृल्लो वरं
प्रायः श्रीबलभद्रको न हि तुलां केनाऽपि संगाहते॥

डा. चिन्तामण केलकर[2] ने ग्वालियर के निवासी तथा गोपालराव अटेल्वाले की कृति 'वेण्यष्टकम्' की टीका 'लसद्व्यङ्ग्यचूडामणि' के टीकाकार विद्यापति पाण्डरीक और उनके मित्र म. म. रघुपति वाजपेयी ('संगीतमाधव' के रचयिता) की वंशावली में मथुरापति पिता काशीपति को उनसे ३ पीढी पूर्व में होना दर्शाया है। 'संगीतमाधव' की रचना ग्वालियर के सिंधिया नरेश माधवराव के समय हुई थी जिनकी मृत्यु सन् १९२५ ई. में हुई। 'संगीतमाधव' का रचनाकाल विक्रम संवत् १९६४ है। अतः कवि का अनुमानित समय १९ वी शताब्दी का अन्त और २० वी शताब्दी का पूर्वार्ध है।

काव्य की स्चना गीतगोविन्द को आदर्श मानकर की गई है। काव्य की वस्तु १२ सर्गों में विभक्त है। सर्गो के नाम इस प्रकार से है (१) चिरसेवितरसोन्मुखसुमुखः (२) रसालम्बि-हेरम्बः (३) रतिनिघ्नविघ्नराजः (४) (अज्ञात-खण्डित) (५) रतितर्षाविलकपिलप्रमोदः (६) रसमन्द्रभालचन्द्रः (७) संमतरसोदन्तैकदन्तः (८) केलिरसातुरद्वैमांतुरः (९) सादर-लम्बोदरः (१०) रसनिपुणगणाधिपः (११) देवीनिकटप्रकटीभवद्विकटः और (१२) देवीरसहेतु-धूमकेतुः।

'गीतगोविन्द' की भाँति 'गीतगणेशम्' में नायक श्रीगणेश और नायिका सुदेवी अथवा देवी के मान-विप्रलम्भ और संभोगशृंगार का वर्णन भक्ति की पृष्ठभूमि में किया गया है। अन्तर यह है कि जयदेव ने जहाँ कामक्रीडा के उद्दीपक चित्रण प्रस्तुत किये है, वहाँ मथुरापति मौन रहकर काव्यशास्त्रज्ञों के उस आदेश का पालन करते है जहाँ सृष्टि के जनक दम्पती के शृंगार का वर्णन करने का निषेध किया गया है। कवि द्वारा प्रस्तुत नायक न केवल वीर, धीर, अतिमदन-द्युतिदेह और रतिरसम्भृककुम्भ है, अपितु वे स्तवनकर्ता के विघ्नों के विनाशक, समस्त निधियों के दाता और भक्तों के रक्षक है।

कथा केवल दो रात्रियों और दिवस की काल-सीमा में घटित हुई है। समय वसन्त ऋतु का है और स्थान केलिकुञ्ज है। पात्रों में श्रीगणेश, सुदेवी तथा सखी मात्र है।

वसन्त के समय में श्रीगणेश को कामिनियों के साथ विहार करते देख कर सखी सुदेवी से उनकी रतिक्रीडा का शब्दचित्र कह सुनाती है जिससे असूया करती हुई सुदेवी वहाँ से निकल-कर किसी लतामण्डप में बैठकर निःश्वास लेती हुई श्रीगणेश पर हुई अपनी आसक्ति के विषय में सखी को बताती है (सर्ग १ और २)। श्रीगणेश सुदेवी को ढूँढते हुये केलिकुञ्ज में आते है और उनका मान दूर करने के लिए अपने उपेक्षापूर्ण व्यवहार पर खेद व्यक्त करते है। किन्तु उनके न मानने पर वे दुःखी होते है। सुदेवी की सखी श्रीगणेश के पास आकर उनकी विरहदशा का वर्णन कर उनकी रक्षा की प्रार्थना करती है। तब श्रीगणेश के कहने पर वह सखी सुदेवी से मान त्यागने का निवेदन करती है (सर्ग ३ से ५)। विरह में कृशकाय सुदेवी सखी की बात मानकर

2. द्रष्टव्य "गोपाचल क्षेत्र की संस्कृत साहित्य को देन" पृष्ठ ४०७ (अप्रकाशित, १९८५ शोध प्रबन्ध)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

चाहती हैं, किन्तु जा नहीं पाती। उनकी मरणासन्न-सी दशा को जानकर श्रीगणेश स्वयं वहाँ आने को सन्नद्ध होते हैं। उनके विलम्ब के कारण और चन्द्रोदय हो जाने के कारण सन्तप्त हुई सुदेवी विलाप करती हैं। उनके मन में कई आशंकाएँ जन्मती है। किन्तु, श्रीगणेश के एकाएक सन्मुख आ जाने पर भी वह उनकी अन्यासक्ति का ऊहापोह करती हुई पीडित होती है (सर्ग ६ और ७)। उषाःकाल में आये हुये श्रीगणेश पर क्रोध प्रकट करती हुई वह उनसे विमुख हो जाती है। तब सखी उनसे मानत्याग करने का निवेदन करती है। श्रीगणेश भी उनके प्रति आदर प्रकट करते हैं (सर्ग ८ और ९)। वे स्वयं चाटूक्तियों से देवी को मान त्यागने और रतिक्रीडा के लिए तैयार होने का निवेदन करते हैं। अनुकूल हुई देवी की सखी श्रीगणेश का भोग करने की सम्मति देती है। लजाती हुई सुदेवी के रतिगृह में प्रविष्ट होने पर दोनो विरह शान्ति का अनुभव कर रमण करने के लिए तैयार होते हैं। (सर्ग १० और ११)। सखियों के दूर चले जाने पर श्रीगणेश का निमन्त्रण स्वीकार कर सुदेवी शयन पर आती है। रति-संग्राम समाप्त होने पर श्रीगणेश देवी का उनकी इच्छा के अनुसार अलंकरण करते हैं।

काव्य का उपसंहार करते हुए कवि ने आशा व्यक्त की है कि उनकी यह रचना पुण्यशालियों के पुण्य का हेतु बने और दुस्तर्कों से दूषित न होकर कल्याण प्रदान करे। इस प्रकार कवि ने ईष्टदेव विषयक अद्‌भुत रति का परिपाक किया है जो शृंगार रस से कही अधिक भक्ति रस में परिणत होती हुई दिखाइ पडती है।

'गीतगोविन्दम्' की भाँति इस काव्य में गीतप्रबन्धों को मुक्तक छंदों द्वारा शृंखलाबद्ध किया गया है। कुल ९५ पद्य हैं, जिनमें से सर्वाधिक ४५ पद्य शार्दूलविक्रीडित, १३ पद्य हरिणी, ८ पद्य वसन्ततिलका, ६ पद्य उपजाति तथा ३-३ पद्य शिखरिणी, मालिनी, आर्या, अनुष्टुभ् और पुष्पिताग्रा और एक एक पद्य इन्द्रवज्रा, गीति, पृथ्वी और स्रग्धरा वृत्तों में रचे गये है। दो श्लोक अनुपलब्ध पत्रो में है।

संगीत के रागों और तालों के आधार पर २३ गीतप्रबन्ध रचे गये हैं। एक अनुपलब्ध राग को छोडकर शेष प्रबन्धों में ५ गुर्जरी राग में; दो-दो वसन्त, रामकली, मालव, देशाख, देशवराडी रागों में; तथा एक एक मालवगौड, कर्णाट, गुणकरी, भैरव, वराडी और विभासरागों में रचे गये हैं। मंगलाचरण में एक पदावली में ११ पद हैं। एक को छोड सभी पद ध्रुवपद के साथ ८ पदों में निबद्ध हुये हैं।

कवि की भाषा परिष्कृत संस्कृत है। इसमें प्रसाद और माधुर्यगुणों का समावेश हुआ है। शब्दों के चयन, पदों की लय और गत्यात्मकता तथा प्रवाहपूर्ण शैली में कवि की भाषा जयदेव के अधिक निकट है। शैली तो जयदेव की अनुकृतिमूलक ही है। कवि ने प्रायः गणेश के सभी पर्यायवाचक शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है। उपमा, रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा, सहोक्ति, समासोक्ति, अपह्नुति और अतिशयोक्ति आदि अर्थालंकारों का प्रयोग काव्य की श्रेष्ठता को प्रतिपादित करता है।

भावों के चित्रण के सामान्य अवसरों का कवि ने अधिक लाभ नहीं उठाया। प्रकृति चित्रण भी उतना प्रभावशाली नहीं बन पडा है। फिर भी कवि के शब्दो का चमत्कार स्तुत्य है। उनकी अलंकृत कल्पना का निदर्शन इस श्लोक में हुआ है :—

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

यातः पातमसावशीतलरुचिर्मद्याचनाभिः समं,
संजातः शशिना गणेश मदनोन्मादोऽपि साकं हृदि।
तत्खिन्नं नलिनेन मे सह मनश्चिन्तालिनीनिर्भरं
मुञ्चत्यङ्कसहाक्षि चन्द्रमणिना हाऽद्यापि नोत्तिष्ठसि॥ (पञ्चम सर्ग, ३६)

रूपक द्वारा विरह का चित्रण इस पद्य में प्रस्तुत किया गया है —

श्वसितपवनचक्षुर्वारिदुर्वारयुष्मद्-
विरहजलधिमध्ये साधिकण्ठं निमग्ना।
मदनतिमिभयेन व्याकुलं जल्पमाना,
गजमुख तव नाम त्यक्ष्यति प्राणमग्ने॥ (षष्ठ सर्ग, ४२)

विरह की तीव्रता में प्रकृति के उद्दीपन स्वरूप को कवि ने परम्परागत शैली में प्रस्तुत किया है —

चन्द्र! प्रसारय करान् रतिलालसस्त्वं,
दीक्षागुरो! वह सुखं मलयानिल! त्वम्।
चिन्ता च चेतसि किञ्चिदपि मा कृथास्त्वं
प्राणाः क्षणान्मम गताः किल पञ्चबाण॥ (सप्तम् सर्ग, ५४)

गीतों की रचना शैली पर जयदेव का प्रभाव स्पष्ट परिलक्षित होता है। सुधिजनों के मनोविनोद के लिए मालवराग एकतालीताल में निबद्ध एक गीतप्रबन्ध द्वितीय सर्ग से उद्धृत कर वाचन कर रहा हूँ —

संमतरतिपतिशासनया रतिसद्मनि तमसि समेतम्।
दिशि दिशि चपलितलोचनया पुलकावलिजन्मनिकेतम्॥ १॥
सखि हे, केलिनिपुणगणेशम्।
चिरमिह योजय रहसि कुतूहलि नन्दन्तं निपुणेशम्॥ ध्रु॥
न-न-न-न गम्यमनोगतया मधु मधुरमनोहरभाषम्।
नीविनिहितनिजलोचनया तदपाकृतिनिहितनिजाशम्॥ २॥
प्रथमसुरतभयकम्पितया रसचुम्बितनयनकपोलम्।
संकुचदवयवसंचयया नखराजिविदारितचोलम्॥ ३॥
निःसहाशिथिलकलेवरया रतिदानविशेषविधानम्।
विदितपदद्वयसिञ्जितया तदधीतविहितरतितानम्॥ ४॥
पुलकमदनशरवेधितया मृदुरस्यवनाय पतन्तम्।
पीताधरकृतचुम्बनया सविशेषरतानि दिशन्तम्॥ ५॥
हारलतीकृतभुजयुगया रसमर्दितदृढकुचभारम्।
पायितनिजदशनच्छदया पुरुनिर्दयमदनविकारम्॥ ६॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

रसघननिधुवननिर्वृतया सुख निश्चललोचनतारम्।
असहतया पतदवयवया गणनायकमञ्चितमारम्॥ ७॥

इति भणितं मथुरापतिना कलभाननहृद्यविनोदम्।
स्वयमिति लालसमानसया लपितं विदधातु हि मोदम्॥ ८॥

'गीतगणेशकाव्यम्' श्रीगणेश की उपासना करनेवालों के लिए कीर्तनसाहित्यकी तरह है। काव्यरचना की दृष्टि से गणेश-विषयक काव्य अत्यल्प है अतः 'गीतगणेशम्' की प्राप्ति का महत्त्व बढ जाता है। कवि के मूल पूर्वज भीमपुर (महाराष्ट्र) के निवासी थे। महाराष्ट्री संस्कृति में गणेश पूजा का अत्यधिक महत्त्व है। इस काव्य की उपलब्धि से शोधकर्ता इस दिशा में प्रवृत्त होंगे ऐसी आशा है।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

POETIC FORM IN KUNTAKA AND ABHINAVA

By

RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI

Lollaṭa's view of Rasa being the nourishment and fullest development of the hero's permanent mental state sought to be depicted in a play (or in any other literary form, for that matter) appears to be quite similar to the concept of 'Form' in Western Poetics. Can we equate Rasa with 'Form'? How does the poetic material get arranged into a coherent pattern to give us a literary piece? These are some of the questions which, it appears, are worth asking and seeking answers to.

(1)

In the third chapter of his *Vakroktijīvitam*, Kuntaka descibes the poetic material thus :

"Now the author proceeds to classify the things described :

> Subjects of Poetry described in all their undimmed propriety and beauty of nature come to be classed under two heads, namely, the sentient and the non-sentient. (5)
>
> Of these, the first class can be subdivided again under two heads, 'gods etc.' and 'lions etc.'. These may be either primary or subsidiary in the poet's treatment. (6)
>
> The first, i. e. the primary kind, is made beautiful by a spontaneous presentation of emotions like love. The second is rendered lovely by a description of animals etc. in a way natural to their species. (7)

The word 'spontaneous' is used to indicate that the emotions like love should be free from banality and very striking by their fresh flavour. When so treated the emotions are raised to the level of sentiments like the erotic; for the well-known rule states that the dominant emotion itself gets transformed into sentiment.

> The secondarily sentient ones and non-sentient ones becomes sources of delight when they are so described that they promote the rise of sentiments. (8)

The actual nature of secondarily sentient beings should thus be brought out by poets so as to serve the purposes of the contextual subject-matter. They

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

should be capable of contributing in their own way to the rise of sentiment. XXX The treatment of the non-sentients should also conform mostly to the kindling of the sentiments. Objects such as water, tree, spring etc. are seen serving this purpose." [1]

Kuntaka's analysis of poetic material is entirely traditional. He calls the poetic material the *varṇanīya vastu*, divides it into non-sentient and sentient, again into subordinate and principal. Under the non-sentient, he includes waters (i. e. rivers etc.), trees, seasons etc., broadly speaking the natural objects; under subordinate sentient, he includes the Fauna, i, e, the world of animals; and under principal sentient, gods etc. All these elements, he says, should be depicted or presented so as to delineate one single Rasa only, the non-sentients in their capacity of arousing that Rasa, and the subordnate sentients also as parts of it. In this way, he tries to show that the entire poetic material should be used appropriately to achieve the formation of a single Rasa.

(2)

Abhinava is perhaps more explicit on this point, i. e. how all these are properly integrated into the poetic formation of a single Rasa. While commenting on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* VI. 15, the famous verse giving the names of the eight dramatic Rasas, he says :

> " Rasa is actable. The actable is the import shining in the entire literary form — drama or any other —, to be contemplated upon with an undeviating and intense mind, and being visualized by the strength of the actor's acting. Though this actable import is of the nature

---

1. Cf. वर्णनीयस्य वस्तुनो विषयविभागं विदधाति —

भावानामपरिम्लानस्वभावौचित्यसुन्दरम् ।
चेतनानां जडानां च स्वरूपं द्विविधं स्मृतम् ॥ ५ ॥
तत्र पूर्वं प्रकाराभ्यां द्वाभ्यामेव विभिद्यते ।
सुरादि-सिंहप्रभृति-प्राधान्येतरयोगतः ॥ ६ ॥
मुख्यमक्लिष्टरत्यादिपरिपोषमनोहरम् ।
स्वजात्युचितहेवाकसमुल्लेखोज्ज्वलं परम् ॥ ७ ॥

अक्लिष्टः कदर्थनाविरहितः प्रत्यग्रतामनोहरो यो रत्यादिस्थायिभावस्तस्य परिपोषः शृङ्गारप्रभृतिरसत्वापादनम्, स्थाय्येव तु रसो भवेदिति न्यायत् ।

स्सोद्दीपनसामर्थ्यविनिबन्धनबन्धुरम् ।
चेतनानाममुख्यानां जडानां चापि भूयसा ॥ ८ ॥

चेतनानां प्राणिनाममुख्यानामप्रधानभूतानां यत्स्वरूपं तदेवंविधं तद्वर्णनीयतां प्रतिपद्यते प्रस्तुताङ्गतयोपयुज्यमानम् ।...जडा नाम चेतनानां सलिलतरुकुसुमसमयप्रभृतीनामेवंविधं स्वरूपं रसोद्दीपनसामर्थ्यविनिबन्धनबन्धुरम् वर्णनीयतामवगाहते ।

The translation of the above is quoted from Prof. K. Krishnamoorty's edition of *Vakrktijivitam*, Dharwar, 1979.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of numberless excitants etc., yet since all non-sentient elements end up in conscience, since conscience ends in its enjoyer, and the class of enjoyers ends finally in the principal enjoyer, this actable import is of the nature of the permanent mental state of that particular principal enjoyer called the hero (of the Play)"[2]

(3)

The similarities between the views of Kuntaka and Abhinava must be noted carefully. Kuntaka says, all the non-sentient and subordinate sentient elements must be used only as parts of, only as subserving the purpose of, only in their capacity to arouse, the relevant Rasa. Abhinava calls the Rasa, *nāṭya* 'actable', and this actable is of the nature of the permanent mental state of the hero of the play; it is the total meaning suggested from the entire work, the ultimate meaning conveyed by the aesthetic fact. It is obvious that nothing in a work of art can be irrelevant, useless. Every smallest detail of the work, every character, every situation, every atmosphere, even every emotion should be employed with the undeviating purpose of nourishing or strengthening the ultimate import of the entire poetic structure. The situation would arouse the characters into emotions and all such emotions should be so delineated as ultimately to nourish the depictable relevant principal sentiment of the central character. This is the most fundamental understanding of any work of art. Even the success of the poet and the relative merit of the poem will be decided on the basis of the extent of his success in integrating the various elements of characters, atmosphere, situations, etc. into a single coherent poetic structure. Therefore, even in our traditonal deliberations on poetic form, this much at least seems to have been accepted that in any given piece of poetry, the poetic formation is of the centripetal integration of the poetic material and that is Rasa, or as Dr. K. C. Pandey translates it, 'an aesthetic configuration'.

(4)

It is hardly necessary to mention that this poetic formation or aesthetic configuration would reside in the poem or the aesthetic fact only. Lollaṭa and Kuntaka think of Rasa as exclusively residing in the poem only. The above quotation from Abhinava would show that he also accepts Rasa as residing in the aesthetic fact. Rasa is that meaning which shines forth in the entire work, which is suggestible, which is *nāṭya* 'actable' in the total work of art. Clearly,

2. Cf. तत्र नाट्यं नाम नटगत-अभिनय-प्रभाव-साक्षात्कारायमाण-एकघनमानस-निश्चलाध्यवसेयः समस्त-नाटकाद्यन्यतमकाव्यविदेशाच्च द्योतनीयोऽर्थः। स च यद्यपि अनन्तविभावाद्यात्मा, तथापि सर्वेषां जडानां संविदि तस्याश्च भोक्तरि, भोक्तृवर्गस्य च प्रधाने भोक्तरि पर्यवसानात्, नायकाभिधान-भोक्तृविशेष-स्थायिचित्तवृत्ति स्वभावः। ... ... रस एव नाट्यम्।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

this Rasa is in the poem only. What happens to the connoisseur is only the revelation of it. But that which shines forth to the connoisseur itself remains in the aesthetic fact only. This revealable which Abhinava calls Rasa cannot reside outside the poem. At another place also, while explaining the nature of Abhinaya, he says :

> "The actor's activity follows the poem, and is rooted in the universalised (or generalised) conscience (or emotion) of the poet. Really speaking, this conscience itself is Rasa."[3]

(5)

In this sense, then, I think, we can employ the term 'Form' to translate Rasa. Rasa is that form of the poet's emotion which resides in a generalised state in the poem. Abhinava describes it as of the nature of the permanent mental state of the hero, but that is because of the dramatic context of the statement. Till the last century, poets used to resort to character and situation in order to delineate their feelings. Therefore, this aspect of character-situation was almost inevitably included in their deliberations of the poetic element. Only in this century are the literary works characterised by experiments and attempts to delineate emotions without resorting to characters-situations, and thus creating newer and modernistic techniques. Abhinava is, of course, explaining the traditional dramatic form, with the help of traditional instruments and traditional terminology. It is, therefore, understandable that he should identify Rasa as the permanent mental state of the poetic hero. But when we choose to talk about the modern examples of literary creations we may not have anything like a hero or a clearly definable situation in them to talk about. How then do we explain our traditional Rasa in them? And even in such cases we shall have to grant the achievement of an aesthetic configuration!

In all such instances, the least that must be admitted will be that that poetic structure will be a generalised form of the poet's emotion. This, Abhinava calls Rasa. There is no likelihood of incurring any mistake in identifying Rasa with what we call aesthetic form in Western Poetics.

3. Cf. कविगत-साधारणीभूत-संविन्मूलश्च काव्यपुरस्सरो नटव्यापारः। सैव च संवित् परमार्थतो रसः। *Nāṭyaśāstra with Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. I, GOS, Baroda, 2nd Edn., p. 294.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

THE *NĪTIŚATAKA* STANZA नमस्यामो देवान्... A SATIRE ON THE MĪMĀṂSAKAS

By

P. D. NAVATHE

According to the tradition the group of stanzas 88–93 of Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka* bears the title *Daivapraśaṁsā* 'Glorification of Fate'. In contrast to this the following group (st. 94–102) is styled as *Karmapraśaṁsā* 'Glorification of Action'. The first stanza of this latter group is as follows:

नमस्यामो देवान् ननु हतविधेस्तेऽपि वशगा
विधिर्वन्द्यः सोऽपि प्रतिनियतकर्मैकफलदः।
फलं कर्मायत्तं किममरगणैः किं च विधिना
नमस्तत् कर्मभ्यो विधिरपि न येभ्यः प्रभवति॥

The stanza is explained as follows: If we worship the gods with a view to attaining the desired ends it is found that they are under the control of fate. In that case fate ought to recieve our homage; but fate also is abtided by the rule of conferring fruits in conformity with the nature of acts performed by the individuals. Thus as compared to actions both gods and fate prove to be insignificant. Hence, actions are our final refuge for the fulfilment of desired ends.

This interpretation of the stanza perfectly suits the context, viz., superiority of *karman* over *daiva* which latter was previously desctibed as controlling human efforts. Obviously the interpretation is based on the word *vidhi*[1] which is taken in the sense of 'fate, destiny'. Bhartṛhari is also seen to have used the word elsewhere in this sense.

However, besides this sense the homonym *vidhi* also conveys another sense, viz., 'a rule, injunction', or particularly 'an injunctive passage in the Veda'. Such statements are frequently met with in the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Veda, e. g., अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः[2], ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत[2], etc. In these statements the injunction is expressed by the optative verb-forms जुहुयात्, यजेत, etc.

With the suggested new meaning the present stanza can be interpreted in a different way. As this interpretation is based on some principles of the Pūrva

1. विधिर् विधाने दैवेऽपि। अमरकोश ३. ३. १००
विधिर्ना नियतौ काले विधाने परमेष्ठिनि। मेदिनी
2. Cited in the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Mīmāṁsā it is necessary to explain them first. This explanation will be helpful in understanding the satire on the MImāṁsā point of view which the stanza contains.

At the beginning of Adhyāya IX of Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā Sūtra* the question is raised as regards the place of deities in connection with the fruits obtained by performing various sacrifices prescribed in the Veda. In his Bhāṣya on this topic Śabarasvāmin elaborately explains the view of the Mīmāṁsakas on the place of deities. According to the MImāṁsakas it is not proper to hold that the deities, being pleased by the oblations offered to them at the sacrifices, bestow the desired fruit on the performer.[3] As the injunctions such as ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत etc., enjoin the ritual acts such as ज्योतिष्टोम etc. it is evident that they give prominence to the acts and not to the deity. Performance of these acts produces *apūrva* through which the sacrificer obtains the desired fruit. However, it is true that in this case it is the deities who are the recepients of the oblations offered. Even then, argue the Mīmāṁsakas, the deity is merely an accessary to the act and hence occupies a subordinate place as compared to that act which is to be regarded as the principal one. Further, the MImāṁsakas hold that the deities are merely verbal entities.[4] In short, the thesis of the MImāṁsakas is that it is the ritual act, and not the deity, which, through the *apūrva* it produces, yields the desired fruit to the performer.

In the light of this explanation of the view held by the MImāṁsakas the stanza can be explained in another way as follows: If, in order to secure the desired objects, we adore the deities by means of offerring sacrifices to them it is noticed that they have a place in the rite only because it is so prescribed by the Vedic injunction.[5] For example, it is prescribed that a person desirious of prosperity should offer a white (goat) to Vāyu. Here the place of Vāyu as the deity of this rite is determined by the injunctive statement in the absence of which the deity has no chance at all in the rite.

Now, if we rely on the injunctions for the fulfilment of desires[6] it is seen that specific rites are prescribed for obtaining specific fruits. Prosperity is obtained only by means of the sacrifice of a white animal to Vāyu.[7] Food is obtained by offering to Annavān Agni a cake prepared on eight potsherds.

---

3. देवता वा प्रयोजयेदतिथिवद् भोजनस्य तदर्थत्वात्। मी. सू. ९. १. ६ (पूर्वपक्ष)
4. अपि वा शब्दपूर्वत्वाद् यज्ञकर्म प्रधानं स्याद् गुणत्वे देवताश्रुतिः। मी. सू. ९. १. ९ (सिद्धान्त)
5. पुंसां नेष्टाभ्युपायत्वात् क्रियास्वन्यः प्रवर्तकः।
   प्रवृत्तिहेतुं धर्मं च प्रवदन्ति प्रवर्तनाम्॥ — विधिविवेक, पृ. २४३
6. तद्धितेन चतुर्थ्या वा मन्त्रवर्णेन वा पुनः।
   देवताया विधिस्तत्र दुर्बलं तु परं परम्॥ — तन्त्रवार्त्तिक २. २. ९, पृ. ५२१
7. वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत भूतिकामः, वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता, वायुमेव स्वेन भागधेयेनोपधावति, स एवैनं भूतिं गमयति। — तैत्तिरीय संहिता २. १. १

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Though the Mīmāṁsakas regarded the Veda as the highest authority they had no consideration for devotion (*bhakti*) to or faith (*śraddhā*) in the deities of the Vedic age regarded as the means of securing objects of human pursuit. They attached utmost importance to *karman*, i. e., the ritual acts. This probably accounts for the charge of inclination towards materialistic view being levelled at them.[8] So Bhartṛhari's words नमस् तत् कर्मभ्यः which have an appearance of praise of *karman* should be understood as containing an indirect criticism or a concealed satire on the views held by the Mīmāṁsakas.

Let us now consider a possible objection to the new interpretation. It may be argued that as everywhere else Bhartṛhari uses the word *vidhi* in the sense of 'fate' only, it has to be understood in the same sense in the present case also and hence the suggestion of the applicability of the sense 'Vedic injunction' is to be ruled out forthwith. However, this objection does not stand. The reasons are: It is well-known that the three Śatakas of Bhartṛhari are anthologies or collections of stray poems and thus represent a class of poetic compositions. They are not scientific works in which words are to be used in technical or restricted sense. However, this restriction is not applicable to poetry, for, in poetical works words may at times convey another meaning in addition to the expressed one. In poetry the use of homonyms is not to be regarded as a defect; on the contrary it is acknowledged as acharacteristic of excellent poetry by rhetoricians like Mammaṭa[9]. Moreover, it may be remembered that Bhartṛhari belonged to the times when the conflicts among different schools of thought were at the climax. It is not unlikely that he wanted to defend the theistic outlook of the Vedic age against the too rational and rather atheistic views of the Mīmāṁsakas who in their interpretation of the Veda deviated from the established tradition. Thus in the present stanza, besides the expressed sense 'fate', there is full scope for the suggested sense 'an injunctive statement'.

Lastly, it is to be further pointed out that of the above two meanings assigned to tho word *vidhi* the latter one is based on the former. Just as the injunctions in the Veda are obligatory or inviolable so are the laws of fate. So as both these senses are applicable in the present stanza it contains glorification of *karman* and at the same time a mild criticism of the view of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā.

---

8. प्रायेणैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता।
तामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया॥ — श्लोकवार्त्तिक १० on मी. सू. १.१.१

9. अनेकार्थस्य शब्दस्य वाचकत्वे नियन्त्रिते।
संयोगाद्यैरवाच्यार्थधीकृद्व्यापृतिरञ्जनम्॥ — काव्यप्रकाश २.१४

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

दसवी शताब्दी के पूर्वकालिक कला-साहित्य-समीक्षा

लेखिका : कमल अभ्यंकर

संस्कृत काव्य – नाटकों के टीकाकारों के बारे में विचार करते हुए सर्वप्रथम मल्लिनाथ का स्मरण होता है। उनकी रघुवंश, मेघदूत, कुमारसंभव, किरातार्जुनीय, शिशुपालवध आदि ग्रंथोंपर की हुअी टीकाएं अतीव लोकप्रिय सिद्ध हुअीं। उसी कारण उत्तम भाष्य या टीकाके लिये 'मल्लिनाथी' शब्द प्रचलित हुआ। लेकिन इस का अर्थ यह नहीं कि मल्लिनाथ ही सर्वप्राचीन टीकाकार थे। अपनी नैषधीय टीकामें उन्होंने पूर्वटीकाकारों के प्रति तुच्छता व्यक्त की है[1] यह एक ही प्रमाण यह सिद्ध करने के लिये काफी है कि मल्लिनाथपूर्व कालमें टीकालेखन प्रचलित था। अपनी टीकाएं पूर्वटीकाकारों से श्रेष्ठ हैं इस बात पर उन्हें पर्याप्त गर्व है। अपनी नैषधीयटीका के वैशिष्ट्य बनानेवाले उन के इस श्लोकमें उन्होंने अप्रत्यक्षतया समीक्षा के लिये आवश्यक गुण ही बताये हैं। —

नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते।
इहान्वयमुखेनैव सर्वं व्याख्यायते मया॥[2]

मल्लिनाथ का समय इ. स. चौदहवी – पंध्रहवी शताब्दी माना जा सकता है। संस्कृत कवि – विद्वानों के समय के विषयमें यद्यपि मतभेद है, फिर भी मल्लिनाथने जिन का अप्रत्यक्षतया निर्देश किया है ऐसे नरहरि – (बारहवी शताब्दी), विद्याधर (तेरहवी शताब्दी), भावदत्त या भावदेव (तेरहवी सदी – उत्तरार्ध), चंदू पंडित (तेरहवी सदी – उत्तरार्ध), श्रीदत्त और कृष्णानन्द (तेरहवी सदी के ईर्दगीर्द), श्रीनाथ (चौदहवे शतक का पूर्वार्ध), ईशानदेव (चौदहवे शतक), गदाधर (इ. स. १००० से १४५०)—आदि टीकाकार मल्लिनाथपूर्व कहे जा सकते हैं।

ये सभी टीकाकार दसवी सदी के बाद के टीकाकार हैं। तो क्या दसवी शताब्दी के पूर्वकालमें संस्कृत का – नाट्य – साहित्य और कलाओं का यथायोग्य रसास्वाद नहीं लिया जाता था ? उन की गुण – दोष – विवेचक टीकाएं – समीक्षाएं नहीं की जातीं थी ? इसी प्रश्न के उत्तर का अन्वेषण इस छोटे से निबंध का प्रयोजन है।

इस प्रश्न पर विचार करते हुअे ऐसा दिखाई देता है कि, दसवी शताब्दी के पहिले संस्कृत काव्य – नाटकोंकी आस्वादक – विवेचक टीकाएं लिखी हुअीं उपलब्ध नहीं होती हैं। किन्तु इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकालना गलत होगा कि उस कालमें कला – काव्य – नाटकों की ऐसी समीक्षा ही की नहीं जाती थी; बल्कि ऐसी समीक्षा सुयोग्य व्यक्तिओं के द्वारा की जाती थी और उस के बाद ही उस कलाकृति का सच्चा मूल्यांकन होता था, यह बात सिद्ध करने वाले अनेक प्रमाण उपलब्ध होते हैं।

1. नैषधीयचरितम्, मल्लिनाथ टीका, श्लो. ५.
2. तत्रैव, श्लो. ६.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण

ललित साहित्य और काव्यशास्त्रमें उपलब्ध कुछ प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण यहा प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं। —

(१) मालविकाग्निमित्रम् में गणदास – शिष्या मालविका और हरदत्तशिष्या – इन दोनों के नृत्यकौशल्य की परीक्षा करके उससे गणदास और हरदत्त का श्रेष्ठत्व निश्चित करने के लिए पंडितकौशिकी की परीक्षिका के रूपमें नियुक्ति की जाती है। वह मालविका के नृत्य का सब के सामने यथायोग्य समीक्षण करती है और उससे उसका नृत्यकलामें श्रेष्ठत्व सिद्ध होता है। उदा. —

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः
पादन्यासो लयमनुगतस्तन्मयत्वं रसेषु।
शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ
भावो भावं नुदति विषयाद्रागबन्धः स एव ॥[3]

इससे यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि, उस समय उत्कृष्ट नृत्य के आवश्यक गुण निश्चित किये गये थे।

भासकृत चारुदत्तम्[4], शूद्रकरचित मृच्छकटिकम्[5], कालिदासप्रणीत अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्[6], श्रीहर्षरचित नागानन्दम्[7] आदि नाटकोंमें यथाक्रम चारुदत्त, दुष्यन्त और जीमूतवाहन के संगीत – समीक्षात्मक वर्णनों से यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि, उस समय में संगीत के गुण – दोष कौनसे हैं, अच्छे गायन की कौनसी विशेषताएं हैं आदि संगीतविषयक समीक्षातत्त्व निश्चित हो चुके थे।

काव्यशास्त्रविषयक ग्रन्थों में इस के अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण प्राप्त होते हैं। भामह (इ. स. सातवी शताब्दी) के काव्यालंकार में साहित्यविषयक समीक्षा के मूलतत्त्व हमें प्राप्त होते हैं। भामह के इन विचारों के परामर्श का सारांश —

(अ) उत्तम काव्य दुर्लभ (विरल) होता है[8]।

(ब) सत्कवि निर्दोष रचना के ध्येय को ही अपने सम्मुख रखता है[9]।

(इ) सदोष काव्य कवि की साक्षात् मृत्यु होती है।[10]

3. कालिदास, मालविकाग्निमित्रम्, अं. २, श्लो. ८, पृ. ५२.
4. भास, चारुदत्तम्, अं. ३, श्लो. २, पृ. ८६.
5. शूद्रक, मृच्छकटिकम्, अं. ३, श्लो. ४.
6. कालिदास अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, अं. ५.
7. श्रीहर्ष, नागानन्दम्, अं. १, श्लो. १४, पृ. २०.
8. भामह, काव्यालङ्कार, परिच्छेद १, कारिकाएं ३–५.
9. तत्रैव, १/११.
10. तत्रैव, १/१२.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(ई) काव्यगत पात्रों के चरित्रचित्रण में आदि से अन्त तक सुसंगति होना आवश्यक है।[11]

(उ) जो काव्य महान् आदर्श व्यक्तियों के महान् सुखदुःखों का रससंपन्न वर्णन करता है, वही महाकाव्य है।[12]

(ऊ) जो आस्वादनसुलभ होता है, वही काव्य है, जो आस्वादनदुर्लभ होता है वह मानो कपित्थ के समान अकाव्य है।[13]

(ऋ) काव्य की परीक्षा काव्यनिष्ठ मूल्यों से ही करनी चाहिये, तदितर मूल्यों से नहीं।[13]

(ॠ) वक्रोक्ति समस्त काव्य को व्यापनेवाला तत्त्व हैं, इस लिये वक्रोक्ति के अभाव में काव्य का भी अभाव होता है।[14]

(ए) साहित्य का विषयक्षेत्र संपूर्ण जीवनव्यापी होता है।[16]

(ऐ) जो स्वानुभूति का सरस शब्दांकन करता है वह 'सम्मान्य' साहित्यिक होता हैं। जो परानुभूति का शब्दांकन करता है वह 'सामान्य' साहित्यकार होता है।[17]

(ओ) कवि को काव्यमें सूक्ष्म शब्दविवेक अनिवार्यतया करना पडता है।[18]

(औ) शास्त्र सत्य का परामर्श करता है, काव्य लोकानुभव को स्पर्श करता है। इसी लिये भिन्न भिन्न निकषों पर दोनों का मूल्यांकन करना चाहिये।[19]

आचार्य भामह के काव्यसमीक्षणात्मक ये विचार आधुनिक विमर्शकों के विचारों से कितने मिलते जुलते हैं?

(४) भवभूति के 'मालतीमाधवम्' का प्रस्तावनामें सूत्रधार के मुख से अधोनिर्दिष्ट श्लोक आता है।—

"ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम्
जानन्तु ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिः विपुला च पृथ्वी॥"[20]

---

11. तत्रैव, १/२२-२३,
12. तत्रैव, १/१९.
13. तत्रैव, ५/६२.
14. तत्रैव, १/३१-३३.
15. तत्रैव, २/८५.
16. तत्रैव, ५/४.
17. तत्रैव, ६/४-५.
18. तत्रैव, १/५९.
19. तत्रैव, ५-३३.
20. भवभूति, उत्तररामचरितम्, प्रस्तावना.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

इससे अंदाजा लगाया जा सकता है कि, उनका 'महावीरचरितम्' नाटक रसिक – टीकाकारों को पसंद नहीं आया होगा, उन्हों ने उस पर टीकास्त्र चलाये होंगे और इस लिये अपने नाट्यगुणों का सम्यक् रसास्वाद न होने के कारण चिढकर भवभूति के मुख से उद्गार निकले होंगे। उस समय कलाकृति पर या साहित्यकृति पर या प्रकट रूपमें वादविवाद – चर्चाएं होतीं थी यह बात इस अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण से सिद्ध होती है।

(५) भवभूति के ही 'उत्तररामचरितम्' के सातवे अंक में इसके लिये एक प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण भी प्राप्त होता है। इस अंक में भवभूति ने गर्भांक का प्रयोग किया है। उसके लिये दर्शकों के बैठने की व्यवस्था राम – लक्ष्मणों पर सौंपी है। उसमें वाल्मीकिप्रणीत प्रत्यक्ष नाटक शुरू होने से पहले राम लक्ष्मण से पूछते हैं,

"वत्स लक्ष्मण, अपि स्थिताः रङ्गप्राश्निकाः ?"

"अथ किम्।"[२१] लक्षण उत्तर देते हैं। उसके बाद राजा राम राजासन पर आरूढ होते हैं, और बादमें प्रत्यक्ष नाटक का आरंभ होता है।

इस से भी यही प्रतीत होता है कि उस समय ऐसे परीक्षक – प्राश्निक – समीक्षक नियुक्त करने की पद्धति थी। आधुनिक सेन्सॉर बोर्ड जैसे ये प्राश्निक नाटकों की समीक्षा करते थे। उन के निर्णय पर गुणी कलाकारों को राजा के द्वारा पारितोषिक दिये जाते थे।

प्राश्निकों के आवश्यक गुण

प्राश्निकों के आवश्यक गुणों के बारेमें नाट्यशास्त्रमें इस प्रकार जानकारी हमें प्राप्त होती है।[२२]—

(क) भरत ने प्राश्निक के लिये 'प्रेक्षक' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। यह प्रेक्षक चारित्र्यसंपन्न, कुलीन, शांत, विद्वान, यशपूरित, मध्यस्थ, प्रौढ, नाटक के सभी अंगोंमें कुशल, पवित्र, जागृत, चारों प्रकार के वाद्य बजानें में प्रवीण, नेपथ्यकर्म-कुशल, विविध भाषाओं का और देशों का ज्ञानी, अभिनय, रस, भाव, शब्द, छंद और विविध शास्त्रों को जाननेवाला, ऊहापोहविशारद, दोषान्वेषी, फिरभी स्निग्धचित्त आदि गुणों से युक्त होना जरुरी था।

(ख) 'मालविकाग्निमित्रम्' में गणदास कहते हैं, "मध्यस्था भगवती गुणतः परिच्छेत्तुमर्हति इति।" — इस प्रकार समीक्षक ज्ञान के साथ मध्यस्थ (impartial) होना आवश्यक ह, यह स्पष्ट किया है।

(६) राजशेखर नामक काव्यशास्त्रकार ने अपने 'काव्यमीमांसा' ग्रंथमें 'कविसभा' का विस्तृत वर्णन किया है[२३] उसका सारांश यह है कि, —

राजा स्वयं कवि हो और कवि-समाज की स्थापना करे। वह काव्य की परीक्षा के लिए एक सभा-मंडप का निर्माण करावे। सभामंडप के मध्यभाग में ऊँची रत्न-जटित वेदी पर राजा का

21. तत्रैव, अं. ७ गर्भांक.
22. भरत, नाट्यशास्त्र, अं. २७, श्लो. ४७–५०.
23. राजशेखर, काव्यमीमांसा, अं. १०, राजचर्या, कविसभावर्णन.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

आसन हो। राजासन के उत्तर की ओर संस्कृत के कवि बैठें। इस के अनन्तर संस्कृत-कवि-पंक्तिमें ही क्रमशः वेद और उसकी अंग-विद्याओं के ज्ञाता विद्वान्, दर्शनशास्त्रवेत्ता, पौराणिक, धर्मशास्त्री, वैद्य, ज्योतिषी तथा इसी प्रकार के अन्य तान्त्रिक-मान्त्रिक आदि विद्वान् गण बैठें।

राजासन के पूर्व भागमें प्राकृत-भाषा के कविगण बैठें। उन के बाद नट, नर्तक, गायक, वादक, कथक, चारण, हाथ के तालों पर नाचनेवाले तथा इसी श्रेणी के व्यक्ति बैठें।

राजासन के पश्चिम ओर अपभ्रंश भाषा के कविजन बैठें। उन के अनन्तर चित्रकार, शिल्पकार, कारीगर, दीवारों पर पालिस करनेवाले, चित्र आदि लिखनेवाले चितेरे, जडिए, जौहरी, स्वर्णकार, बढई, लोहार आदि इसी प्रकार के कलाकार बैठें।

दाहिनी ओर पैशाची या भूत भाषा के कवि बैठें। उन की पंक्ति में विट, वैश्या, तैराक, रस्सों पर नाचनेवाले, ऐन्द्रजालिक, दाँतो से खेल दिखलानेवाले, पहलवान, विविध शस्त्र-जीवी तथा मदारी आदि बैठें।

इस प्रकार सभामंडप में आनंदपूर्वक बैठा हुआ राजा काव्यगोष्ठीका प्रारंभ करावे और कवियों की रचनाओंपर आलोचन परीक्षण आदि करावे। यथासंभव राजा स्वयं भी आलोचन करे। स्वयं काव्य-प्रबन्धों के प्रणेता वासुदेव, सातवाहन, शूद्रक और साहसाङ्क आदि पूर्वकाल के नृपतिगण जिस प्रकार अपनी सभाओंमें गुणियों को दान और मान से सम्मानित करते थे, उसी प्रकार राजा कवियों को पुरस्कार आदि से सत्कृत करे।

आगे चल कर राजशेखर लिखते हैं कि, —

राजा को चाहिए कि बडे बडे प्रसिद्ध महानगरोंमें काव्यों और शास्त्रों की परीक्षा के लिये ब्रह्म-सभाएँ करावे। उस परीक्षामें उत्तीर्ण विद्वानों को ब्रह्मरथमें बैठाकर नगरमें घुमाया जाय और उन्हें परीक्षोत्तीर्णता सूचक पदवी एवं पट्ट आदि दिया जाय। —

पूर्वसमय में उज्जयिनी नगरी में कालिदास, भर्तृमेण्ठ, अमर, रुप, आर्यसूर, भारवि, हरिश्चन्द्र और चन्द्रगुप्त नामक कवियों की परीक्षा हुई थी।

इन सब प्रमाणों से सिद्ध होता है कि, दसवीं शताब्दी के पहले संस्कृत-काव्य-नाटकों की आस्वादक-विवेचक टीकाएँ यद्यपि उपलब्ध नहीं होती हैं, फिर भी बहुत ही प्राचीन काल से सुयोग्य व्यक्तिओं के द्वारा कला-काव्य-नाटकों की ऐसी समीक्षा की जाती थी और उस के बाद ही उस कलाकृति का सच्चा मूल्यांकन होता था।

राजशेखर-वर्णित कविसभा की पद्धति से प्राचीन कालमें प्रत्यक्ष समीक्षात्मक प्रबंधों का लेखन क्यों नहीं हुआ, इस समस्या का उत्तर भी प्राप्त होता है।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

संस्कृत की नयी कविता की पृष्ठभूमि

लेखक : भारतेन्दु मिश्र

'वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्' के आधारपर हम संस्कृत साहित्य में गद्य, पद्य, नाटक तब कुछ काव्य के रूप में स्वीकारते चले आ रहे हैं। परन्तु यहाँ हम केवल संस्कृत साहित्य की नयी कविता पद्य के विषय में विचार करेंगे।

परम्परा पोषित नयी कविता की धारा में हम कविता को ध्वनि [रस], छन्द, अलंकार रीति, गुण, दोष आदि के आधार पर व्याख्यायित करते हैं जैसा कि परम्परया होता चला आ रहा है। परन्तु स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काल में और उसके पूर्व से ही संस्कृत काव्य धारा की विभिन्न दिशाओं में अभिनव प्रयोग दृष्टिगत होते हैं। परम्परा पोषित नवीन काव्य-सरणि में भावनाओं की ओर अभिव्यक्ति की नवीनता तो है; परन्तु रीति, गुण, अलंकार, रस आदि का वैसा मंजुल समवाय संस्कृत की नयी कविता में नही मिल पाता। विशेष कर शृंगार वीर, हास्यादि रसों को ही लें तो उस कोटि का रस-परिपाक नयी काव्य-धारा में नहीं हो पाता, जो कालिदास की कविता में, जो श्रीहर्ष की वाणी में, जो जयदेव के गीतों में तथा जो पण्डितराज जन्नाथके काव्य में उपलब्ध है। तथापि संस्कृत साहित्य की नयी कविता नये समाज का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। जिस प्रकार नया समाज परम्पराओं से मुक्त होकर मानवीय मूल्यों से हटता जा रहा है उसी प्रकार नई कविता भी प्राचीन साहित्यिक-परम्पराओं से मुक्त हो गई है।

हिन्दी की भाँति संस्कृत की नयी कविता में भी स्वच्छन्द प्रयोग देखने को मिलते हैं, जैसे हिन्दी में नयी कविता में गीत, गजल, गद्यगीत छन्द, हाइकू तथा लम्बी कवितायें दृष्टिगत होती हैं, ठीक उसी प्रकार संस्कृत साहित्य में भी गीत, गजल, गद्यगीत, छन्द तथा गद्य कवितायें प्रकाश में आ रही हैं। प्राचीन काल में साहित्यकार रस, ध्वनि, अलंकार, छन्द, सत्य, प्रेम, धर्म, दर्शन आदि का मनन चिन्तन करता था। इसलिए उसके साहित्य में इन सब साहित्यक अंगों के साथ मानव मूल्यों का सामंजस्य था। आज के भी समग्र साहित्य पर मानवीय संवेदना, वैयक्तिकता तथा परम्पराओं का उच्छेद, राजनीतिक ऊहापोह का स्पष्ट प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। आज का साहित्यकार स्पष्टवादिता में विश्वास रखता है, यथा डा. वीरभद्र अपनी कविता में कहते है —

"यः पदस्थो जनः सज्जनोऽसौ मतः
यः पदमद् दूरगो दुर्जनोऽसौ मतः।"

(मुखपृष्ठ-सर्वगन्धा, दिसम्बर १९८३)

वर्तमान सामाजिक संरचना में सबसे अधिक प्रभाव राजनीति का है। साहित्यकार राजनैतिक धूर्तों का पर्दाफाश करता है तभी उसे सच्ची साहित्यधर्मिता मिल पाती है। आज देश में मन्त्रियों की स्थिति पर व्यङ्ग्य करते हुये कवि लिखता है, मद्य निषेध पर व्याख्यान देने हेतु मंत्री स्वयं मद्यपान करके सभा में आते हैं। उडीसा के प्रमोद चन्द्र मिश्र की कविता में देखिए —

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

"आयाति मन्त्री स्वयमेव पीत्वा
मद्यं सभायां तु जनान् प्रवक्तुम्।
मद्यं न सेव्यमिति शीर्षके च
रक्ताक्तनेत्रोऽस्थिरपाणिपादः॥" (सुधर्मा, ९-७-१९८१)

संस्कृत कविता में भी वैयक्तिकता, भग्नाशा तथा जीवन के कटु अनुभव भी साहित्यकारों द्वारा कविता के रूप में दिये जा रहे हैं। व्यक्ति की तृषा उसे बार बार कुछ कहने, कुछ करने के लिये प्रेरित करती है और इसी प्रेरणा से वह स्वच्छन्द होकर मुक्त भाव से कविता लिखता है जैसे उडीसा के केशवचन्द्र दास ने अपने अनुपदी, शीर्षक गद्यगीत में स्पष्ट किया है —

"अनुभवे केवलमनुपदी
इयं तृषा....
तव मम युगपद् विभूतिः,
निशान्तीव कान्तिरिव
अहं च निर्लिप्तः
केवलमस्थिमालिकासु।" (सुधर्मा, ९-२-१९८२)

आज के समाज में आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से अधिकार अनास्था का स्वर ही दिखायी दे रहा है। आज आस्तिक का अर्थ ईश्वर में विश्वास रखने वाले से लगाया जाता है। डा. वीरभद्र मिश्र का कहना है, जो स्वयं को आस्तिक कहते हैं वे आज अधिक पाप करते हैं और प्रायश्चित्त करने के लिये मंदिर या मस्जिद का दरवाजा खोजते हैं यही विचार उनके 'अहं नास्तिकः', शीर्षक गीत से स्पष्ट होता है —

"मया कदापि न पूजा क्रियते
नैव मस्तके तिलको ध्रियते
प्रस्तरभयं प्रदर्श्य परान्नैः
उदरं मया नैव सम्भ्रियते,
धन्य आस्तिकः, धन्य आस्तिकः।
अहं नास्तिकः।" (सर्वगन्धा, जुलाई-अगस्त १९८३)

आज के परिवर्तित सामाजिक मानदण्डों में शब्दों के उर्थ तथा उनका व्यावहारिक पक्ष ठीक उन शब्दों से भिन्न होता जा रहा है। आज विश्व-विद्यालयों और विद्यालयों में जो परीक्षायें चल रही हैं, डा. प्रशस्य मित्र शास्त्री उसे नकल करने की इच्छा मात्र मानते है —

"परितः पुस्तकस्तोमं धृत्वा सम्यक् समाधये।
अनुक्रियार्थम् ईक्षा या परीक्षा सैव कथ्यते॥"
(पृ. ७, संस्कृतामृतम्, अगस्त १९८४)

आज का जीवन जिस प्रकार विसंगतियों से जुडा हुआ है साहित्य में भी वैसा ही देखने को मिलता है। संस्कृत साहित्य में महाकाव्य, नाटक तथा ललितगीत लिखने वाले इलाहाबाद के अभिराज डा. राजेन्द्र मिश्र का नाम उल्लेखनीय है संस्कृत गलज्जलिका की परिभाषा देते हुये वे

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

कहते है —"गलन्ति जलन्ति अश्रूणि वा यस्मिन् सा गलज्जलिका" देखिए उनका ही परिभाषा के अनुसार उनका संस्कृत गजल का एक अंश —

"प्राणसंहरणक्षणे हि समुदयते
शास्त्रमेव बुभुक्षितैर्नहि भुज्यते।
तत्र भविता कीदृशी यौवनकथा
यत्र शैशवमेम साधु न पोष्यते।
प्रश्नमभिराजो विपृच्छति साग्रहं
उत्तरं न विचार्ब कैरपि दीयते॥" (पृ. २६, पारिजातम्, अप्रैल १९८४)

आधुनिक संस्कृत नाटक तथा काव्य-परम्परा में प्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार डा. वेंकटराम राघवन् का नाम विशेष रूपसे आदृत है, निसन्देह उनके काव्य का स्तर पर्याप्त ऊँचा है, जो नाटकीय तत्त्वों के समावेश से अधिक प्रभावी बन सका है। उनकी कविताओं में भी नाटकीयता परिलक्षित होती है —

"पार्वती पृच्छति भगवानुत्तरं ददाति
आस्ते किंचन भूषणम् समणयो ना नात्र नागा इमे
कुर्या किन्नु मदङ्गरागविधयेनन्वस्ति भस्माद्भुतम्।
किं स्यात् प्रावरणाय शैलकुहरे नागाजिनं लम्बते
द्रष्टुं सर्वमिदं च दर्पणमसौ रूप्यानलो राजते॥"
(पृ. २०६, ऋतम्भरा, फरवरी १९७९)

आज के सन्दर्भो में जहाँ संस्कृत साहित्य में गीत, गजल सभी हिन्दी कविता की विधायें प्राप्त हो रही है वहीं हाइकू जापानी शैली की भी संस्कृत कवितायें सुनने में आ रही है।

लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के अध्यापक डा. कृष्णकुमार मिश्र के दो हायकू देखें —

"गुप्तातिगुप्तविषयैः
आन्दोलयति नित्यं जनान्
पीत-पत्रकारिता।"
"सत्यं चरामि नित्यम्
मिथ्या विडम्बितेऽपि
सिद्धोऽस्मि मूर्खोऽहम्।"

आज की संस्कृत कविता वर्तमान राष्ट्रीय, सामाजिक चिन्तन से अनुप्राणित है आज के सन्दर्भो में अमृत भी विष होता जा रहा है इसी दृष्टि का मंडन करते हुये सामाजिक द्वंद्व का पटाक्षेप डा. श्रीनिवास रथ की कविता में देखें —

"किं मधुनां किं वा विधुना'
यदि जीवनपत्रपुटोपगता
सुधाऽपि सदैव विषं भविता
दिशि-दिशि सौरभसंवलितानि

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

विकसन्ति कियन्ति न वा कुसुमानि
गुञ्जितमञ्जुलगीतपदानि
विचरन्ति सुखेन तथालिकुलानि
जनवृत्तिरसन्तुलितेव कृता
मनुवर्त्मनि केन युगातिथिना,
किं रथिना किमु वा सारथिना" (पृ. २१०, ऋतम्भरा, फरवरी १९७९)

निश्चय ही जीवन एक पिपासा है, मृगतृष्णा है और मन रुपी मृग अपने लक्ष्य की ओर आंख बन्द करके दौडता है। डा. विन्ध्येश्वरीप्रसाद मिश्र की कविता में जहाँ सामाजिक पीडा का स्वर है वहीं जीवन की खण्डित आशाओं की पहचान का स्वर भी है उनकी एक क्षाणिक देखें—

"जीवनमस्ति पिपासा
धर्मतप्तसिकता सुधावनं
मोहमरुस्थलवनं प्रतिवनं
परतो हन्त हताशा,
सत्यं जीवनमस्ति पिपासा।"
(पृ. १५१, अर्वाचीन संस्कृतम्, जुलाई १९८४)

राजनीति के क्षेत्र में जो चाटुकारिता है वही चाटुकारिता समाज के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में चाहे वह साहित्य हो या कोई अन्य लाभ, यश का क्षेत्र सर्वत्र चमचों का राज्य है डा. वनेश्वर पाठक चाटुकारों के प्रयत्नों की निन्दा करते हैं। नेता बार बार मत मांगने समाज में आते हैं वादे करते है और फिर अपनी कुर्सी से जुड जाते है —

"चाटुकाराणां प्रयत्नैः शासनं परिदूषितम्
राजनीतिर्दूषिताऽखिलराष्ट्रधर्मो दूषितः।
मानवीयगुणेषु लोको वर्तते शिथिलादरः
दुर्व्यवस्थामूलभूतं दूरयिष्ये दुर्विचारम्।
देहि मे मतमेकवारम्॥" (पृ. १८, पारिजातम्, मार्च १९८४)

आज के नेताओं पर व्यङ्ग्य करते हुए सर्वगन्धा के सम्पादक डा. वीरभद्र कहते है कि, आज कल पढने पढाने में क्या रक्खा है — हे पुत्र यदि महान बनना है तो नेता बनो बिना गुणों के ही सर्वत्र गुणगान होगा और भ्रष्टाचार करने से ही रबडी मेवा मिलेगी देखिये उनकी एक कुण्डलिया —

"किं पठने किं पाठने, नेता भव हे पुत्र
बिना गुणैरपि लप्स्यते गुणगानं सर्वत्र।
गुणगानं सर्वत्र भविष्यति विपुला सेवा
भ्रष्टाचारे कृते मिलिष्यति रबडीमेवा।
वीरःकथयति-सेविष्यन्ते गुरुभवने
नेतुः चमसो भवेत् फलं पश्यसि किं पठने॥ (मुखपृष्ठ-सर्वगन्धा, मई १९८१)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

सम्प्रति हिन्दी कवि सम्मेलनों तथा उर्दू मुशायरों की भांति संस्कृत कवि सम्मेलनों की परम्परा भी चल निकली है। अतः संस्कृत भाषा का स्वरुप प्राचीन संस्कृत भाषा से अधिक सरल तथा सर्वग्राह्य होता जा रहा है। कवि सम्मेलनों में उज्जैन के डा. श्रीनिवास रथ, इलाहाबाद के डा. राजेन्द्र मिश्र, लखनउ के डा. कृष्ण कुमार मिश्र, कानपुर की डा. नलिनी शुक्ला, राय बरेली के डा. प्रशस्य मित्र, लखीमपुर के बाबुराम अवस्थी, रांची के रामाशीष पाण्डेय आदि का नाम विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है। निश्चय ही कवि सम्मेलनों के माध्यम से संस्कृत कविता नवीनता अथ च जीवन्तता की ओर अग्रसर हो रही है।

इनके अतिरिक्त पं. अम्बिका दत्त व्यास, भट्ट श्रीकृष्ण राम व्यास रामावतार शर्मा, भट्ट रामनाथ शास्त्री, डा. श्रीधर भास्कर वर्णेकर, भट्ट मथुरा नाथ, डा. रमाकांत शुक्ल आदि का नाम संस्कृत साहित्य के रचनात्मक आन्दोलनों में समवेत रूप से जुडा है। आज संस्कृत जगत में अनेक ऐसी प्रतिभाएँ जुडी है जो संस्कृत काव्य की नयी धारा को सीधे समाज से जोडने के लिये कृत संकल्प दिखायी पडती है।

नयी कविता में जब मुक्तक काव्य को देखते है तो उसमें व्यङ्ग्य की प्रधानता परिलक्षित होती है। यह व्यङ्ग्य ध्वनिकार के वस्तु व्यङ्ग्य से मेल खाता है उपर्युक्त उद्धरणों द्वारा यत्र तत्र ऐसा स्पष्ट भी होता है। इस प्रकार नवीन संस्कृत-कविता-धारा में प्रयुक्त हो रही समसामयिक दृष्टि का विहंगन पर्यालोचन हुआ। इस पर्यालोचन का प्रयोजन मात्र यह प्रदर्शित करना है की आज का संस्कृत कवि उसी प्रकार नवीन दृष्टि लेकर चल रहा है, जिस प्रकार किसी अन्य आधुनिक भाषा का निसन्देह अपने निकट के जीवित परिवेश को रूपायित करके ही कविता की नयी धारा फूट सकती है – फूट रही है।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

THE THREE APPAYYA DĪKṢITAS

By

S. JAGADISAN

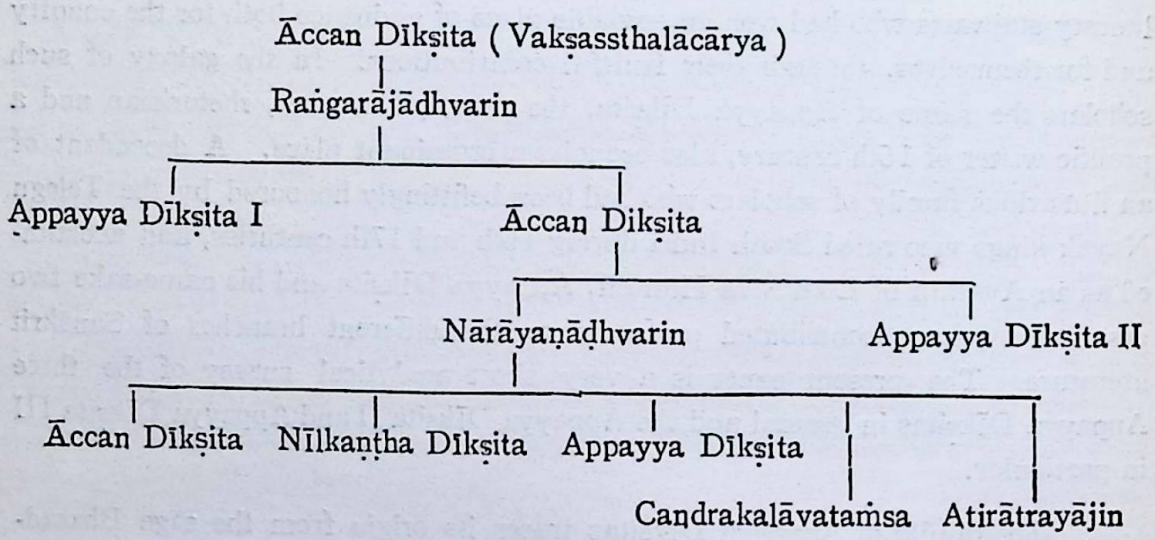
Religion, Poetry and Philosophy have been the cherished persuits of Indians. Time and again, in the literary history of India, there had been a good number of literary stalwarts who had won an enviable place of eminence both for the country and for themselves, through their fruitful contributions. In the galaxy of such scholars the name of Appayya Dīkṣita, the poet, philosopher, rhetorician and a prolific writer of 16th century, also occupies a prominant place. A decendant of an illustrious family of scholars who had been befittingly honoured by the Telegu Nayak kings who ruled South India during 16th and 17th centuries, and acclaimed as an Avatāra of Lord Śiva Himself, Appayya Dīkṣita and his name-sake two descendants, have contributed profusely to the different branches of Sanskrit literature. The present paper is a very short analytical survey of the three Appayya Dīkṣitas in general and the Appayya Dīkṣita II and Appayya Dīkṣita III in particular.

The family of Appayya Dīkṣitas traces its origin from the sage Bharadvāja. Ācārya Dīkṣita or Āccan Dīkṣita, the grand father of Appayya Dīkṣita I, was the most prominant member of the dynasty. He was the court-poet of king Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar (1509 A. D. to 1530 A. D.) and was popularly known as Vakṣassthalācārya, a title conferred on him by the king. He was renowned for his deep attachment to the religious life. He performed all sacrifices and dedicated his life to the service of the God. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, another reputed poet and philosopher of the same dynasty speaks of his greatnsss in his *Nalacarita-Nāṭaka*. Appayya Dīkṣita I was the grand-son of Āccan Dīkṣita and son of Raṅgarājādhvarin, a son born to Āccan Dīkṣita through his Vaiṣṇava wife, Todramba. Raṅgarājādhvarin was a distinguished scholar of an orthodox Śrīvaiṣṇava family known as Śrīvaikuṇṭhācāryavaṁśa. Appayya Dīkṣita I, himself reveals in one of his works that his father was born in the ocean of the famous family of Vaikuṇṭhācārya. Raṅgarājādhvarin's second son, named after his grand-father Āccan Dīkṣita, was another illustrious scholar of the family. Again Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Nalacarita* states that there was no one in the assembly of the king to equal him in the knowledge of Vyākaraṇa, in his grasp of Vaiśeṣika doctrine, in his persuit of Tarka, in his knowledge of Vedānta, in his knowledge of Sāṁkhya philosophy and in his mastery of all literature. Āccan Dīkṣita had two sons, Nārāyaṇādhvarin, father of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, and

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appayya Dīkṣita named after his paternal uncle Appayya Dīkṣita I. Āccan Dīkṣita's second son is generally referred to as Appayya Dīkṣita II. Both Appayya Dīkṣita I and Appayya Dīkṣita II had no issues. While Appayya Dīkṣita I looked after with tender care Nīlkaṇṭha Dīkṣita more that a son, though not adopted him as his son, Appayya Dīkṣita II adopted the third son of Nārāyaṇādhvarin and younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, Appayya Dīkṣita or Cinna Appayya more commonly called. Nārāyaṇādhvarin's third son Cinna Appayya is referred to as Appayya Dīkṣita III. The geneology is (according to Āccan-Dīkṣitavaṁśāvali) :



Appayya Dīkṣita I :

He was one of the outstanding personalities in the history of Indian literature. He was the eldest of the three. A Sarvatantra-svatantra had contributed profusely to different branches of Sansarit literature. He is proclaimed as the partial incarnation of Lord Śiva. It is prophesised in the Śivarahasya by the lord that Dīkṣita would be born as a Chandoga in Kaliyuga and after writing a number of works and establishing the greatness of the Lord would in the end become one with the Gaṇas. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita who had his complete education at his feet, speaks very high of him in almost all his works. In his 72 years of dedicated religious life he has contributed profusely to poetry, philosophy and rhetorics. He was befittingly honoured by Chinna Bomma, king of Velur, with Kanakābhiṣeka. The author of this papers confines himself to this much with regard to the famous Appayya Dīkṣita I, as he feels that listing again of the greatness and various achievments of this already famous prolific scholar would be superfluous.

Appayya Dīkṣita II :

He was the son the of the brother of Appayya Dīkṣita I. Like all his predecessors he was also a well renowned scholar and a sarasakavi. Nīlkaṇṭha Dīkṣita

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of him as the author of the *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya-Nāṭaka*. Appayya Dīkṣita III of Cinna Appayya was given in adoption to him according to Āccandīkṣitavaṁśāvali. In all his works Cinna Appayya speaks very high of his adopted father Appayya Dīkṣita II. He is mentioned as the author of many works on Kāvyas, Nāṭakas and Alaṁkāras, like *Duṣyantacarita*, *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya and Alaṁkāratilaka*. In his works, Appayya Dīkṣita III refers to Appayya Dīkṣita II as his father. Of the works attributed to him the *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya* alone has been published while the other two are yet to be traced.

Appayya Dīkṣita III :

He was the third son of Nārāyaṇādhvarin and the younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of 17th century, who adorned the court of king Thirumalai Naik of Madurai. He was given in adoption to Appayya Dīkṣita II. Another illustrious scholar of the family of the famous Āccan Dīkṣita (I), Cinna Appayya states in the colophon of all his works that he was the son of Appayya Dīkṣita. He was patronised by Cinna Bomma a famous minister of king Chokkanatha. This Cinna Bomma is different from the king Cinna Bomma who honoured Appayya Dīkṣita I with Kanakābhiṣeka. Cinna Appayya acknowledges in all his works that he was prompted to write by Cinna Bomma. To show his gratitute to his patron he has attributed his works *Prākṛtamaṇidīpikā* and *Durūhaśikṣā* to Cinna Bomma. This Cinna Bomma was a minister of king Thirumalai Naik and ruled upto 1682 A. D.

The works of Cinna Appayya :

Most of the works of Cinna Appayya are based on the Mīmāṁsā Philosophy. In all his works he has defended the views of his granduncle Appayya Dīkṣita I, which have been severely criticised by his immediate successors. His *Durūhaśikṣā* is an unfavourable criticism on *Vidhirasāyaṇa-Dūṣaṇam* of Śaṁkara Bhaṭṭa. Appayya Dīkṣita I, a genius of rare ability had the self-awareness to declare himself the greatest Mīmāṁsaka of the country. His Mīmāṁsā work *Vidhirasāyana* has created a sensation among the scholars. The reason was that Appayya Dīkṣita I pointed out that the Mīmāṁsā view of Apūrva Vidhi was full of difficulties. This objection of Appayya Dīkṣita I was challenged by Śaṁkara-Bhaṭṭa in his *Vidhirasāyana-Dūṣaṇam* and Veṅkaṭanārāyaṇa in his *Vidhicamatkāracandrikā*. Among the Mīmāṁsā works that upheld the views of Appayya Dīkṣita I and took up the defence on *Vidhirasāyana*, *Durūhaśikṣā* of Cinna Appayya and *Vidhiratnāvali* of Śrīnivāsadāsa deserve special mention. Cinna Appayya in his *Durūhaśikṣā*, consisting of seven taraṁgas, clearly defends the views of his grand-uncle. It was he who invited the Pandits for discussion to reconsider the entire standpoint in the light of the difficulties pointed out by Appayya Dīkṣita I.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is the second Mīmaṁsā work of Cinna Appayya. It is an explanatory treatise on Pūrvamīmāṁsā. It has been held by some scholars that it was a work of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the grammarian. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, according to them, has written the treatise at the instance of Appayya Dīkṣita I, after studying Pūrvamīmāṁsā under him. N. Ayyaswāmy Śāstrī, in his article on *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā* has refuted the attribution of authorship to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with acceptable proof. Since the terms, *Pitāmahacaraṇa*, *Dīkṣitamata* etc. are found used frequently and since the colophon of the work also clearly mentions that it was written by Cinna Appayya, the author of the article says that it is an irrefutable work of Appayya Dīkṣita III. Cinna Appayya refers to his another Mīmāṁsā work *Durūhaśikṣā* also in this *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*.

Another work attributed to Cinna Appayya is *Atideśalakṣaṇapunarākṣepa*. This is once again a Mīmāṁsā work discussing the soundness of the characteristics of the term Atideśa, as given in the works, such as *Śāstradīpikā*. Though the colophon of this work states that it is the work of Appayya Dīkṣita since the author of this work salutes Appayya Dīkṣita in the beginning, it must be taken as the work of Cinna Appayya. Again the Maṅgalaśloka quoted in this work is identical with that of *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*. So it is another work on Mīmāṁsā attempted by Cinna Appayya. This work actually represents the answer to an objection raised by some Mīmāṁsakas to Khaṇḍadeva's definition of Atideśa and to which answer, Cinna Appayya again raises an objection. This work is not yet published. The manuscript is preserved in the Adyar Library, Adyar-Madras. The first part of the Manuscript deals with an anonymous reply and further objection to it raised by Cinna Appayya.

Prākṛtamaṇidīpa, another work of his, is a grammatical treatise written in a logical order on Prākṛta words. It was also composed by Cinna Appayya at the instance of Cinna Bomma. Once again this Cinna Bomma has been taken by some as the name-sake Cinna Bomma, a patron of Appayya Dīkṣita I and hence the work is ascribed to Appayya Dīkṣita I. But this view will be discarded if one examines the Colophon in the manuscript *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*. The colophons of the manuscripts *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa* and *Durūhaśikṣā* though not identical, mention one Cinnabommabhūpāla, attached to king Cokkanata Naik of Madurai, as the patron of Cinna Appayya and in the manuscript *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa* the work is even attributed to his patron. The introductory passages in the manuscripts, once again, mention previous writers in Prākṛta and herein the name of Appayya Yajvan is also mentioned. He is most probably Appayya Dīkṣita I.

Prasiddhaśabdasaṁskāra, a brief exposition on Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa Sūtras, is in all probability, another work of Cinna Appayya, as he mentions in the beginning his grand-uncle Appayya Dīkṣita I and this Śloka in which he mentions Appayya Dīkṣita is identical with the Ślokas found in his other works.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Vasumatīcitrasenīyam — a drama, is undoubtedly a work of Cinna Appayya. This work has been published in the Trivendrum series. K. Ragavan Pillai, the editor of this work, in his introduction adduces passages from Āccandīkṣitavaṁśāvalī and states that Cinna Appayya was the adopted son of Appayya Dīkṣita II. The prologue of this drama says that Cinna Appayya was living in Madurai and that it should have been written and staged by him only at Madurai. The last verse praises Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita making it clear that Cinna Appayya might have lived under the care of his elder brother for some time.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ŚUKASAṀDEŚA — THE FIRST MESSAGE POEM FROM THE SOUTH

By

N. P. UNNI

1. Though Vālmīki has paved the way for a species of lyrics called *Saṁdeśakāvyas* by introducing the *Hanumatsaṁdeśa* in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, it was Kālidāsa who really established it in Indian literature by composing the *Meghasaṁdeśa*. The work was received with such an enthusiasm that attempts were made to emulate it in an all-India level and as a result we have a significant branch of lyrical literature in Sanskrit.

2. By far the first and foremost among the *Saṁdeśakāvyas* produced in the South is the *Śukasaṁdeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa. It is a unique poem and consequent on its success nearly thirty *Saṁdeśakāvyas* were produced in Kerala alone. Lakṣmīdāsa (14th century A. D.) of Kerala may be credited with the popularisation of the species in the South. Further, the success of his poem has caused a flourishing literature of the genre in the Malayalam language also.

3. The theme of *Śukasaṁdeśa* is the message sent by a lover through a parrot to his beloved. The messenger is to go from Rāmeśvara in the south where the separated lover sojourns, upto Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam referred to as Guṇakā which is situated near the modern town of Crangannore in north Kerala. The route covers various places of cultural and historical interest like Cape Comorin, Śucīndram, Trivandrum, Quilon, Tiruvalla, Kaduthuruthi etc. The great temples in these localities are mentioned along with their characteristic features. Rivers like Ṛhullā and Cūrṇī are referred to on the way. The quality of the work has prompted scholars to compose several commentaries on it.

4. At present seven commentaries on the poem are known, though most of them remain unpublished. They are: *Varavarṇinī* by Dharmagupta, *Cintātilaka* by Gaurīdāsa, *Śukasaṁdeśavyākṛti* of unknown authorship, *Padārthadīpikā* of unknown authorship, *Vilāsinī* by Mānaveda, a commentary by Keralavarma Valiyakoyil Tampuran and an elaborate commentary by K. Rama Pisharoti. Of these first five are traditional commentaries shedding much new light on the poem.

5. The traditional commentaries on *Śukasaṁdeśa* have divided the poem into twelve sections and have maintained that these divisions are applicable to all

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Saṁdeśakāvyas including the *Meghasaṁdeśa* of Kālidāsa. The following are the sections: (1) *Ādivākyam* (introductory statement), (2) *Dautyayojanam* (commissioning of the messenger), (3) *Vrajyāṅgadeśanā* (assigning the route), (4) *Prāpyadeśavarṇanam* (description of the destination), (5) *Mandirābhijñapanam* (identification of the house of the heroin), (6) *Priyāsanniveśavimarśanam* (narration of the state of the heroine), (7) *Anyarūpatāpattisaṁbhāvanā* (supposition of the change in the heroine), (8) *Avasthāvikalpanāni* (supposition of her different moods), (9) *Vacanārambhaḥ* (beginning of the message), (10) *Saṁdeśavacanam* (the actual message), (11) *Abhijñānadānam* (giving of identification) and (12) *Prameyaparinisṭhāpanam* (the conclusion of the theme).

6. The heroine of *Śukasaṁdeśa* is a society lady who flourished in Kerala in the 14th century A. D. During the Maṇipravāla period works were composed to praise such ladies. The poets used to assign new names to dancing girls in the temple theatres of Kerala. The heroine of the message poem is mentioned as Raṅgalakṣmī. From the commentators we know that her real name was Appillā, a common name during the period.

7. According to Kerala tradition the heroine of *Meghasaṁdeśa* was the sister of king Vikramāditya with whom poet Kālidāsa was in love. It is this concept that prompted many Kerala poets to adopt heroines from real life for their works. Only a lady of some prominence was chosen as the heroine. This practice was continued by the author of Malayalam message poems like *Uṇṇunīlisaṁdeśa* also.

8. The identity of the heroine of *Śukasaṁdeśa* can be established now from the references in the Malayalam literary compositions. We may identify Raṅgalakṣmī with Appillā, or Uṇṇi-Appllā the mother of Uṇṇiccirutevi, the heroine of the Malayalam Campu work called *Uṇṇiccirutevicaritam*. She belonged to the Toṭṭuvāyppilli house of Poyilam near Covvaram in South Malabar. She was a Naṅṅayār lady, a professional danseuse in Kerala temples. She is also referred to in the *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam-campū* of Tevan Cirikuman (Devan Śrīkumāran). Her father was Rāyara (Rājaśekhara), a king or chieftain of the region and her mother was Naṅṅayayyā, a famous dancing girl.

9. The geographical information provided by the work is valuable since it gives much new information on the 14th century Kerala. The traditional route of the time is mentioned here.

10. From the historical point of view also the work is a mine of information. It mentions royal houses like Kūpakas, Bimaḅlis and Kulaśekharas of Maḥodayapuram.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

11. Cultural significance of the work cannot be underrated. Ghee ordeal conducted in the ŚucIndram temple is famous. The position of the Brahmins as the Taliyātiris is underlined. It is they who consecrate the rulers of the period. They held virtual authority over the 64 villages of Kerala of the middle centuries.

12. The poem has influenced other works of the kind produced in Kerala. In fact almost all later works of the genre contain idioms and phrases borrowed from the poem. All this has assured a unique position for the poem among the Saṁdeśakāvyas in Sanskrit.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

A CRITICAL STUDY OF TAḤRĪḌU 'AHL AL-'ĪMAN 'ALĀ JIHĀDI 'ABDAT *AL-ṢULBĀN*

By

K. M. MOHAMED

Taḥrid 'Ahl al-'Īman 'Alā Jihādi 'Abdat *al-Ṣulbān* (exhorting the believers to fight against the worshippers of the Cross) is a long poem by al-Shaykh Zayn al-Din ibn 'Ali al-Ma'barī of Ponnani, Malabar. Zayn al-Din ibn'Ali is one of the great scholars that Kerala has produced. He has twenty works to his credit of which the following deserve mention (1) Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'i'Ilā Ṭarīqat al'Awliyā' (2) Murshid al-Ṭullāb (3) Sirāj al-Qulūb wa'Ilāj al Dhunūb (4) Dhikr al Mawt (5) Shams al-Hudā (6) Shu'b al'Īmān (7) Tashīl al-Kāfiya (8) Sharaḥ 'Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik[1] Taḥrīd is one of his unpublished poems. Its manuscript is available with Prof. V. Mohamed, retired principal of Farook College.

Zayn al-Din ibn 'Alī was born in Cochin on 12th Sha'bān, 871 A. H. His uncle Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Aḥmad shifted their residence to Ponnani when he was a small boy.[2] After primary education at Ponnani, he learnt Tafsir and Hadith from Al-Shaykh Shihābuddīn 'Aḥmad ibn 'Īsa al-Yamani. At Calicut he had his higher education under Qādi Fakhr al-Dīn Abu Bakr ibn Qāḍi Ramaḍān at Chaliyam and later at the Dars of Qa ḍI Abd al-Rahman 'Ādami al Miṣrī, from whom he got permission for reciting Hadith. Subsequently he became a student of al-Shaykh Jalīl Khwaja Qutbuddīn and Khwaja 'Izzuddīn Chisti and specialised in Chistiyya and Qadiriyya orders. Shamsuddin al-Jawāhiri and Zakariyya al'Ansāri are among his teachers.[3]

Zayn al-Dīn ibn'Alī is famous as the founder of the seat of learning at Ponnani. He established the Ponnani Juma Masjid which became the nucleus of all Islamic activities. That Ponnani was known as the small Mecca speaks well of its importance in the history of Kerala.[4] Zayn al-Dīn ibn'Alī imparted

1. Moulana 'Abdul Hayy al-Hasani-*Nuzhat al-Khawatir*, Vol. IV, p. 119, Hyderabad, 1973.
2. Muhamad al-Navavi-*salālimul Fuḍalā'* p. 3, Egypt, 1920.
3. 'Abdul 'Azīz al-Ma 'bari-Maslak al-Aṭqlyā'-MSS
4. Prof. K. V. Abdurahiman-His article in Al Iṣlāḥ magazine, p. 39, Ponnani, 1966.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

knowledge and served the community till he breathed his last on Thursday, 16th Sha'bān, 928 A. H. (1521 A. D.). His body was buried near the mosque of Ponnani.[5]

The remarks of William Logan who was the collector of Malabar, about the Muslim scholars of Malabar deserve mention : "Genuine Arabs, of whom many families of pure blood are settled on the coast despise learning thus imparted and are themselves highly educated in the Arab sense" ... "Their knowledge of their own books of science and history is very often profound, and to a sympathetic listner who knows Malayalam they love to discourse on such subjects. They have great regard for the truth, and in their finer feelings they approach nearer to the standard of English gentleman than any class of person in Malabar.[6]

During Zayn al-Dīn's life-time Muslims of Malabar were mainly a trading community. The relationship of the then rulers, the Zamorine kings of Calicut with the Muslims became intimate. Calicut slowly attained pre-eminence in spices trade. Gradually the Arab Muslims monopolised the trade of Malabar's pepper and cardamon and textiles which were in great demand in the West and were shipped from Calicut port. As a result, the Zamorine kings became the wealthiest rulers and the most powerful in the West Coast. Facilities were given to Arab Muslims to settle and acquire land and practice their religion. Many of them, undoubtedly were held in high esteem.

It was during the life-time of Zan-al-DIn ibn'Ali that the Portuguese landed on Malabar soil. The first team of Portuguese under Vasco De Gama embarked at Kappadu near Calicut in 904 A. H. (1498 A. D.). After a reconnaissance survey, they returned to Portugal. After two years the Portuguese returned to Calicut and established trade centres. Their intention was to take over the spices trade of Kerala, which till then was the monopoly of the Arabs. To establish supremacy over the peace-loving Muslim merchants the Portuguese used their brutal force.

Zayn al-Dīn ibn'Alī who was a witness to the atrocities of the Portuguese on Muslims repeatedly wrote to Muslim kings elsewhere for their support to fight the Portuguese intruders. He advised and admonished the Muslims to fight against the foreign intruders. The poem under discussion 'Taḥrīdu Ahl al'Īman 'alā jihādi'abdat al-Ṣulbān' was written by him exhorting the Muslims to fight against the Portuguese intruders.

---

5. 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Ma 'barī-*Ibid*.
6. Logan-*A Mannual of Malabar-p*, 108.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The poem in 173 couplets begins with a praise of God and the prophet and seeks God's help for the Muslims who were fighting to save the Muslims from grief, distress, disbelief and humiliation. He says :

لَكَ الحمد يا اَللّٰهُ فى كُلِّ حَالَةٍ وانت عليم بالكروب وحاجة
صَلٰوةٌ وتسليمٌ على خَيْرِ خَلْقِهٖ محمد اللّٰهى الى خيرِ ملّةٍ
وَنَدعوك يارحمٰن يا خيرَ ناصر لِدَفْعِ بَلِيَّاتٍ وَجَلْبٍ لِبُغْيَةٍ
وَنَبْتَهِلُ مَهما يَفُزْ لِانْقَاذِ اُمَّةٍ . مهما الكرب والضرّاءِ وكُفْرٍ وذِلَّةٍ
مهما دنا اليكم كَفَّ ضُعْفٍ وحاجَةٍ وَذُلٍّ واَقْطَارٍ لِدَفْعِ مِلَّةٍ

The poet passes on to the proper subject and narrates the brutality of the Portuguese against the Muslims who tore out the Holy Qnr'ān, violated the chastity of the Muslim women, burned their Masjids and captured them as slaves as given below :

بَغَوا فى مَلَيْبَارٍ بِأَصنافِ بَغْيِهِمْ وَأَنْواعِ سَيِّئَاتٍ واجنابِ فِتْنَةٍ
مهما الاَسْرِ والنَّهْبا واحراقِ مسجِدٍ وَحَرْقِ كِتَابٍ ثُمَّ هَتْكٍ لِحُرْمَةٍ

They destroyed their property, demolished their cities and establishments, prohibited pilgrimage to Mecca and tortured or mutilated or even killed if anybody was found proceeding for Hajj. He says :

وتخريب بُلْدانِهٖ وتعبيدِ مؤمِنِهٖ - وَتَرْبِيَةِ نِسْوانِهٖ لِتَغَيُّرِ نِسْوَةٍ
وَمَنْعِ مهما الحجِّ المعَظَّمِ شَدَّدُوا بِتَعْطِيلِ اَسْفَارٍ الى خَيْرِ بَلْدَةٍ
وقتلِ لِحُجَّاجٍ وسائِرِ مؤمِنٍ بِأَنْواعِ تَعْذِيبٍ وَاَصْنافِ مِثْلَةٍ

The Portugues treated the captives like animals, locked them in narrow rooms, forced them for hard labour, compelled them to bow before the cross and mocked at the Muslims and the prophet. This is evident from the following couplets :

وجَلْبٍ وَقَلْعٍ مهما يَقُولُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَسَبِّ رسولِ اللّٰهِ مهما غَيْرِ خُفْيَةٍ
وَقَوْدٍ وسَوْقٍ لِلاَسارى وَجَمْعِهِمْ بِضَيِّقِ بَيْتٍ مِثْلَ سَاحٍ حَقِيرَةٍ
وَسَخْرٍ مهما الاسلامِ والصلم الّذى يَمُرُّ طَرِيقًا ثُمَّ فِعْلٍ بِجَهْرَةٍ

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Zayn al-Did describe the necessity for Jihad in detail, the greatness of Jihad, importance of giving charity and punishment for those who keep away from Jihad in the following couplets :

جِهَادُهُمْ فَرْضٌ عَلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ ... قَوِيٍّ بِنَفْسِيْ ثُمَّ زَادٍ وَعُدَّةٍ
فَيَا أَيُّهَا السَّادَاتُ اِنْهَضْ رِجَالُنَا ... بِفَضْلِ اِلٰهِ الْعَرْشِ فِيْ كُلِّ شِدَّةٍ
وَنَحْنُ عُطَاشٌ اَنْتُمُ الْبَحْرُ تُمْطِرُ ... فَيَا لَيْتَ شِعْرِيْ هَلْ نَفُوْزُ بِرُتْبَةٍ
فَيَا لَيْتَنَا مُتْنَا شَهِيْدًا اَجَلْ لَنَا ... فَرِيْقًا نَصِيْرًا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ بِرَحْمَةٍ

He recounts the greatness of Jihad :

رِبَاطٌ بِيَوْمٍ فِيْ سَبِيْلِ اِلٰهِنَا ... لَأَفْضَلُ مِنْ دُنْيَا وَمَالٍ بِجُمْلَةٍ
وَاِنَّ جَمِيْعَ الْبَحْرِ فِيْ جَنْبِ نُحْزُوْةٍ ... لَنُقْطَةُ مَاءٍ فِي الْبِحَارِ الزَّخِيْرَةِ
كَذٰلِكَ كُلُّ الْبَحْرِ لِلنَّحْزِ نُقْطَةٌ ... بِجَنْبِ مُلُوْمٍ لِازْدِيَادِ الْفَضِيْلَةِ

On charity he says :

وَمَنْ يُنْفِقُ اَمْوَالًا فِي النَّحْزِ خَارِجًا ... فَيُسْبِعُ اَيْ اَلْفٍ لِتَفْسِيْرِ آيَةٍ

He critices those who keep away from Jihad :

وَمَنْ مَاتَ مِنْ غَيْرِ الْغَزَاءِ وَنِيَّةٍ ... فَقَدْ مَاتَ مِنْ دَاءِ النِّفَاقِ بِشُعْبَةٍ
وَمَنْ دَخَلَ الْجَنَّاتِ لَمْ يَرْجُ رُتْبَةً ... لَدُنْيَا وَتَوَجَانَتْ لَهُ كُلُّ نِعْمَةٍ

It is the duty of every able-bodied Muslim to join Jihed. Jihad is more valluable than all the wealth one can earn in this world. Those who abstain from this responsibility will be terrible losers.

The greatness of martyrs who will have a noble status before God, is lucidly explained in the couplets ;

وَلٰكِنَّهُمْ اَحْيَاءٌ مِنْهُ اِلَيْهِمْ ... بِرِزْقٍ وَفَضْلٍ فَازُوْا فِي الشَّهَادَةِ
فَقَالُوْا نُرِيْدُ الدَّرَجَاتِ لِلرُّوْحِ وَالْحَسَنَةِ ... لِنُقْتَلَ فِيْ سُبُلِ الْاِلٰهِ بِهِمَّةٍ
وَنَحْنُ نَرَجِّيْ تَاجَ لِلّٰهِ قَارِبًا سَعِيْدًا ... لِاِكْرَامِهِ رَبُّ الْبَرَايَا بِعِزَّةٍ
فَيَا اَهْلَ اِسْلَامٍ وَاُمَّةَ اَحْمَدٍ ... هَلُمُّوْا اِلٰى هٰذَا الْجِهَادِ بِعَجَّةٍ

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

There were quite a few Muslims who were keeping company with the Portuguese. Criticising them he says :

فقد منع الموالى موالاتهم وهم - ثوراة هم يحنو اليهم بنعمة

He oncludes the poem exhorting the Muslims to take lessons from the history of the Israelites. In the concluding section he advises Muslims to lead a life of righteousness. He warns them that God won't change the condition of any people or community untill they themselves change it. It is the duty of the Muslims to put in their best for their ameleoration :

فبالله بنى يعقوب بالشام اقسموا ... بسلب وظلم وارتكاب المحرم
فتابوا فرد الله عنهم بلاءهم ... فقال وانا عنهم نعود بنقمة
وما الله رب العالمين بغير ... نعيما بقوم او بلاء بذمة
اذا لم يغيروه هم لما بهم ... متى الحال ذات الحسد او ذى قباحة

The details given in this poem about the attitude of the Portuguese towords the Muslims are very important. It was the Portuguese who paved the way for the advent of the British. Had their entry been effectively blocked in those days by helping the Muslims, India would have been saved from the foreign rule. Muslims as a community stood firm and opposed tooth and nail, the foreign invaders. They had to suffer for the resistance. It is evident from this poem that the Muslim scholars who wielded control over the community, exhorted them to wage a holy war to save the mother country.

Taḥrīḍ is not an isolated work in this subject. A number of works must have been composed for this purpose. But only two other works have come down to us. They are (1) Ṭuḥfatul Mujāhidīn of 'Aḥmad Zayn Al-DIn (d. after 994 A. H.) and (2) Fatḥ al-Mubīn of Qāḍi Muḥammad ibn 'Abdul 'AzIz (d. 1025 A. H./1606 A. D.). TaḥrIḍ being composed long before the other two works is more important. But unfortunately the services rendered by the Muslim scholars and the community of Muslims in this regard are either unknown to those who wrote on Kerala or are ignored and neglected by them. The crucial role played by the Muslims deserves mention especially in such a context when effective resistance, if extended by other communities also, would have changed the history. Unfortunately some of the modern historians have even criticised Muslim scholars for not using their influence over the community in the national interest. The incomplete or distorted history has, in fact, caused hatred of the majority community towards the Muslims. TaḥrIḍ is an important evidence against this kind of criticism.

Zayn al-DIn has made a valuable contribution to the history of Kerala by narrating the contemporary events. No other source can be more credible than

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the reports made by the contemporary historians. The value of the poem further increases for being the first authentic work dealing with the above period.

The authenticity and credibility of the narratives of Ṭuḥfah of 'Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn has been well illustrated by the European authors.[7] The narration of the event of Taḥrīḍ is in full conformity with that of Ṭuḥfah which ipsofacto proves the credibility of Taḥrīḍ.[8] Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī being the forerunner who lived before Ahmad Zayn al-Dīn had obtained the details from Taḥrīḍ. The other historian poet, Qāḍī Muhammad ibn 'Abdul 'Azīz (d. 1025 A. H./1606 A. D.) also has obtained materials from Taḥrīḍ for his work.[9]

Ancient and medieval history of Kerala suffers from the non-availability of authentic materials. The ancient sources like Keralolpathy and Kerala-māhātmyam which embody the local traditions are late compilations of unknown origin, and are full of inconsistencies and anachronisms and absurdities that it is difficult to separate from the chaff what few grains of truth they contain.[10]

Other sources such as Tāmra Śāsanas and Taliyolas are mostly written by the Brahmin scholars. Elamkulam Kunhan Pillai who is considered to be an authority on ancient history of Kerala says that Brahmins were utterly careless in recording the dates of various events. And moreover as there was no common alphabet for Malayalam, one has to depend mostly on suppositions for reading them. It is in this context that Arabic sources like Taḥrīḍ, Ṭuḥfah and Fatḥul Mubīn render remarkable contribution to the history of Kerala.

7. Rowlandson-The Introduction of his translation to Ṭuḥfatul Mujāhidīna.
8. 'Abdul Qādir al Faḍfarī-Jawāhirul' 'Ash'ar, p. 217.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
10. Madras District Gazrtters,-Malabar, Vol. I, p. 73.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

बौद्ध अपभ्रंश चर्यापदों के कापालिक संदर्भों की व्याख्या

लेखक : नागेन्द्रनाथ उपाध्याय

तान्त्रिक बौद्धों में कापालिक तत्त्वों के संधान के क्रम में सर्वप्रथम बौद्ध अपभ्रंश चर्यापदों के अध्ययन से, विशेषकर कृष्णपाद के चर्यापदों[1] के अध्ययन से, इसकी पुष्टि होती है कि चर्यापदों में भी कापालिक तत्त्व विद्यमान थे, तथैव उस वर्ग के साधक भी विद्यमान थे। इसकी परंपरा का संधान भी किया जा सकता है। कृष्णपाद की एक रचना योगरत्नमाला[2] अथवा हेवज्रपञ्जिका है जो सरह और कंबलांबरपाद रचित अथवा उपदिष्ट हेवज्रतन्त्र की प्रतिष्ठित टीका है। इसके स्वाध्याय से अनेक कापालिक तत्त्वों की व्याख्या उपलब्ध होती है। यह स्पष्ट है कि मूल ग्रंथ हेवज्रतन्त्र में भी इसके संकेत उपलब्ध है जिसका व्याख्यान कृष्णपाद ने अपनी टीका में किया है। इस संबंध में यह बात भी कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं है कि बौद्धों में कापालिक तत्त्व शैव कापालिक तत्त्वों के प्रसार है।[3] शैव कापालिक तत्त्व बौद्ध कापालिक संदर्भो से बहुत प्राचीन है।[4] जो विद्वान् यह सिद्ध करने के लिए प्रमाण एकत्रित करते है कि बौद्ध तान्त्रिकता हिंदू महायान की देन है और हिंदू तन्त्रों के ही प्रभाव से बौद्धों में भी तान्त्रिकता का प्रवेश हो गया है[5] उनके लिए बौद्ध कापालिकों के उद्भव और उनकी विद्यमानता के प्रमाण कम महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं है। नाथ संप्रदाय नामक ग्रंथ में डा. हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी ने यद्यपि जालंधरपाद और कृष्णपाद का विवेचन करते समय बौद्ध कापालिकों की विद्यमानता और उनके अर्द्धशैवत्व की ओर संकेत किया था[6] तथापि वे उनके पूर्ववर्ति ग्रंथों के प्रमाण देकर उनके उद्भवादि का विवरण नहीं दे सके। कृष्णपाद के कापालिकत्व और बौद्ध कापालिक तत्त्वों के शास्त्रीय प्रमाण के लिए चर्यापदों की मुनिदत्त लिखित संस्कृत टीका, हेवज्रतंत्र और उसकी टीका योगरत्नमाला का सदुपयोग किया जा सकता है। यदि भविष्य में सरहपाद लिखित बुद्धकपालतन्त्र[7] उपलब्ध हो जाय तो वह भी बौद्ध कापालिकों के अध्ययन

1. चर्यागीतिकोष, सं. प्रबोधचंद्र बागची एवं शान्तिभिक्षु शास्त्री, चर्यापद सं. 10, 11, 18, 19 (1956).
2. दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, ए क्रिटिकल स्टडी, डी. एल. स्नेलग्रोव, पार्ट 1 तथा 2 में संपादित (1964).
3. दि कापालिकज अँड कालामुखज : टू लॉस्ट शैवाइट सेक्ट्स, डेविड एन. लारेजैन, पृ. 14 (1972); स्टडिज इन बुद्धिस्टिक कल्चर ऑफ इन्डिया, डा. लालमणि जोशी, पृ. 318 (1967).
4. बौद्ध कापालिक साधना और साहित्य, डा. नागेन्द्रनाथ उपाध्याय, पृ. 82 (1983).
5. आउटलाइन्स ऑफ महायान बुद्धिज्म, डी. टो. सुजुकि, पृ. 66 (1807); महावस्तु, इ. सेनार्ट – ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ इन्डियन लिटरेचर, विन्टरनित्स, वा. 2, पृ. 241, 245–246 1933; हिन्दुइज्म अँड बुद्धिज्म, इलियट, वा. 1, इन्ट्रोडक्शन, पृ. 30 (1921); नाथ संप्रदाय, डा. हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी, पृ. 82 (1950).
6. नाथ संप्रदाय, द्विवेदी, पृ. 82 तथा 'बामारग' संबन्धी संदर्भ.
7. स्ट. बु. क. इं., जोशी, पृ. 385.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

के लिए प्रधान उपजीव्य होगा। यद्यपि इस ग्रंथ की अभयाकरगुप्त लिखित टीका उपलब्ध है[8] किंतु मूल ग्रंथ की अनुपलब्धि की स्थिति में इसका बहुत लाभकर उपयोग संभव नहीं है। द्वेष कुल के हेरुक के एक रूप बुद्धकपाल[9] का नाम भी बौद्धों में कापालिक तत्त्वों की विद्यमानता की ओर संकेत करता है। यह वस्तुतः एक प्रकार से बुद्ध का महाकापालिक के रूप में प्रस्तुतीकरण है। तान्त्रिक बौद्धों में हेरुक सर्वप्रधान देवता के रूप में स्वीकृत है, उसी प्रकार बौद्ध कापालिकों के लिए बुद्धकपाल की भी प्रतिष्ठा स्वीकार की जा सकती है। ललितविस्तर : प्रथम ई. श. से लेकर ५ वी ई. श. के पूर्व तक के कापालिक संबंधी उल्लेखों[10] से यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि उस समय बौद्धों में कापालिक तत्त्वों का प्रवेश हो रहा था, यद्यपि ललितविस्तर को यह अनुचित और बौद्ध धर्म की प्रकृति के प्रतिकूल मालूम पडा। यह बौद्ध कापालिकों की भूमिका की रूपरेखा है। यदि बौद्ध कापालिकों के प्रमुख देवता और उनकी शक्ति चित्रसेना को विशेष महत्त्व दिया जाय तो बौद्ध संस्कृत में प्राप्त तथैव तिब्बती में एवं तेंजुर में प्राप्त अनेक रचनाएँ इस परंपरा को समर्पित प्रतीत होंगी। साधनमाला तथा तेंजुर में अनेक ऐसी रचनाएँ है जिनके रचयिता सरहपाद है और जिनकी प्रकृति भी परस्पर बहुत मिलती-जुलती है।[11] इस भूमिका में यह भी उल्लेख्य है कि कपाल लक्षणान्वित देवियों और देवताओं की संख्या तान्त्रिक बौद्ध धर्म में कम नहीं है। पांचों देवकुलों में द्वेष कुल इस विषय में अग्रणी और प्रमुख है। अन्य कुलों में भी कापालिक लक्षणों से संपन्न देवी-देवता प्राप्य है।[12] साधनमाला से भी ऐसे देवी-देवताओं का चयन किया जा सकता है।[13] इस विवरण के प्रकाश में आगे हम चर्यापदों के प्राप्त कापालिक तत्त्वों के विवरण के साथ उनकी व्याख्या प्रस्तुत करेंगे।

बौद्ध अपभ्रंश चर्यापदों के केवल कृष्णपाद अथवा कान्हपाद के चर्यापदों में अथवा उनकी टीकाओं में कापालिक शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है। एक चर्यापद में कृष्णपाद डोम्बी के संगम के लिए व्याकुल हैं और अपने को उसके अनुकुल बनाने के लिए, सहधर्मिता के लिए वे अपने को निर्घृण, कापालिक योगी और नग्न घोषित करते हैं। उसके लिए वे अस्थिमालिका धारण करते हैं।[14] संस्कृत टीकाकार मुनिदत्त ने निर्घृण की लज्जादिदोषरहित के रूप में व्याख्या की है।[15] कापालिक शब्द की व्याख्या में उन्होने स्पष्ट किया – 'कं तव सुखं पालितुं समर्थः इति कापालिकः' अर्थात् डोम्बी के साथ प्रज्ञोपायात्मकं योग से प्राप्त सुख का पालन करने में समर्थ व्यक्ति ही कापालिक होता है। वह, इसीलिए बाह्य तन्त्र-मन्त्रों की उपेक्षा कर चक्री, कुण्डल, कण्ठिकादि का धारण कर पंचवर्णो में विहार करता है। इस प्रसंग की व्याख्या में मुनिदत्त ने स्वयं कृष्णपाद द्वारा रचित दोहाकोष का एक प्रसिद्ध छंद उद्धृत किया है —

8. बौ. का. सा. सा., उपाध्याय, पृ. 39.
9. इन्ट्रोडक्शन टु बुद्धिस्ट एसोटेरिज्म, डा. विनयतोष भट्टाचार्य, पृ. 131–132 (1932).
10. शैव सेक्ट्स इन नार्दर्न इन्डिया, डा. वी. एस. पाठक, पृ. 20 तथा पादटिप्पणी (1960).
11. बौ. का. सा. सा. में तेंजुर से हिन्दी में अनूदित कर 'बुद्धकपाल साधन नाम' और साधनमाला' से 'भगवतो बुद्धकपालस्य साधनम्' रचनाएँ प्रकाशित है। द्रष्टव्य 264–272 तथा पृ. 39.
12. वही., पृ. 287–300.
13. वही., पृ. 272–276.
14. चर्यागीतिकोष, च. सं. 10 — आलो डोम्बि तोए सम करिबो मो सांग। निघिन काह्न कापालि जोइ लांग॥ ··· ··· तु लो डोम्बी हांउ कपाली। तोहोर अन्तरे मोए घेणिलि हाडेरि माली॥
15. वही. सं. टीका, पृ. 35 — निर्घृणः लज्जादिदोषरहितोऽहम्।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

एक्कु ण किज्जइ मन्त ण तन्त
णिअ घरिणी लइ केलि करन्त।
णिअ घरे घरिणि जाव ण मज्जइ
ताव कि पञ्चवण विहररज्जइ।[16]

यहां 'घरिणि शब्द डोम्बी का द्योतक है जिसके साथ नित्य विहार के लिए कृष्णपाद व्याकुल है। इससे स्पष्ट हैं कि कृष्णपाद के चर्यापदों और दोहाकोष के छंदों की साधनात्मक ध्वनि एक ही है। कृष्णपाद की यह डोम्बी चतुष्षष्टिदलकमल (निर्माणचक्र) पर आरुढ होकर नृत्य करती है।[17] संस्कृत टीकाकार ने यह स्पष्ट किया है कि कृष्णपाद भी भगवती नैरात्मा के साथ एकरस होकर उस कमल पर नृत्य करते हैं। हेवज्रतन्त्र के अनुसार यह नाट्य शास्त्रानुमोदित है –

नाटयं कुरु हेरुकरूपेणाऽनुस्मृतिश्रुतियोगतः।[18]

हेवज्रतन्त्र में नाट्य और नृत्य दोनों का महत्त्व वर्णित हैं। इस उद्धरण पर थोडा विस्तार से विचार उचित प्रतीत होता है। तान्त्रिक योग के अनुसार चतुरंग उपायों में सेवा में अंतर्भूत उत्तम सेवा में षडंग योग का विधान किया गया हैं जिसमें एक अंग के रूप में अनुस्मृति की गणना हैं। गुह्यसमाजतन्त्र और मर्मकलिकातन्त्र की टीका इस संबंध में एकमत हैं।[19] यह काल्पनिक विषय का ध्यान विशेष हैं जो व्यक्ति को समाधि में अग्रसर करता है।[20] श्रुति का अर्थ पारंपारिक दैवी ज्ञान लिया जा सकता है। तात्पर्य यह कि इस प्रकार की चर्या स्वात्मगत ध्यान के साथ ही गुरुप्रदत्त दैवी स्फूर्त ज्ञान से संपन्न योग से करनी चाहिए। इस उद्धरण का 'नाट्य' विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण है। आगे दउडीपाद का एक श्लोक उद्धृत किया गया है जिसमें मन्त्री यह भावना करता है कि "मैं हेरुक हूँ।"[21] हेवज्रतन्त्र में यह निर्देश मिलता है कि ध्यान का कुछ प्रभाव आने पर षोडशी वज्रकुलकन्या के साथ वज्रगीतों का गायन और नृत्य करते हुए हेवज्रस्थान में जाकर नृत्य करे। इस समय उसका गायन ही मन्त्र और नृत्य ही ध्यान होता है। इस तरह के संबंधी अनेक उल्लेख हेवज्रतन्त्र में मिलते है।[22] इसी प्रकार हेवज्रतन्त्र में कापालिक के लिए

16. वही., पृ. 36 — हउं कापालिक चर्याधरश्च। कं तव सुखं पालितुं समर्थः (इति कापालिकः).
17. वही., च. सं. 10 — एक सो पदुमा चौषठी पाखुडी। तहिं चडि नाचअ डोम्बी बापुडी॥
18. वही. सं. टीका, पृ. 35, दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, पार्ट 2, मूल 2. 4. 8 तथा संबन्धित टीका.
19. इन्ट्रोडक्शन टु तान्त्रिक बुद्धिज्म, डा. शशिभूषण दासगुप्त, पृ. 181, 187 (1950).
20. पालि इंग्लिश डिक्शनरी, राइज डेविड्स और स्टडि के अनुसार श्रुति स्मृति की विरोधिनी है। यह रिवीलिशन अथवा दैवीशक्ति संदेश अथवा दैवी संदेश है। अर्थात् यह व्यक्तिजनित नहीं है। इस दृष्टि से विचार करने पर 'अनुस्मृतिश्रुतियोगतः' का तात्पर्य होगा – मन्त्री को हेरुक के रूप में पुनः पुनः ध्यान और पारंपरिक दैवी ज्ञान के योग से चर्या करनी चाहिए। स्नेलग्रोव के हेवज्रतन्त्र के संस्करण में 'नाटयं श्री हेरुकरूपेण अमुषितश्रुतियोगतः (भाग 2-2. 4. 9)' पाठ दिया है और योगरत्नमाला में यही पाठ है (पार्ट 2, 2. 4. 6-10, पृ. 146)। संपादक ने इसका आंग्लानुवाद किया है: Dancing as Śrī Heruka with mindful application undistracted (पार्ट 1, पृ. 102). श्री स्नेलग्रोव ने मूल और टीका, दोनों के भ्रमपूर्ण अमुषित पाठ को किस आधार पर स्वीकार किया है, यह स्पष्ट नहीं है। दृढ समाधि अर्थ अनुस्मृति पाठ से ही सिद्ध हो सकता है, अमुषित से नहीं। अतः चर्यागीतिकोष का ही पाठ अधिक संगत है।
21. द्र. संदर्भ सं. 28.
22. दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, स्नेलग्रोव, पार्ट 2, मूल 1. 6. 1–10 तथा योगरत्नमाला, पृ. 119–120.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अस्थिमालाधारण का विधान है। कहा गया है कि वीर साधक को कानों में दिव्य कुण्डल, मस्तक में चक्री, हाथों में रुचक, कटि में मेखला, पैरों में नूपुर, बाहुमूल में केयूर, ग्रीवा में हड्डियों की माला धारण करनी चाहिए। पांचों वर्णों का एक मानना चाहिए।[23] हेवज्रतन्त्र के इन विवरणों से मुनिदत्त के लक्षणनिरूपण और साथ ही कृष्णपाद के वेशधारण की विशेषताओं की पुष्टि होती है।

डेविड एन. लारेंजैन ने विभिन्न स्रोतों के आधार पर कापालिक के निम्नलिखित लक्षणों का उल्लेख किया है —

> १. मुद्रिकाषट्क (कण्ठिका, रुचक, कुण्डल, शिखामणि, चिताभस्म, यज्ञोपवीत) का धारण, २. सर्वोच्च मुद्रा में विशारद (परममुद्राविशारद), ३. भगासनस्थ आत्मतत्त्व का ध्यान, ४. कपालधारण, ५. खट्वाङ्ग-धारण, ६. कपाल में भोजन, ७. मद्यपात्र से देवता की पूजा, ८. काषायधारण, ९. मुण्डित रहना अथवा जटाकृत केशधारण, १०. श्मशान-निवास, अथवा अरण्य-निवास, ११. अस्थिमाला-धारण १२. व्याघ्रचर्म पर आसन, १३. रुद्राक्ष-धारण, १४. मस्तक पर त्रिपुंड्र, १५. नरास्थिनिर्मित आभूषण-धारण, १६. भिक्षोपजीविका।[24]

इनके साथ कुछ और लक्षणों को भी जोड़ा जा सकता हैं —

> १७. महामांस, शवमांस, मद्य, नररक्त आदि का भोजन-पान, १८. मुद्रा के साथ नित्य विहार, १९. शक्ति से नित्य परिणद्ध रूप में उपास्य की कल्पना, २०. अद्वय-भाव (उपास्य-उपासक तथा साधक-साधिका दोनों दृष्टियों से), २१. श्मशान-साधन और शवासन, २२. पञ्चमकारों से उपास्य की पूजा, २३. चक्र, नाडी आदि की साधना।[25]

इस लक्षणों में से अनेक का वर्णन पूर्ववर्ती चर्यापदों की व्याख्या में हो चुका है। इन चर्यापदों में अद्वययोग ही है जिसकी सहायता से कृष्णपाद डोम्बी के साथ अभिष्वंग करते है।

एक दूसरे चर्यापद में कृष्णपाद कापालिक की चर्या को और भी प्रकाशित करते हैं जिसमें कापालिक साधना और लक्षणों का भी समावेश हो गया है। ऊपर गिनाए गए २३ लक्षणों में से अनेक का प्रकाशन पूर्ववर्ती चर्यापद में उन्होंने किया था। इसमें नाडी-साधना का प्रकाशन करते हुए त्रिरमानन्दरूपिणी अवधूती को गुरुकृपा से मणिमूल में धारण कर शून्यता रूपी खट्वाङ्ग से स्पृष्ट करने का विधान करते है। तभी अनाहत डमरू का वीरनाद में निनाद होता है। इस प्रकार कापालिक योगी काह्न आचार में प्रविष्ट होते हैं। इस चर्या में वे चरणों में आलि और कालि को घंटा और नूपुर के रूप में तथा रवि-शशि को कानों में कुण्डल के रूप में धारण करते हैं। राग और द्वेष को क्षार कर उसे शरीर पर धारण करते हैं और परम मुक्ति को मुक्ताहार के रूप में धारण करते हैं। समस्त सांसारिक संबंधियों (सास, ननद, माता आदि) को मार कर वे

---

23. वही., पार्ट 2, मूल 1. 6. 2–5 ..... कट्यां वा मेखलां चैव पादयोर्नूपुरं तथा। बाहुमूले च केयूरं ग्रीवायां अस्थिमालिका।.....परिधानं व्याघ्रचर्म भक्षणं दशार्धामृतम्। हेरुकयोगस्य पुंसो विहारः पञ्चवर्णेषु। पञ्चवर्णसमायुक्तं एकवर्णं तु कल्पितम्। अनेकवर्णेन यसाद् भेदो न लक्ष्यते।

24. दि कापालिकज अँड कालामुखज, लारेंजेन, पृ. 2, 4, 5, 13–16, 20–21, 23, 76, 80.

25. बौ. का. सा. सा., उपाध्याय, पृ. 74.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

कापालिक हो जाते हैं।[26] इस प्रकार काण्हपाद कापालिकोचित नाडी-साधना करते हैं। मुद्रिका-षट्क में से अनेक धारण करते हैं किंतु कृष्णपाद को बाह्य वेश-विन्यास में रुचि नहीं है। अतः दिव्य साधना के अनुसार वे आन्तरिक अर्थ के अनुरूप इन्हें धारण करते हैं। हेवज्रतन्त्र में वीर साधक के वेशालंकारादि का जो वर्णन है, उससे कृष्णपाद के वर्णन की पूरी संगति बैठती है। टीकाकार मुनिदत्त ने भस्म की व्याख्या करते हुए स्पष्ट किया है कि महासुखराग रूपी वह्नि से कापालिक राग-द्वेषादिकों को दग्ध करता है और उसका शरीर पर लेप करता है।[27] इस प्रकरण में मुनिदत्त ने पुनः कापालिक की व्याख्या नहीं की है, किंतु बौद्ध कापालिक चिन्तना और साधना से संबंधित दउडीपाद का एक अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण श्लोक अवश्य प्रमाण रूप में उद्धृत किया है जिसका तात्पर्य है – प्राणी वज्रधर है और जगत् की स्त्रियां कपालिनी तुल्य हैं। कापालिक की भावना है कि "मैं हेरुकमूर्ति भगवान् हूँ" जो पूर्णतया अभिन्न है। श्री पद्म, मदन और गोकुदहन को गौरवपूर्वक वहन करते हुए या करते हुए योगीश्वर अतीन्द्रिय मन से यह सब सिद्ध कर लेता है।[28]

इस श्लोक कों उद्धृत कर मुनिदत्त ने इस चर्यापद की आत्मा को प्रकाशित किया है। इसमें बौद्ध कापालिक दर्शन की अद्वयवादिता, अद्वयभाव-साधन और कापालिक साधना की गुरुता का उल्लेख कर दिया गया है। इसमें एक रहस्यात्मक और प्रतीकात्मक शब्द "गोकुदहन" का भी प्रयोग किया गया है जिसके वर्णों से क्रमशः गोमांस (गो), कुक्कुर मांस (कु), दन्ती अथवा हस्ति मांस (द) हय मांस (ह), और नरमांस (न) की ओर संकेत होता है।[29] इस रहस्यात्मक शब्द का एक दूसरा रूप "गोकुटदहनम्" साधनमाला में प्रयुक्त है[30] जिसके ट वर्ण की अभी कोई व्याख्या उपलब्ध नहीं है। तेंजुर में तिब्बती में अनूदित बुद्धकपालसाधननाम नामक रचना में भी "गोकुदहन" रूप का ही प्रयोग है। इतना ही नहीं, वहां "विमूराशुमा" जैसे सांकेतिक शब्द से क्रमशः विष्ठा, मूत्र, रक्त, शुक्र और मांस का द्योतन किया गया है।[31] दउडीपाद के उक्त श्लोक में पद्म और मदन (भग और मद्य क्रमशः) शब्द भी अतीव पारिभाषिक हैं। "गौरवाद्" शब्द तान्त्रिक क्रियाओं के यथोचित गौरव, संयम और नियमपूर्वक संपादन की ओर संकेत करता है।[32]

कृष्णपाद के एक अन्य चर्यापद में भी कापालिक संदर्भ प्राप्त हैं जिसमें मुनिदत्त के अनुसार कृष्णपाद अपने को एक रसिक के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हैं। कृष्णपाद यहां सांसारिक सत्य

26. चर्यागीतिकोष, च. सं. 11 — नाडि शक्ति धरिअ खाटे। अनहा डमरु बाजइ वीरनादे॥ काह्न कपाली योगी पइठ अचारे।.....आलि कालि घण्टा नेउर चरणे। रवि शशि कुण्डले किउ आभरणे॥ राग द्वेष मोह लाइअ छार। परम मोख लवए मुक्तिहार॥ मारिअ सास नणाद घरे शाली माअ मारिआ काह्न भइल कवाली।

27. वही., च. सं. 11 की टीका, पृ. 40 — तेनैव महासुखरागवह्निना रागद्वेषादिकं दग्ध्वा तेन भस्मना विलिप्ताङ्गो भूयः वज्रसत्त्वरूपेणात्मानमालम्ब्य परममोक्षमुक्ताहारमण्डितो हि भ्रमतीति।

28. वही., पृ. 40 — प्राणी वज्रधरः कपालवनितातुल्यो जगत्स्त्रीजनः। सोऽहं हेरुकमूर्तिरेष भगवान् यो न प्रभिन्नोऽपि च॥ श्रीपद्मं मदनं च गोकुदहनं कुर्वन् यथा गौरवात्। एत्तत् सर्वमतीन्द्रियै-कमनसा योगीश्वरः सिद्धयति॥

29. बौ. का. सा. सा., पृ. 256.

30. साधनमाला, भट्टाचार्य, पृ. 232, 476 (1925, 1928).

31. बौ. का. सा. सा., पृ. 256.

32. वही., पृ. 256.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

का साक्षात्कार करते-करते डोम्बी के अभिष्वंग द्वारा पारमार्थिक सत्य का साक्षात्कार करते हैं। तान्त्रिक बौद्ध दर्शन के अनुसार इन दोनों में कोई अंतर नहीं है और सिद्धावस्था में भी यही स्थिति रहती है। वे तीनों भुवनों (काय, वाक्, चित्त) को सहज ही निर्जित कर लेते हैं और परिणामस्वरूप वे निर्माण, सम्भोग एवं धर्मचक्रों की यात्रा पूरी करते-करते अचांचल्य प्राप्त कर डोम्बी के साथ अभिष्वंग करने से महासुखचक्र में पहुंचकर रागमयी क्रीडा से सहजसुख प्राप्त करते हुए योगनिद्रा में लीन हो जाते है।[33]

इसी चर्यापद में डोम्बी के दो रूपों की ओर संकेत करते हुए कृष्णपाद उसकी धूर्तता को असमाधेय बतलाते हैं। वह डोम्बी (अशुद्ध और शुद्ध) कुलीन लोगों को तो बाहर रखती है और कापालिक लोगों को घर में स्थान देती हैं।[34] टीकाकार मुनिदत्त ने इसकी व्याख्या में स्पष्ट किया है कि ड म्बी : अपरिशुद्धाबधूतिका : शरीर में अपने को लीन रखनेवाले लोगों को तथैव समाज में बाह्याचार को प्रतिष्ठा देनेवाले लोगों को अज्ञान-रस का आपानक देकर उन्हें अपने घर महासुखचक्र से बाहर ही रखती है। उन्हें प्रवेश अथवा महासुख की अनुभूति का अवसर ही नहीं प्रदान करती। उन्हें विषयरस में ही लिप्त रखती हैं, जबकी परिशुद्धावधूतिका डोम्बी कापालिकों को जो असाधक समाज की दृष्टि में निंदनीय और घृणास्पद हैं, अपने घर में महासुखचक्र में स्थान देती है और उनके साथ विहार करती है। इस प्रकरण में मुनिदत्त ने 'कुलीन' और 'कापालिक' शब्दों की व्याख्या की है। कुलीन शब्द में 'कु' का अर्थ शरीर है जिसमें सामान्य सांसारिक जन, सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा और आडम्बर को प्रामुख्य देनेवाले जन लीन रहते हैं। जबकि कापालिक की परिभाषा है – कं अर्थात् संवृत्ति बोधिचित अर्थात् शुक्र का पालन, अभिरक्षण, उसके चांचल्य को दूर कर उसे दृढता प्रदान करनेवाला व्यक्ति।[35] यद्यपि कापालिक की यह परिभाषा पूर्ववर्ती परिभाषा (कं सुखं पालयतीति कापालिकः) से बाह्यतः भिन्न प्रतीत होती है, किंतु इसका आंतरिक अर्थ अभिन्न है। अचंचल चित्त ही (शुक्र) ही सुख के पालन एवं नैरन्तर्य को बनाने रखने में समर्थ हो सकता है।

इस चर्यापद में कृष्णपाद कुलीन और कापालिक का भेद करते हुए स्पष्ट करते हैं कि सामान्य सांसारिक कुलीन जन परिशुद्धावधूतिका डोम्बी के इस रूप को नहीं जानते और उसे अस्पृश्य आदि मानकर उसकी निन्दा करते हैं, उसके विरुद्ध बोलते हैं और डोम्बी के संगलाभ से महासुख का अनुभव नहीं कर पाते जबकि कापालिक वज्राब्जसंयोग से उदित होनेवाले अक्षर सुख में लीन होकर इस डोम्बी के परिशुद्ध रूप को जानने के कारण उसे सदैव अपने कंठ से लगाये रखते हैं, इसका परित्याग नहीं करते। टीकाकार मुनिदत्त ने इसकी पुष्टि आगम के एक श्लोक से की है जिसका सामान्य अनुवाद इस प्रकार किया जा सकता है —

> जो कवकोल (पद्म) के प्रेमी बोल (वज्र) के मेलन अथवा संयोग से उदित होनेवाले आनंद से स्फुरित होकर द्वीन्द्रियसंयोग करनेवाले हैं, सद्यः शुद्ध किये गये शालि से जिनके

33. चर्यागीतिकोष, च. सं. 18 — तिणि भुवण महं वाहिअ हेलें। हाउं सुतुलि महासुख लीलें॥

34. वही., च. सं. पृ. 18 — कइसनि डोम्बी तोहोर भाभरिआली। अन्ते कुलिन जण माझे कावाली॥

35. वही., टीका, पृ. 63 — को शरीरे लीनं यंतु प्रभास्वरं तद् अज्ञानरसेन अन्ते बाह्ये कृतम्। कं संवित्ति बोधिचित्तं पालयतीति कृत्वा कापालिकश्चितवज्र आधानं कृतमिति॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

हाथ शोभित हैं, जो कालिंजर (भव्य) और चक्री हैं, दिव्य कमलपात्र (पद्म) में गिरते हुए मदन (रज–योनिजल) द्वारा जिनके दन्तक्षत व्याप्त हो रहे हैं, ऐसे श्मशान के निवास में आनंदित रहनेवाले नित्य रसिक योगी कोई कहीं ही मिलते हैं।[36]

इस श्लोक में शालि, कालिंजर और चक्री शब्द विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं जिनके अर्थ क्रमशः महामांस, श्रेष्ठ और चक्रसाधक हो सकते हैं।[37] इस प्रकार कृष्णपाद इस टीका के द्वारा एक नित्य प्रेमी रसिक कापालिक के रूप में प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं। इससे स्पष्ट है कि इस साधना में मैथुन के वीराचार और दिव्याचारपरक, दोनों प्रकार के अर्थ स्वीकृत हैं। इस प्रकार के अनेक संदर्भ चर्या-गीतियों से प्रस्तुत किये जा सकते है।

इन चर्यापदों में श्मशान साधना का परोक्ष रूप में उल्लेख है। प्राचीन नगरव्यवस्था के अनुसार श्मशानों की व्यवस्था नगर के बाहर होती थी और डोम्बों के विषय में यह प्रमाण मिलता है कि इनके निवास नगर के बाहर ही होते थे। कुछ उल्लेख ऐसे भी उपलब्ध है कि ये प्राचीनकाल में बौद्ध हो गए थे। इनके पेशे के विषय में भी यह प्रमाणित है कि ये बांस की टोकरी, डलिया आदि बनाया करते थे और इस समय भी इनकी यही वृत्ति है।[38] कापालिक के लिए श्मशान सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त स्थान है। इस शोधपत्र में व्याख्याता प्रथम चर्यापद में कृष्णपाद की सुंदरी डोम्बी भी नगर (रूपादि विषयों के समूह रूपी नगर) के बाहर ही रहती है और पिटारी आदि बनाकर नगर में बेंचने के लिए आती है।[39] कृष्णपाद के गुरु जालंधरपाद ने भी श्मशान में जाकर श्री हेरुक के मंडल में मुक्त प्रवेश प्राप्त किया था और चार डाकिनियों से अभिषेक प्राप्त कर महामुद्रासिद्धि प्राप्त की थी।[40] हेवज्रतन्त्र में उपास्य के रूप में वर्णित हेवज्र के हाथों में वज्रकपाल, खट्वाङ्ग और कृष्णवज्र हैं और वे अष्ट योगिनियों से परिवृत्त होकर श्मशान में क्रीडा करते हैं। इनकी प्रथम वामभुजा में देवताओं और असुरों के रक्त से पूर्ण नरकपाल है। प्रथम दक्षिण भुजा में वज्र है और शेष दोनों भुजाओं में प्रज्ञा भगवद्रूपिणी चज्रवाराही आलिंगित रूप में हैं।[41] हेरुक अथवा हेवज्र का चतुर्भुज युगनद्धात्मक रूप बुद्धकपाल

36. वही., पृ. 63 — कक्कोलप्रियबोलमेलकतयाऽऽनन्दस्फुरत्कुन्दुराः। सद्यः शोधितशालिलालितकरः कालिंजराश्चक्रिणः ॥ भ्रश्यद्दिव्यसरोजपात्रमदनव्याकुप्तदन्तच्छदाः। प्रेतावासनिवासनित्यरसिकाः केचित् क्वचित् योगिनः॥

37. दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, पार्ट 2, मूल, 2. 3. 55-60.

38. जाति, वर्ग और व्यवसाय, डा. गोविंद सदाशिव घुर्ये, पृ. 201-202, परिवर्धित संस्करण का हिन्दी अनुवाद, राजपाल अँड सन्स, दिल्ली। हिन्दी शब्दसागर, खंड 4, नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा (1967) पृ. 1968। प्राचीन भारत का सामाजिक इतिहास, डा. जयशंकर मिश्र, विहार हिन्दी ग्रन्थ अकादमी, (1983), पृ. 187–188।

39. चर्यागीतिकोष, च. सं. 10 — नगर वाहिरे रे डोम्बि तोहोरि कुडिआ। ...तान्ति विकणअ अवर ना चंगेणा।

40. बो. का. सा. सा., पृ. 68.

41. दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, पार्ट 2, मूल 1. 3. 15–17 — वामे वज्रकपालं च खट्वाङ्गं चापि वामतः। दक्षिणे कृष्णवज्रं च हुंकारोच्चारणात्मकः॥ श्मशाने क्रीडते नाथोऽष्टयोगिनीभिःपरिवृत्तः। श्वसतीत्यनया युक्ता श्मशानेत्यभिधीयते।... प्रथमवाममुजे नरकपालं देवासुराणां रक्तेन पूरितं। प्रथमदक्षिणमुजे वज्रशेष-द्विमुजाभ्यां प्रज्ञालिङ्गितः वज्रवाराही प्रज्ञा भगवद्रूपिणी॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

है और यह रूप हाथों में खट्वाङ्ग, कपाल, कर्त्रिका और डमरू धारण करता है।[42] साधनमाला के 'भगवान् बुद्धकपाल साधन' में भी हेरुक हेवज्रतन्त्र की तरह ही प्रज्ञालिंगित हैं। उनका स्वरूप निम्नलिखित है —

> नीलवर्णो महावपुः अस्थ्याभरणामर्द्धपर्य्यङ्कनृत्यस्थं मुण्डमालाविभूषितं मुकुटे अक्षोभ्यधारिणं एकवक्त्रं चतुर्भुजं वामे खट्वाङ्गकपालं दक्षिणे कर्त्रिडमरुकं प्रज्ञालिंगितं वामे चित्रसेना मत्ता नग्ना मुक्तकेशी सर्वभयरहिता देवी चुम्बयन्तीं मुहुर्म्मुहुः।... बाह्यतोऽष्टश्मशानानि कल्पयेत्।[43]

इस श्मशान-साधना के विषय में अधिक विवरण हेवज्रतन्त्र में उपलब्ध है। कापालिक साधक हेवज्र अथवा हेरुक के उपर्युक्त स्वरूप को धारण करता है। हेवज्र भी अष्टयोगिनियों से परिवृत होकर श्मशान में क्रीडा करते हैं और साधक भी अपनी वज्रकन्या के साथ श्मशान में चर्या में प्रवेश करता है।[44] श्मशान के भेद-विभेद के विषय में कहा गया है कि प्रेतालय तथा उदधितट श्मशान हैं तथा उद्यान एवं वापिकातीर उपश्मशान।[45] इस तन्त्र के अनुसार साधक मृतक के क्षार को आभूषण के रूप में धारण करता है और प्रेतालय अथवा श्मशान में प्राप्त पुष्प से अपने को सजाता है। मण्डलनिर्माण में श्मशान की ईंटों और अंगारों का प्रयोग करता है। श्मशान में ही भोजन करता है और उसके लिए वहां शव रूपी आसन की रचना करता है। श्मशान के कपडों का प्रयोग करता है।[46] हेवज्रतन्त्र की कृष्णपादरचित टीका योगरत्नमाला के अनुसार श्मशान नैरात्मक देह है जिसमें नाथ (हेवज्र) परमानंदमय होकर विहार करते है।[47] कापालिक की चर्या और क्रिया से संबंधित अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण शब्दों के विशिष्ट अर्थ हेवज्रतन्त्र तथा उसकी टीका में उपलब्ध है। जैसे, कपाल का अर्थ पद्मभाजन है। मदन का अर्थ मद्य है। मांस बल है, शव आश्रय है, मूत्र कस्तूरिका है, शालिज महामांस है, कुन्दुर द्वीन्द्रिययोग है, बोल वज्र का द्योतक है और कवकोल पद्म का।[48]

इस संपूर्ण विवेचन का अभिप्राय यह है कि बौद्ध सिद्धों विशेषकर कृष्णपाद के चर्या-पदों के कापालिक संदर्भ की विस्तृत व्याख्या के लिए मुनिदत्त लिखित संस्कृत टीका, हेवज्रतन्त्र, उसकी कृष्णपाद लिखित टीका योगरत्नमाला तथा साधनमाला को शास्त्रीय आधार के रूप में ग्रहण किया जा सकता है। दूसरी महत्त्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इन्हीं रचनाओं के आधार पर कृष्णपाद की पूर्ववर्तिनी बौद्ध कापालिक परंपरा का संधान भी किया जा सकता है। तीसरे, युगीन व्यापक अध्ययन से शैव कपोलिकों से प्रभावित एवं परवर्ती कालमें समकालीन और समानांतर रूप में विकसित बौद्ध कापालिक आम्नाय की विशेषताओं का अनुमान भी किया जा सकता है।

---

42. इन्ट्रोडक्शन टु बुद्धिस्ट एसोटेरिज्म, भट्टाचार्य, पृ. 131–132.
43. साधनमाला, भट्टाचार्य, खं. 2, साधन सं. 254, पृ. 500–503.
44. दि हेवज्रतन्त्र, मूल, 1. 3. 13–16.
45. वही., मूल, 1. 7. 18.
46. वही., मूल, 2. 3. 49, 2. 5. 51, 2. 7. 7–8, 1. 3. 4, 1. 3. 16–18, 1. 7. 20–21, 1. 8. 4, 1. 8. 19.
47. वही., मूल, तृतीयं पटलं, पृ. 115.
48 वही., मूल, 2. 355–60 मदनं मद्य बलं मांसं मलयजं मिलनं मलम्। गतिः खेटः शवः श्रायो अस्थ्याभरणं निरंशुकम्॥

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

NOTES ON THE *ŚĀKYASIṂHAJĀTAKA*

By

MICHAEL HAHN

1. In a previous publication[1] I gave a survey of some hitherto unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts containing 10 or 11 Buddhist Jātakas that originally belonged to a *Jātakamālā* composed by a certain Haribhaṭṭa (not later than the beginning of the 5th century A. D.).[2] Ten of these stories were undoubtadly written by Haribhaṭṭa, but in the case of the eleventh legend I have expressed my doubt concerning his authorship.

Meanwhile the Sanskrit text of this story—actually it is, of course, not a Jātaka but a short biography of the Buddha—has been prepared by me for publication. Although it cannot be ranked with the greater achievements of Buddhist Sanskrit literature it poses several questions to the attentive reader:

(a) Was it written by more than one author?

(b) Who was (or were) its author(s)?

(c) Which were its sources?

(d) By whom was it used as source meterial?

There are still more questions and problems concerning this text but because of limitations of space only those mentioned above will be briefly discussed. Before discussing these questions I will give a short account of its contents and structure.

2. The story written in that typical mixture of ornate prose and verses called *campū* by Indian rhetoricians. There are 120 stanzas composed in 13 different metres. Their distribution is shown in table 1.

---

1. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta.* Two Authors in the succession of Āryaśūra. On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās. Tokyo. The Reiyukai Library, 1977. (Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Paper Series I).

2. See Michael Hahn, Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa. In: *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus.* Gedenkschrift für Ludgig Alsdorf, Wiesbaden, 1981, pp. 107–120.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Table 1

No.	Metre	Stanzas	Total
1	Anuṣṭubh	3, 4, 9–11, 13, 24, 29 30, 32, 33, 35–39, 43–47, 49–58, 65–67, 69–77, 86–115, 119, 120	75
2	Āryā	1, 20	2
3	Upajāti	68, 78–85	8
4	Drutavilambita	15, 16	2
5	Praharṣiṇī	25	1
6	Mandākrāntā	17	1
7	Mālinī	8, 48	2
8	Vaṁśamālā	59, 60, 62	3
9	Vaṁśastha	21, 26, 27, 34, 60, 62, 116–118	11
10	Vasantatilakā	2, 5–7, 12, 14, 18, 22, 28, 31	10
11	Śārdūlavikrīḍita	29, 23	2
12	A kind of Mātrāsamaka	40, 41	2
13	Irregular (a corrupt Puṣpitāgrā?)	42	1
			120

The story describes the life of the Buddha from his birth up to his enlightenment, his first teaching at Benares, and his resolution to teach the *dharma* to all human beings.[3]

3. The following considerations cast doubt upon the homogenity of the text in the form it is known to us. The Tibetan translation of the *Śākyasiṁhajātaka*[4] (henceforth *Śsj*) covers only 50% of the Sanskrit text. The last portion of the Tibetan version (54–55, 55+, 56–58) is completely different from the Sanskrit, minor divergences occurring already from stanza 39/40 onwards. (41, 48, 49 are also completely different in both versions). The

3. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, pp. 11–12.

4. In our main source, manuscript B 98/4 of the Nepal-German Preservation Project, the title is given as *Śākyasiṁhatathāgatajātaka* whereas the more recent copies of the text (e. g. Ms. No. 139 of the Tokyo University Library) have been the abbreviated form *Śākyasiṁhajātka*. For the sake of convenience the shorter form of the title will be used henceforth, abbreviated as *Śsj*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

question is whether the second half of the Sanskrit text was written by the same author as wrote the first half. If it was, then we have to assume either that the second half did not reach the Tibetan translator or that its Tibetan translation was lost at a very early time, at any rate before its incorporation into the Tanjur. The second part of the Sanskrit text (starting with 56+), however, is distinguished not only by its absence from the Tibetan translation of the story but also by its almost complete change in style and structure by comparison with the first half.

The first half of the *Śsj* is written in fairly correct Sanskrit (apart from one remarkable exception in 15a where we read — metri causa — *ımair* instead of *ebhir*), which in many places shows a certain degree of poetical beauty.[5] It starts with a very good imitation of the formal setting of Haribhaṭṭa's legends: motto in form of an Āryā stanza, the old and wellknown opening formula *tad yathānuśrūyate*, the introductory portion of the main story in prose,[6] the use of various metres, interspersed with portions in ornate prose.

The second half is completely different. From stanza 57 onwards only three (or four) metres are used: Anuṣṭubh (46 times), Upajāti (8 times) and Vaṁśastha (7 times), plus three occurrences of *Vaṁśamālā*, an 'impure' variety of Vaṁśastha not sacntioned by classical metrics. Only stanzas 59–64, 78–85, and 116–118 can be regarded as poetical in their diction, the rest of the stanzas not rising above mere matter-of-fact description. The same holds true for all the prose portions of the latter half of the *Śsj*. Here we note several instances of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit like *durmanāsi* (instead of *durmanā asi*) in 75a, *ānayitvā* (!) in 76a, *babhāṣa* (instead of *babhāṣe*) in 78a, *etāṁś ca* (referring to neuter substantives) in 79c, *mahotpātam* (nominative) in 97+, *purim* in 102b, *vandya* (!) in 102+ etc. Below, in the discussion of the sources of the *Śsj*, we shall see what accounts for this change in language and style.

From the separate transmission of the second part of the story as well as from the differences between its two halves as outlined above it seems as if the

5. Cf. e. g. stanzas 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31. Stanza 21 runs:

śilīmukhaṁ bhuktalatāvadhūjanaṁ
vilokya tatpuṣparajovidhūsaram /
samīraṇākampitabālapaṅkaje
muhur muhus tarjayatīva padminī //

6. Noteworthy is the ingenious way in which the author here succeeds in making the description of the life of the Buddha a natural sequel to Haribhaṭṭa's description of 34 of his previous existences in which he practised the six moral perfections (*pāramitā*): *sakalapāramitādhigamāt pratyāsannabodhiḥ svaprabhayāvabhāsitāṅgaḥ kadā cid bodhisattvas tuṣitabhavane samudapādi.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

second half were a later addition supplied by a different hand. Another possible explanation will be offered in paragraph 5 below.

4. The question of the authorship of the *Śsj* cannot be answered for the time being. The first half of the story shows great similarities in style and structure to those 14 Buddhist legends which I have attributed to Gopadatta.[7] There are two arguments (very weak ones, I admit) which give some support to the hypothesis of Gopadatta's authorship of this story. The first one is the fact that the so-called Gopadatta legends usually occur in the form of coherent sets, as Nos. 35 to 43 of the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* as Nos. 1 to 5 of the *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, as Nos. 11 to 12 of the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, as Nos. 32 to 33 of the *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā*,[8] as Nos. 7 to 8 of the *Mahajjātakamālā* (+No. 45 !). According to the results of an unpublished M. A. thesis by Konrad Klaus,[9] also the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna* can safely be attributed to Gopadatta. If this is correct and if we take into consideration the great stylistic similarities between text Nos. 11 to 13 (*Maitrakanyaka, Śākyasiṁhajātaka* and *Karmaplotikasūtra*) of the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (identical with Nos. 54 to 56 of the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra*), then it becomes very likely that both *Śākyasiṁhajātaka* and *Karmaplotikasūtra* were also composed by Gopadatta. This deduction is partially supported by the great affinities between the *Karmaplolikasūtra* and the *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā*,[10] because the latter work again shows the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of Gopadatta. As a critical edition of most of the texts attributed to Gopadatta is imminent, we may be in a position to place these general consideration on a sound linguistic basis before long.

The second, even more general consideration for the attribution of *Śsj* to Gopadatta, is the fact that it has been proved that Gopadatta had studied carefully the work of his predecessor Haribhaṭṭa.[11] For this reason Gopadatta might have felt tempted to write a concluding portion for the *Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā*,

7. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, p. 16.

8. *Loc. cit.* ; cf. also *Aśokāvadānamālā* 11 (*Saptakumārikāvadāna*) and 12 (*Bhavalubdhakāvadāna*) and *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā* 32 (*Sārthavāhajātaka*) and 33 (*Mātṛposahastijātaka*).

9. *Das Maitrakanyakāvadāna* (*Nr.* 38 *des Divyāvadāna*). Einleitung, Edition, deutsché Übersetzung. IV. 106 pp. (typescript). Unpublished M. A. thesis, submitted to the Fachbereich 11 (Aussereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen) der Philipps-Universität, Marburg, 28. 7. 1980]. To be published as Vol. 2 of the series *Indica et Tibetica*, Bonn 1983.

10. The *Karmaplotikasūtra* and its relation to texts of similar character like *Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā*, *Kathiṇāvadāna* etc. is being investingated by Mrs. Anne Ehlers, Marburg, in her forthcoming M. A. dissertation.

11. *Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa*, O 119.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

and it may afterwards have become a part of that work. Future research will show whether this hypothesis can be substantiated.[12]

5. The sources of the *Śsj* can easily be identified. Two texts were exploited: Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* and the *Lalitavistara*. The following concordance (table 2) shows the corresponding passage of the threee works.

Table 2

Śākyasiṁhajātaka	Buddhacarita	Lalitavistara
2+ to 11+	1. 6 to 1. 63	
11+	2. 17 to 46	
11+ to 14+	3. 1 to 3. 30	
19	4. 44	
25+ to 26+	5. 47 to 5. 81	
27 to 29	6. 12 to 6. 52	
29+	8	
29+ to 33+	12. 1 to 12. 116	
36 to 46	13	
56+ to 61	14. 52 to 14. 91	
62 to 67		23
68 to 93		24. 0; 24. 72+ to 24. 155
95+ to 99		25. 8+ to 25. 33+
102 to 108		26. 4 to 26. 27

The table does not indicate the degree of correspondance which is sometimes low, sometimes very high up to verbal identity. A good example of medium level correspondance is *Śākyasiṁhajātaka* 6:

12. Close attention will have to be paid to the stylistical peculiarities of the *Śsj*. I quote only one example which to my mind is characteristic of Gopadatta's way of connecting prose passages with subsequent verses:

..aham api kutūhalavatī rājaputraṃ draṣṭukāmā kā cid ity abhāṣata /
kumāraṃ draṣṭukāmānām tāsām iti visarpaṇat /
mekhalānūpuradhvāno bhavaneṣu vyatanyata // 13 //

Prose and the following verse are linked by the repeated use of *draṣṭukāma*. It is characteristic of Gopadatta that there is no other poetic quality in the repetition of the same word apart from its connective function. Where such 'connection by repetition' is met with in Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* – it is used comparatively rarely – we observe either a progression in the plot (that is, a continuation of the story, not stagnation, as with Gopadatta) or a change in the narrative level (action vs. reflection). Cf. e. g. 6. 36+/37 or 11. 1+/2.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

saṃsthāpito balabhidā jagadekanātho
dhīraḥ krameṇa bhuvi saptapadāni gatvā |
atyadbhutāṁ giram imāṁ nijagāda śāntāṁ
janmedam antyam iti me tamasām abhāvāt ||

This is a reflex of *Buddhacarita* 1.14c :

tathaiva dhīrāṇi padāni sapta (... *jagāma*)

and 1.15b :

antyā bhavotpattir iyam mameti

which clearly be felt. The closest correspondance is that between *Śsj* 29+ to 33+ and *Buddhacarita*, chapter 12. Here the *Śsj* uses more or less the same terms and expressions for the visit of the Buddha to Arāḍa Kalāma and the philosophical instructions given by the latter. In many places a proper understanding of the text of the *Śsj* is not possible without consultation of chapter 12 of the *Buddhacarita*.

That part of the second half of the *Śsj* which corresponds to *Lalitavistara*, chapter 23 to 26, shows a great number of mechanical borrowings. The following stanzas are more or less identical in both texts :

Table 3

Śākyasiṃhajātaka	Lalitavistara
75	24. 73
76	24. 74
77	24. 75
86	24. 76
87	24. 78
88	24. 79
89	24. 81/82
90	24. 110
91	24. 150
93	24. 155
102abc	26. 4

These literal borrowings from the *Lalitavistara* account for most of the Hybrid Sanskrit words and forms occurring in the latter half of the *Śsj*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Not all the problems underlying the relationship between the three texts can be discussed in detail here. Only the most striking aspects will be mentioned. Why were the two texts, so much different in language and the whole literary setting combined into one, even at the cost of the repetition of a whole episode (the temptation of the Buddha)[13] and of a very abrupt and inorganic end of the story? And why – this is a related question – does the agreement between *Śsj* and the *Buddhacarita* end at exactly that place where the transmitted text of the Sanskrit original comes to an end? It is indeed very tempting to assume that the compilator of the *Śsj* had to hand a copy of Aśvaghoṣa's poem that was already incomplete so that he was compelled to look for another text for the completion of his own work. Having a choice only between *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*, he might have decided in favour of *Lalitavistara* because of its less corrupted language in comparison with the *Mahāvastu*.

If there is anything substantial behind these purely hypothetical speculations, then everything points to the old Nepalese manuscript of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddacarita* which Johnston thinks to have been written around 1300 A. D.[14] as the source of the first half of the *Śsj* because it is very unlikely that there should have been two independent manuscripts of the same text of which exactly the same portion had been lost. This conclusion whould entail the following inplications:

(a) The Nepalese manuscript of the *Buddhacarita* could not have been copied later than c. 1150 A. D. because the Tibetan translation of the first half of the *Śsj* must have been completed before 1190 A. D. when Tshul khrims 'byuṅ gnas sbas pa', one of the two translators of the *Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā*, died.[15]

(b) The sphere of activity of the compilator of the *Śsj* seems to have been Nepal because only here could he have studied (and exploited) the defective manuscript of the *Buddhacarita*.

It might be useful to keep in mind these possibilities – they are not more than that – until the whole complex of questions pertaining to Gopadatta – his work, and his sphere of activity – has been examined more throughtly.

6. The last of these observation on the *Śsj* concerns the fact that this text which was shown to be essentially a compilation exploiting earlier sources

13. The first time the temptation is described 36 – 42 + (Māra's daughters) and 42+ – 48 (his army); the second temptation (in a slightly different context) occurs 74 + – 88 + (again his daughters).

14. E. H. Jonston, *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Lahore, 1936, Vol. I, p. VII.

15. See Michael Hahn, *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*, Hamburg, 1971, p. 244.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

was, in turn, exploited by another compilator, Amṛtānanda, the Residency Pandit at Kathmandu in Hodgson's days. This "erudite Buddhist"[16] "finalized his recension of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*" – which is a revised and enlarged version of the text of the old Nepalese palmleaf manuscript mentioned above – "either on Wednesday / Thursday, 17 / 18 December 1828, or on Monday / Tuesday, 7 / 8 December 1829".[17] A comparison of Amṛtānanda's recension of the *Buddhacarita* with the *Śsj* shows that quite a few of Amṛtānanda's additions to Aśvaghoṣa's text were taken literally from the *Śsj*. Twelve stanzas are, apart from minor variations (listed below), identical in both texts.

Table 4

Śākyasiṁhajātaka	Buddhacarita (ed. Cowell)
2	1. 20
3	1. 23
4	1. 24
5	1. 27
49	16. 19
50	16. 20
51	16. 21
52	16. 22
53	16. 23
54	16. 24
55	16. 25
56	16. 26

These are variants between the two texts:

Śākyasiṁhajātaka	Buddhacarita (ed. Cowell)
2a *kṛtvā*	1. 20a *dhṛtvā*
5d *khān nirmale (ca)*	2. 27d *khān nirmale ca*
49b *prasūyate*	16. 19b *prajāyate*
49d *°bhāve ca*	16. 19d *°bhāve 'pi*

16. William Wilson Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghon...*, (London, 1896), p. 273.

17. Claus Vogel, *On the Exact Date of Amṛtānanda's Recension of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita*. In: *Indo-Iranian Journal* XIV (1972), pp. 210–217.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Śākyasiṃhajātaka		Buddhacarita (ed. Cowell)	
50d	*śubhāśubhau*	16. 20d	*śubhāśubhe*
51ab	*karmaṇāṃ hetukaṃ karma cet sārādi na kalpayet /*	16. 21ab	*karmaṇāṃ karma hetuś ca ko 'tra sāraṃ prakalpayet /*
51c	*ahetukaṃ*	16. 21c	*svābhāvikaṃ*
52a	*sukhahetuḥ sukhaṃ*	16. 22a	*sukhaṃ hetusukhaṃ*
d	*bhaviṣyati*	d	*bhaved bhavād*
54d	*narakeṣv api*	16. 24d	*narakeṣv iha*
55c	*svargalokaṃ gatā(ḥ) kecita*	16. 25c	*svargaloke gatāḥ santi*
56a	*aho*	16. 26a	*sarvo*
b	*vihanyate*	b	*nihanyate*
c	*'vipannaś ca*	c	*vipadghato e. c. vipadghrāto ms.*

The prose passage 56+ of the *Ssj* closely corresponds with 14. 36–63 of Cowell's edition of the *Buddhacarita*. Only superficial is the similarity between the following passages of the two texts: 88+ and 15. 52, 89+ and 15. 60, 64, 94 and 15. 79sqq., 99+ and 15. 86/87.

What Amṛtānanda has done is more or less the same as the compilator of the *Ssj* had done before him: after noticing the incompleteness of his copy of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* he had recourse to other biographies of the Buddha available at his time. These were obviously the *Ssj* and the *Lalitavistara*. He interspersed passages from these two works with some well-known dogmatic formulas and with iuventions of his own – a practice typical of many Buddhist works composed – or rather compiled – during the present millenium in Nepal.

7. There is one more noteworthy example of the dissemination of the *Ssj*. Among the bilingual Sanskrit-Uigur texts from the Berlin Turfan collection there are fragments of two consecutive folios written in Brahmi script which contain a large extract from the *Ssj*. The two fragments (Mz 627 or T II 19b) were recently studied in detail by Dr. Dieter Maue in his unpublished monograph *Sanskrit-uigurische Bilinyuen aus den Berliner Turfan-funden*, Giessen, 1981 (pp. 160–209 of the typescript). The occurrence of an Old Turkish translation of the *Ssj*, besides its Tibetan translation already mentioned, shows the popularity this text enjoyed among Buddhists, a popularity which it owes rather to its topic, the biography of the Buddha, than to its originality or other literary merits.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

It should be noted that the discovery and identification of these two fragments, however, together with that of another bilingual extract from Haribhaṭṭa's *Siṃhajātaka*, corroborates my earlier assumption that Haribhaṭṭa's work must have reached Central Asia.[18] Unfortunately this does not afford any clue to the upper or lower limit for the composition of the *Śsj* because all that can be said with regard to the date of the fragments from Central Asia is :

" Der für die brāhmī-uig. Schriftzeugnisse in Frage Kommende Zeitraum liegt zwischen dem 9. Jh. + und dem 13. Jh. +."[19]

The upper limit for the compilation of the *Śsj*, therefore, remains the date of the translation of its first half into Tibetan (before 1190 A. D., see above). If Gopadatta was the compilator then the upper limit will extend to the beginning of the twelfth century because Gopadatta is mentioned by name by Somendra,[20] son of Kṣemendra, whose " span of life may have...covered the first three quarters of the eleventh century."[21] However, the question of the authorship of the *Śsj* is not yet settled and requires more detailed study.

18. *Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa*, p. 117.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. XLV.
20. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, p. 14.
21. Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, Poona 1954 (Poona Oriental Series, No. 91), p. 8.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

बौद्ध तथा जयन्तभट्ट का प्रमाणस्वरूप

लेखक : महेश झा

प्रमाण-चिन्तन की आवश्यकता

"मानाधीना मेयसिद्धिः" यह समस्त दर्शन सम्प्रदायों में प्रायः सर्व सम्मत सिद्धान्त है।[1] यही कारण है कि प्रमाण-चिन्तन की प्रमुखता सर्वत्र दृष्टिगोचर होती है, यहाँ तक कि पाश्चात्य दर्शनों में भी अत्र इसकी महत्ता को अस्वीकार करना कठिन हो गया है। अत एव प्रमाणमीमांसा (Epistemology) का वहाँ पृथक् शास्त्र के रूप में अध्ययन आरम्भ हो गया है।

प्रमाण-चिन्तन की परम्परा

यहाँ प्रस्तुत शोधनिबन्ध में बौद्धमत में प्रमाण सम्बन्धी न्यायमञ्जरीकार जयन्तभट्ट के पूर्व की प्रमाण-चर्चा को सारांशतः उपस्थित कर जयन्तभट्ट के प्रमाण विषयक अभिमत के साथ उसकी तुलनात्मक समीक्षा प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

भारतीय दर्शनसम्प्रदायों में प्रमाण एक सामान्य लक्षण हमें सर्वप्रथम कणाद के वैशेषिक सूत्र में मिलता है। गुण पदार्थ के अन्तर्गत परिगणित बुद्धि को विद्या और अविद्या भेद से द्विविध माना गया है। कणाद बतलाते है कि जो निर्दोषज्ञान है वह विद्या है और जो ऐसा नहीं है वह अविद्या है। इस प्रतिपादन के अनुसार निर्दोष ज्ञान रूप विद्या प्रमाण है।[2]

महर्षि गौतम ने प्रमाण का स्पष्ट पृथक् लक्षण प्रस्तुत नहीं किया है। इस सम्बन्ध में उनका सूत्र हैं – "प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि"।[3]

किन्तु भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने 'प्रमाण' शद्व से ही उसका लक्षण भी गौतम का मन्तव्य मानकर लिखा है —

> "उपलब्धिसाधनानि प्रमाणानीति समाख्यानिर्वचनसामर्थ्यात् बौद्धव्यम्।
> प्रमीयते अनेनेति करणार्थाभिधानो हि प्रमाणशब्दः।"[4]

न्यायमञ्जरीकार जयन्तभट्ट ने भी भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन का समर्थन करते हुए लिखा है —

> एकेनानेन सूत्रेण द्वयं चाह महामुनिः।
> प्रमाणेषु चतुःसंख्यं तथा सामान्यलक्षणम्॥[5]

---

1. प्रमाणाधीनो हि प्रमेयाधिगमः — प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तकृत प्रमाणवार्त्तिकालङ्कार, पृ. 340.
2. अदुष्टं विद्या, वै. सूत्र 9.2.12.
3. न्यायसूत्र, 1.1.2.
4. न्यायसूत्र, 1.1.2 पर भाष्य.
5. न्याय य. प्रथम आ. पृ. 71.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अर्थात् महामुनि गौतम ने इस एक ही सूत्र से दोनों बातें कही है – प्रमाणों की चार संख्या तथा सामान्य लक्षण।[6] बौद्धमत में माध्यमिक दर्शनकार नागार्जुन ने 'वैदल्यसूत्र' तथा विग्रहव्यावर्तिनी में न्याय के प्रमाणचतुष्टय का खण्डन करते हुए इस आशय को पुष्ट किया है।[7]

न्यायदर्शन में पृथक् रूप से स्पष्ट प्रमाण का लक्षण भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने प्रस्तुत किया है, जिसे हम "प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि" सूत्र के भाष्य में देख चुके है। वात्स्यायन ने "उपलब्धिसाधनानि प्रमाणानि" कहकर "प्रमीयतेऽनेनेति" इस व्युत्पत्ति से उसे समर्थित किया है।

बौद्धसम्मत प्रमाण का स्वरूप

उनके अनुवर्त्ती एवं बौद्ध प्रमाणशास्त्र तथा मध्ययुगीन भारतीय प्रमाणशास्त्र के जनक दिङ्नाग ने प्रमाण के स्वरूप की चर्चा अपने "प्रमाणसमुच्चय" नामक ग्रन्थ में की है। उन्होंने विषयाकार अर्थ निश्चय और स्वसंवित्ति को प्रमाणफल कहकर उन्हें ही प्रमाण माना है![8]

तदनन्तर उद्योतकार ने भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन का अनुसरण करते हुए उपलब्धिसाधन को ही प्रमाण स्वीकार किया है।[9] बौद्धदर्शन में प्रमाणलक्षण का शास्त्रीय स्वरूप धर्मकीर्त्ति द्वारा प्रस्तुत किया गया। उनके ग्रन्थों में प्रमाण के वो लक्षण मिलते है —

(१) प्रमाणम् अविसंवादि ज्ञानम्।[10]

(२) अज्ञातार्थप्रकाशो वा।

धर्मकीर्त्ति का यह प्रमाणलक्षण उनके टीककारों[11] द्वारा विश्लेषित तथा समीक्षित हुआ है। शान्तरक्षित सारुप्य तथा योग्यता को प्रमाण कहते है, जो धर्मकीर्त्ति के ही लक्षण का पर्यवसितार्थ है।[12] आचार्य प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त ने धर्मकीर्त्ति के प्रथम लक्षण को "व्यावहारिक प्रमाण का लक्षण" तथा द्वितीय को "पारमार्थिक प्रमाण का लक्षण" माना है। किन्तु धर्मोत्तर आदि ऐसा नहीं मानते, अपितु वे "अज्ञातार्थप्रकाशः" को "अनधिगतविषयं प्रमाणम्"[13] कहकर व्यावहारिक प्रमाण के लक्षण, अर्थात् "अविसंवादिकं ज्ञानं, सम्यग्ज्ञानम्" की विवेचना में ही इसका

---

6. लक्षण भी दो प्रकार से किया जाता है— एक का नाम वस्तुवाचक लक्षण है तथा दूसरे का गुणवाचक (Denotative definition and Connotative definition) जैसे व्याकरण शास्त्र में सूत्र का लक्षण करते हुए कहा गया है — संज्ञा च परिभाषा च विधिर्नियम एव च। अतिदेशोधिकारश्च षड्विधं सूत्र-लक्षणम्। इसे हम वस्तुवाचक लक्षण (Connotative) कहते है। इसी तरह गौतम के प्रत्यक्षसूत्र को भी हम वस्तुवाचक (Connotative) लक्षण मान सकते है।
7. विग्रहव्यावर्त्तिनी, श्लोक 41–52.
8. स्वसंवित्तिः फलं वात्र तद्रूपो ह्यर्थनिश्चयः।
   विषयाभासतैवास्य प्रमाणं तेन मीयते॥ प्रमाणसमुच्चय 1. 6.
9. न्यायसूत्रवार्त्तिक, पृ. 5.
10. प्रमाणवार्त्तिक, 1. 3, 1. 7.
11. धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप, पृ. 17.
12. स्वसंवित्तिः प्रमाणं तु सारूप्यं योग्यतापि वा। शान्तरक्षितकृत तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह, श्लोक 1343.
13. धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप, पृ. 19.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

निरूपण करते है। मनोरथ नन्दी "अज्ञातार्थप्रकाशकत्व" और "अविसंवादकत्व" के समुदित रूप को प्रमाण का लक्षण मानना वांछनीय समझते है।[14]

बौद्धमत का सारांश

सारांशतः बौद्धों के लिए सम्यक्ज्ञान या प्रमाण की द्विविध स्थिति है– प्रमाण एवं प्रमाण-फल। इनमें प्रमाण स्वयं ज्ञानरूप और प्रमाणफल प्रमाण के बल से होने वाले अर्थ अथवा विषय का निश्चय है। प्रमाण साकार ज्ञान है। सौत्रान्तिकों के लिए इसका अर्थ यह है कि अर्थग्रहण साकार ज्ञान के उदय से होता है और साकार ज्ञान ही प्रमाण है, क्योंकि साकार होता हुआ ही ज्ञान हमें यह निश्चय कराता है कि, यह नीलज्ञान है, पीतज्ञान नहीं। इस गृहीत आकार या "आकृति" को ही धर्मकीर्त्ति "सारूप्य" कहते है,[15] जो विज्ञान की विषय का प्रदर्शन करने-वाली स्थिति है और जिसके बल से विषय का निश्चय होता है। यह भी एक ध्यान देने योग्य बात है कि विषय के प्रदर्शन में जो ध्यान का आकर्षण होता है और जो निश्चय तक पहुंचता है, वही प्रवर्त्तन है। अध्यवसाय अथवा निश्चय विषय को ग्रहण करनेवाले विज्ञान और उसके ग्राह्य आकार को विषय के रूप में व्यवस्थित करता है। विषय के दो भेद होते है – ग्राह्य और अध्यवसेय। इनमें ग्राह्य विषय भी, वस्तुभूत लक्षण और अवस्तु विकल्परूप से द्विविध हो सकता है। अध्यवसेय विषय सन्तान (विज्ञानप्रवाह) रूप विकल्पित विषय होता है। ग्रहण में, बोध में मात्र आभास में, "नीलविज्ञान" ही रहता है, किन्तु यह ज्ञान नहीं रहता कि यह "नील का विज्ञान" है। यह अध्यवसाय का कार्य है। विज्ञान का उदय नीलाकार, पीताकार रूप में ही होता है। नील, पीत आदि के प्रतिभास अथवा आकार के बिना भी विज्ञान का उन्मेष हो, ऐसा सम्भव नहीं। इससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि विज्ञान के उदय में विषयोल्लेख की स्थिति तो प्राप्त होती है, परन्तु उसमें स्फुटामत्व नहीं रहता। सारूप्य के रहते हुए भी उसमें परिच्छिन्नता एवं व्यवस्था नहीं रहती। अर्थात् नील का यह विज्ञान पीत रूप विषयान्तर पृथक् है, इस रूप में वह प्रतीत नहीं होता। कोई चीज व्यवस्थित तब मानी जाती है जब ज्ञानचक्र में, "यह ग्राह्य विषय है और यह ग्राहक विज्ञान है" इस रूप में सम्बन्ध नियत हो जाता है। बोध या ग्रहण में इसकी प्राप्ति नहीं होती, अपितु यह सारा कार्य अध्यवसाय दशा में होता है। परिच्छेदात्मक ज्ञान हो, इसके लिए दो वस्तुएं अपेक्षित हैं – विकल्प और अध्यवसाय। उसी तरह ज्ञान के व्यवस्थापन हेतु भी दो चीजें अनिवार्य हैं – प्रतिभास एवं स्वसंवेदन के आधार पर अध्यवसाय।

इन सारी बातों से यह फलित होता है कि बौद्धों का अविसंवाद रूप प्रमाण का लक्षण और कुछ नहीं, अपितु बोध, प्रतिभास, निश्चय या अध्यवसाय की सामंजस्यात्मक संज्ञा है। अतः हम कह सकते हैं कि प्रदर्शन और प्राप्ति की वह अविसंवादकता ही ग्राहक विज्ञान की प्रमाणता है।

जयन्तभट्ट के अनुसार प्रमाण का स्वरूप

न्यायशास्त्र की परम्परा में जयन्तभट्ट से पूर्व सभी ने लगभग "उपलब्धि के साधन" को ही प्रमाण माना, और वह उपलब्धि का साधन प्रभाकरण रूप में समझा गया। यह उपलब्धि साधन या प्रभाकरण पद वस्तुतः प्रमाण के लक्षण के रूप में कम प्रतीत होकर अधिक तो प्रमाण का पर्याय

14. प्रमाणवार्त्तिकवृत्ति, पृ. 14.
15. अर्थसारूप्यमस्य प्रमाणम्, न्यायबिन्दु 1.20.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

या अर्थविवरण ही प्रतीत होता है। उसका कारण यह था कि प्रमाण के स्वरूप में "बोध" और "अबोध" दो तरह के विपरीत स्वभाव दृष्टिगोचर होने लगे थे। उन स्वभावों को एक साथ समाहित न कर आचार्यों ने सीधे प्रभा के करण को ही प्रमाण कह दिया, जिससे प्रमाण का वास्तविक स्वरूप स्पष्ट नहीं हो सका। उधर बौद्धों के द्वारा केवल बोध या ज्ञान को प्रमाण मानने पर नैयायिकों के पक्ष को इस सम्बन्ध में स्पष्ट करना जयन्त के लिए अनिवार्य हो गया। फलतः उन्होंने प्रमाण का एक निर्दुष्ट लक्षण देने का प्रयास किया, जो इस प्रकार है —

अव्यभिचारिणीमसन्दिग्धार्थोपलब्धि विदधती
बोधाबोधस्वभावा सामग्री प्रमाणम्।[16]

वस्तुतः प्रमाण शब्द करण रूप में माना जाता रहा है और "करण" "साधकतम" होता है। "साधकतम" का "अतिशयार्थक तमप्" सामग्री को ही सम्भव है, क्योंकि कोई एक कार्य करने में समर्थ नहीं हो सकता। समग्रसन्निधान में ही कार्यजननक्षमता होती है।

जयन्त ने इस लक्षण में स्पष्ट किया है कि प्रमाता, प्रमेय आदि चार घटकों में कोई एक अपने में स्वतन्त्र रूप से अविनाभाविस्वभाववाला या अनिवार्यतः कार्यजनक नहीं हो सकता। सामग्री ही प्रमिति की उत्पत्ति में अविनाभाविस्वभाववाली होती है।[17] उसी को अतिशयता है। वस्तुतः "तमबर्थ" का सम्बन्ध उसी के साथ सम्भव है। जयन्तभट्ट इंगित करते है कि सामग्री अपनी स्वतन्त्र क्रिया के द्वारा व्यापार न कर अपने में अन्तर्भूत सभी कारकों की अपेक्षा से व्यापार में प्रवृत्त होती है। सामग्री कारकों का धर्म है।अतः कारक सामग्री में अपने स्वरूप की हानि नहीं करते। जब ये सभी कारक साकल्य दशा में रहते हैं, तो उनमें से प्रत्येक अपने स्वरूप को बनाए रखता हैं, और प्रत्येक के अपने वैशिष्ट्य की पहचान बनी रहती है। जयन्त के अनुसार जब सभी कारक किसी क्षणविशेष में सन्निहित होते हैं, तो उनके समग्रसन्निधान रूप धर्म का प्रत्यक्षतः ग्रहण होता है, फलतः कर्मादि व्यवहार का उच्छेद नहीं माना जा सकता।[18]

स्पष्ट हैं कि जयन्त के लिए कारक अपनी पृथक् अवस्थिति में नहीं, अपितु समुदित अवस्था में ही करण होते है। अतः सामग्रीरूप प्रमाण के लिए आचार्य का आग्रह यह है कि समुदायी की अपेक्षा से सामग्री करणता को प्राप्त करती है। सामग्री में करणार्थक तृतीयानिर्देश नहीं होने के सम्बन्ध में जयन्त कहते हैं कि सामग्री समुदाय के लिए ही प्रयुक्त होती हैं, वह किसी एक कारक के लिए प्रयुक्त नहीं होती। अतः उसमें तृतीया निर्देश होना सम्भव नहीं है।[19] दीप आदि में तृतीया निर्देश फलोत्पत्ति अविनाभाविस्वभाव वाली सामग्री के समान रूप के आरोप के कारण होता है। अन्यत्र भी देखा जाता है – जैसे – "स्थाल्यां पचति" इत्यादि।[20]

कुछ अन्य पक्षों को उठाकर जयन्त यह स्पष्ट करते है कि कर्त्ता और कर्म प्रमाण के क्षेत्र में नहीं आ सकते, क्योंकि ऐसा मानने पर ज्ञान में निरालम्बनत्व की आपत्ति हो जाएगी और

16. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 31.
17. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 32–33.
18. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 34–35.
19. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 35.
20. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 35–37.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

प्रमाण, प्रमेय, प्रमाता और प्रमिति इन चार घटकों की सत्ता ही संदिग्ध हो जायेगी। अतः उनका पर्यवसित लक्षण होता है —

कर्तृकर्मविलक्षणा संशयविपर्ययरहितार्थबोधविधायिनी
बोधाबोधस्वभावा सामग्री प्रमाणम्।[21]

जयन्तभट्ट और बौद्धमत की तुलना

जयन्त भट्ट की विशिष्टता इस बात में निहित है कि उन्होंने ही पहली बार आस्तिक दर्शन सम्प्रदायों में इस बात को प्रस्तावित किया कि अनेक कारकों के व्यापारवान् होने की समुदितावस्था से कार्यजनन होता है। न्यायपक्ष की रक्षा करते हुए इस बात का निर्वाह करना उन्हें और महत्त्वपूर्ण बना देता है। यद्यपि "विशुद्धिमग्ग" में बुद्धघोष ने यह बात स्पष्टतया प्रतिपादित की थी, जो कि सभी बौद्धदर्शन सम्प्रदायों का भी पक्ष है, कि प्रत्ययों के योगफल से कार्योत्पाद होता है। पाश्चात्य जगत् में १८ सदी के अनुभववादी विचारक "मिल"[22] भी कारणता के प्रसंग में यह मानते हैं कि कारण, भावात्मक और निषेधात्मक सभी कारणांशों का योगफल होता है। आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक भी इस बात से पूर्ण सहमत हैं।

जयन्तभट्ट द्वारा बौद्धमत की आलोचना

बौद्धों ने प्रमाण को बोधरूप कहा है। जयन्त कहते है कि बोधप्रमाण का फल है प्रमाण नहीं। क्योंकि प्रमाण में जो करणार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय है, उससे तो दीपेन्द्रियादि का ग्रहण होना स्वाभाविक ही है और वह अबोध रूप है। अत एव बोध को प्रमाण मानने पर दीपादि की लोक प्रसिद्ध करणता ही समाप्त हो जाएगी। दूसरी बात यह है कि बोध को प्रमाण मानने पर अफल-जनक ज्ञान को भी प्रमाण मानने की आपत्ति हो जाती है। कर्म में ही ज्ञान को प्रमाण मानना बौद्ध को भी सम्मत है, जैसे कि दिङ्नाग लिखते है —

"सव्यापारमिवाभाति व्यापारेण स्वकर्मणि"[23]

जयन्त का आक्षेप है कि क्षणिक ज्ञान कभी भी प्रमाणफल को पैदा करनेवाला नहीं माना जा सकता, क्योंकि प्रमिति को उत्पन्न होने के समय उसका अभाव रहता है।

साकार ज्ञान को भी प्रमाण मानना गलत है, क्योंकि एक ही साकार ज्ञान उसी समय ग्राह्य और ग्राहक होने में समर्थ नहीं हो सकता। इसके अतिरिक्त ज्ञान को साकार मानने पर बाह्य अर्थ की सत्यता को प्रमाणित नहीं किया जा सकता है। क्या साकार ज्ञानवादीने, जो विषय को अनुमेय मानते हैं, कभी इस तरह के ज्ञान का अनुभव किया? यदि हम यह मान लें कि ज्ञान के दो आकार होते है, तो इस पक्ष में अनवस्थादोष होगा। क्योंकि अर्थाकार का ज्ञान निराकार ज्ञान के द्वारा नहीं होता, अतः जो इसको जाननेवाला प्रत्यय है, उसे आकारवान् होना चाहिए।

21. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 38.

22. A cause is the sum total of all conditions positive and negative taken together, *Inductive Logic* by J. S. Mill.

23. प्रमाणसमुच्चय, 1.8,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ज्ञान के आकार का ग्रहण किसी अन्य ज्ञान से और उसका पुनः किसी अन्य से, इस प्रकार अनवस्था अपरिहार्य हो जायेगी।[24]

पुनः यदि हम ज्ञान को साकार मानते है तो ज्ञान और ज्ञेय के बीच ग्राहक और ग्राह्य रूप सम्बन्ध को कारणता के सम्बन्ध से नियत मानना पडेगा।

उपसंहार

अन्ततः हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते है कि प्रमाणचिन्तन में जयन्त के पूर्व बौद्ध दार्शनिकों द्वारा जो एक प्रबल पक्ष प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसका समाहार कर जयन्त ने न्याय के पक्ष को स्थापित किया है और बौद्धों के "बोधरूप" प्रमाण की भी सही परीक्षा की है। विशेष रूप से 'सामग्रीप्रमाणवाद' की स्थापना जयन्त की महत्त्वपूर्ण देन है, जो बौद्धमत के साथ समता रखती है। सामग्री को प्रमाण कहते समय एक विशेष बात, जो जयन्त कहते है, वह अवश्य ध्यान देने योग्य है कि सामग्री बोध और अबोध उभयविध स्वभाववाली होती है – दीपेन्द्रियादि अबोध स्वभाववाली तथा विशेषणज्ञानादि बोध स्वभाववाली। किन्तु "बोध" और "अबोध" वे दोनों परस्पर विरोधी है, अतः सामग्री में इनका सामञ्जस्य अवश्य चिन्तनीय है।

24. न्यायमञ्जरी, प्रथमाह्निक, पृ. 40–42.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

RESTORED TEXT OF *BODHIPATHAPRADIPA* OF ĀCĀRYA DĪPAṄKARA ŚRĪJNĀNA: A REVIEW AND ITS RESTITUTION FOR THE SECOND TIME FROM TIBETAN SOURCE

By

GANGOPADHYAYA

The *Bodhipathapradīpa* of Atisa, DIpaṅkara Śrījñāna though containing only 70 verses is a very important treatise of Buddhist philosophy and has been held very highly by Tibetan scholars.

I noticed the work published in 'Asita and Tibet' by Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Lama Chimba and later on in the *Atish Dīpaṅkara Millennium Birth Commemoration Volume*; (firstly appeared in 1967 and secondly in 1981). I went thoroughly through the translation and had the view that the work, being of importance, needed a major moderation and a more faithful and cognitive approach. I set out to prepare this renovated text in two classical and two popular languages.

It is a historical fact that after the fail of Lang-der-ma, Yeshe-Od, being ordained felt it necessary to rejuvinate Buddha's order. On his repeated requests Ācārya Atisa went to Tibet in 1040 A. D. There he composed many tracts to facilitate in propagating the Dharma and the present text is one of them.

Importance of this text:

Among all the compositions of the author, the present one is the basic text. In it both, *sūtra* and *tantra*, have been expounded briefly in unison with the three categories of persons in attaining their quintessence. The conduct of the men of lower category is deemed to recollect death. If one does not turn one's mind away from this life, he would not be able to enter into the midst of religious men. Should one consider one's skandhas (aggregates) to represent the self, one should not attain Liberation. If one does not possess a creative effort towards Enlightenment, he would be unable to enter the Mahāyāna path. If this path does not combine the means (thabs = *upāya*) and wisdom (sesrab = *prajñā*), even though one may canstantly meditate on the principles of voidness (tongnyid = *śūnyatā*), he would not attain Enlightenment. Therefore, this text fulfils the perfect accomplishment of a subject. On the contrary, it deals mainly with the mind's purification. Thus it instructs practice lucidly. Besides, in this text the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

system lineages of the two great exponents Ācārya Nāgārjuna and Ācārya Asaṅga are embodied.

Prof. Mrinalakanti Gangopadhyaya's work on this text in collaboration with Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Lama Chimba deserves high appreciation; as it was the first attempt ever undertaken for retranslating it into its original language, Sanskrit for the great benefit of readers. I found the translation defective in many ways which has been enormously improved upon in the presentation of the subject matter and the application of technical terms and metrical composition, which, by and large encouraged me to undertake the restoration of the text on the following epitomised grounds :

Firstly, the Sanskrit equivalents for Tibetan words used by the learned scholar are misleading. A few such uses are given here :

(a) Thsogs *gaṇa-varga-samūha* occurs in 32, 33, 39 and 61 ślokas which should be *saṁbhara*.

(b) sDong-po-bKod-pai-mDo-Drumavyūha sūtra in śloka 11 should be *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.

(c) Lund-dang-rig-pa *śastravidyā* in śloka 57 should be *Āgamayukti*.

(d) hPham-pa-pataka in śloka 64 should be *Parājika*.

(e) iTung-wa-patana in śloka 65 should be *āpatti*.

Secondly the restored text has misconstrued the real meaning of the text in many cases, which is misleading as regards the content of the subject, viz.: Mi-1Dog-pa-yi-sems-dag-gis (8 ślokas) constructed as *Nivṛttiśūnyacetasā*. Here the Tibetan words dag-gis are in instrumental case, thus it should be *Avaivartikacittataḥ*.

Thirdly, short prose title the *Saṁputanāma Mahāyānatantra* (57 śloka) has been misconstrued by the translater. It runs thus-*evam apy uktam* which has been included in the metrical composition, although, it is obvious from the next quotation enjoined in prose-*Āryavikalpapraveśadhāraṇyām apy uktam*.

Fourthly, the metrical composition needs closer attention, metres should accordingly be constructed with available Sanskrit with equivalent Tibetan syllables for more fair and faithful composition. The first verse of the text has been left in prose form, besides, in many cases the metrical construction tends to have gone astray from the general rule of metrical order.

Fifthly, the translation of technical names into Tibetan by the Tibetan Lotsawas, no doubt, has in due course puzzled when retranslated into Sanskrit, viz.: Haribhadra long been retranslated as Singhabhadra, *Prajñādaṇḍa* as

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Prajñādruma and so on. In the same way, *Gāṇḍavyūha sūtra* has wrongly been translated as *Drumavyūhasūtra* by Gangopadhyaya. As the Sanskrit *Gaṇḍavyūha* is available which Gangopadhyaya was expected to through it and should have thought a bit before writing the name of a text which has no existence.

Sixthly, the text would have been more authentic and nearer to the original if available Sanskrit texts like *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, *Bhāvanākrama*, and *Śikṣāsamuccaya* had been consulted, as the author of the *Bodhipathapradīpa* has explicitly shown in two instances while citing the *sūtra* (see śloka 15 and 26). Three ślokas together are quoted from *Vīradattaparipṛcchā Sūtra* in *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[1] and *Bhāvanākrama*[2] regarding the virtues of *Bodhicitta*. Again six ślokas together are quoted from *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-guṇavyūhālaṅkāra*[3] *Sūtra* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

Seventhly, the citations of ślokas 57 and 58 are not identified. The former citation occurs in *Saṁputanāmamahāyāna Tantra*[4] and the latter in *Āryavikalpapraveśadharanyām*[5] as mentioned, although, their Sanskrit origins are not found.

Eightly, the colophon verse (69) has the word *sthavira* (Tibetan gNas-brTan) not *Ācārya* (Tibetan Slob-dPon). The translated text carries the meaning and not the word.

Regarding the second restored text

Regarding translation and restoration from Sanskrit into Tibetan and vice versa respectively, systematic rules and traditions have been followed faithfully by the ancient Tibetan Lotsawas (translators) which are embodied in Sanskrit Tibetan Dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* bYe-bRag-tu-rTogs-par-bYed-pa[6] and the sGra-hByor-bam-po-gNis-pas[7].

The translators were implicitly forbidden to change the order of words in verses and to coin new terms, unless this was absolutely inevitable. When this was unavoidable the matter was referred to a special council called 'bCom-lDan-hDas-kyi-ring-lugs-kyi-hDun-sa' (The council for the doctrine of the blessed one). The council was attached to the royal palace. The translators were

1. Page No. 5, Mithila Edition.
2. Page No. 5, Edited by Tucchi.
3. Page No. 5, Mithila Edition.
4. Kagyur GA, page 158, line 3.
5. mDo-sDe Pa, page 6, line 5.
6. Tangyur sNa-thsogs No. 4346.
7. Tangyur sNa-thsogs No. 4347.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

further advised to follow the Tibetan translation of the *Ratnamegha sūtra* dKon-mChog-sPring translated by *Ratnarakṣita* and Rinchen mThso and Chos nyid Tsulthim and the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*. The translation of tantric texts could be undertaken only with king's permission. Thus, restoration was possible if one kept in full accord with the language of the original text in all respects, taking every care for the technical terms and a strict adherence to rules.

Various metres on the pattern of available Sanskrit metrical rules have been employed. Generally seven-syllabled Tibetan verses are translated into Anuṣṭubh and sometimes in Āryā as :

Anuṣṭubh :

anirodham anupadam anucchedam aśāśvatam /
anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anirgamam //
Madhyamaka Kā. 1. 1.

Āryā :

sarveṣāṁ bhāvānām sarvatra na vidyate svabhāvaś cet /
tadvacanāṁśabhavam an nirvatyitum svabhalam (?) //
Vigraha. Vva. 1. 1.

Nine syllabled Tibetan verses into Sanskrit metre Indravajrā.

dṛṣṭvā muniḥ sattvaguṇaṁ tathaiva
kleśevamedhyapratimeṣu magnam /
tatkleśapaṅkavyavadānahetor
dharmāmbuvarṣaṁ vyasṛjat prajāsu //
Ratnagotra tan. 1. 10.

Eleven Tibetan syllables into Vasantatilakā :

sūrye yathā tapati padmavanaprabuddhir-
ekatra kālasamaye kumudaprasuptiḥ /
buddhiprasuptiguṇadoṣavidhāv akalpaḥ
sūryo'mbujeṣv atha ca tadvad ihāryasūryaḥ //
Ratnagotra. tan. 4, 58.

The syllables more than these are constructed in Vaṁśastha etc. In this way, among sixtynine ślokas in total, the first and fourteenth verses are constructed by me in Vasantatilakā, nineteenth and twentythird ślokas into Indravajrā and the rest in Anuṣṭubh metres.

As mentioned, the exact śloka figures are 69 in this text. Besides, variations occur from 11th śloka onwards till the inset of 33rd śloka; although numbering of śloka comes precisely, the meaning is not complete in all the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ślokas. This may be the main cause for variation of final śloka numbers. In addition many translations[8] misconstrued the short prose heading while citing the *Saṁputanam Mahāyānatantra* by the author. It runs *evam apy uktam*. This also has been included in the metrical composition; although it is obvious from the next quotation which is in prose *Āryavikalpapraveśadharaṇyām apy uktam*.

The choice of Tibetan words for Sanskrit equivalents does not seem irksome as the Tibetan has cent percent its equivalent e. g, rTog-pa-Lalpa, rNam-rTog *vikalpa*, Kun-rTog *parikalpa* and so forth. Besides, in the sGra-hbyor-bam-po-gNyis-pa special rules have been framed to keep Sanskrit words in Tibetan intact. When translated into Tibetan it carried pretentious meanings viz. Kaushika means holding kush grass, scholar, who likes padma flower etc., in the same way *Padma, Kumuda, Śiṁśapa, Utpala, Balbaja* and so forth.

My translation claims neither inscrutable scholarship nor an unexcelled comprehension. I have rendered here a modest service to convey the real intention of Ācārya Atiśa, as it is foued in the Tibetan collections with a pure motivation. I have tried to be as much faithful as I possibly could, and have pleasure in presenting it into the hands of the readers. The critics who take cognisance of it may kindly give their true opinion and offer constructive criticism to bring it as close as possible to the principal treatise.

8. (a) English translation of the text by Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Lamr Chimba *Atish Millennium Volume*;
(b) Alex Wayman in Calming the Mind.
(c) Losang Norbu Tsonawa Dreloma IX.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

A JAINA VIEW OF KĪCAKA-EPISODE IN THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA*

By

NEELIMA NARAYAN MONE

1.1 The two great epics of India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* provided quite a number of themes to later writers, especially for drama and *kāvyas*. This is seen even in Jaina literature whose number of works have presented the Jaina versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* the entire story of the epic heroes or even secondary stories of the epics. A comparative study of the stories of the epics and their Jaina versions would prove of immense value in understanding the inter-actions between the Brahmanical and Jaina religions.[1] I take up here, for example, the simple story of Kīcaka in the *Mahābhārata* (*MBh*) and a little complex tale of Kīcaka in Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* (*HVP*).

1.2 The *HVP* is the earliest among the Jaina versions of the *MBh*. It was written by Jinasena in the year 705 of the Śaka era (i. e. 783 A. D.).[2] It runs in 66 sargas 'cantos'. In this Purāṇa, the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are told entirely in a Jaina setting. As in other Jaina tales, there are inserted, at many places in the Purāṇa, sermons on the Jaina doctrine. These legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma form a secondary part of the *HVP*. The episode of Kīcaka comes in the story of the Pāṇḍavas, which is the part of the Kṛṣṇa legend. Of course, the episode comes here with a specific purpose.

Let us take into consideration one by one the Kīcaka-episode narrated in the *MBh* and the *HVP*.

2. Kīcaka episode in the *MBH*.

---

1. Much work is done as regards the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its Jaina versions. But unfortunately, less attention is paid to the *Mahābhārata*; therefore I attempt here, on a smaller scale, such a study. I learn that some years back, Dr. K. P. Jog had discussed the legend of Paraśurāma in Brahmanical and Jaina traditions, in the seminar on Prakrit held at Ahmedabad. The published paper is not to hand yet.

2. Jinasena himself tells in *HVP* 66. 52, 53 : शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु ··· पञ्चोत्तरेषु···रचितो वंशो हरीणामयम् ।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. 1 In the *MBh*, the episode of Kīcaka occurs in the *Virāṭaparvan* (the 4th *parvan*) and is described in 11 Adhyāyas viz. 13–29 Adhyāyas (this part of the *MBh* is called *Kīcaka-vadha-parvan*). It comes there as an episode that happened when the Pāṇḍavas lived at Virāṭa's palace in disguise. Draupadī worked there as a Sairandhrī 'maid-servant' under queen Sudeṣṇā who was the coronated queen of king Virāṭa. Kīcaka, who was the chief of his army, was queen's brother. Once he happened to see Sairandhrī and felt great attraction for her. He was strongly infatuated and persistently expressed his wish unto her. He begged of her many times for the fulfilment of his desire, tried to lure her by promising her wealth and also to make her queen. Sairandhrī did not respond to him favourably and tried to dissuade him, telling him that her five Gandharva-husbands would kill him if he ran after her like that. She told all this to her mistress Sudeṣṇā, who had promised her protection. However, instead of helping her, Sudeṣṇā threw Draupadī in distress, for the fulfilment of the wishes of her brother. Thus breaking her promise, once she asked Sairandhrī to take to him, drinks and when she had but to go to him, he tried to seduce her. Draupadī ran to the court of the king, Kīcaka followed her there also and pulling her by her hair, he kicked her. Neither the king stopped him from doing this, nor did her husbands, who were present there (in disguise) do anything. This filled Draupadī with great anguish. Secretly she met Bhīmsena and instigated him to kill Kīcaka. Due to Draupadī's anger and sorrow, Bhīma decided to kill him secretly for having kept a bad eye on her and for having insulted her. Both of them decided on a plan of inviting Kīcaka in the dance-theatre which was built a bit far from the palace. Bhīma went there instead of Draupadī, lay there in wait for Kīcaka who came there only happily and had to meet death instead of Draupadī. His brothers, the 105 Upakīcakas desired to burn Draupadī with him and wished to fulfil his desires after his death. But they also received blows from Bhīmsena and met their death.

2. 2 In this episode, the main trait is that a person, who entertains a desire for another's wife, has the lot to suffer, the limit can be even death. Kīcaka tried to take undue advantage of his power, privilege and yet he could not attain his goal. He had to suffer for his lust. The narrator has emphasised this idea so many times. Once (at 4. 13. 14) he tells that Draupadī warned Kīcaka that she was another's wife and his behaviour towards her was not good.[3] Also of 4. 13. 15, where she said that Kīcaka should never entertain any thought for another's wife.[4] So also, after Locala was killed, Draupadi said, कीचकोऽयं हतः शेते ..... परस्त्रीकामसम्मतः। 4. 21. 64, (Here lies the killed Kīcaka, who was

3. *MBh* 4. 13. 14 : परदारास्मि भद्रं ते न युक्तं त्वयि साम्प्रतम्।

4. *MBh* 4. 13. 15 : परदारे न ते बुद्धिर्जातु कार्या कथञ्चन।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

much arrogant through lust for another's wife) Bhīma also said the same thing.[5]

2. 3 As stated earlier, this episode happened when the Pāṇḍavas lived secretly at the court of Virāṭa. They had to fulfil their contract that they should pass one year, living unknown, i. e. in a way that nobody could recognise them. Therefore, the device of Gandharvas is used by the narrator and it is told that Kīcaka was killed at a distant place. Also this episode proves a turning point in the story of the Pāṇḍavas. It indicates the end of the time for the exile of the Pāṇḍavas. This event becomes known to everybody very soon and reaches the Kauravas also. It inspires them to seek out the Pāṇḍavas before the end of the fixed period of time. Thus, this event is a dramatic element in the plot of the *MBh*. The composer is a *ṛṣi*, who does not seem to want to preach any doctrine as such, but wished only to describe what had happened. He stresses only one trait, viz. the mis-use of privilege and power and bad conduct lead to total distruction. This trait is seen emphasised many times, with the purpose of bringing to the mind of the listeners the might and power of the heroes, (i. e. the Pāṇḍavas), of the story and to accelerate the story, making it more and more dramatic. For this purpose he adds many details. For giving the listeners the idea of the burning anger of Draupadī, he gives in 2/3 Adhyāyas her furious speech, which instigates Bhīma to kill Kīcaka. To depict her helplessness at the court of Kīcaka and to add more colour to it, he describes how Yudhiṣṭhira controlled Bhīma who was about to rise quickly just when Kīcaka kicked Draupadī. For the depiction of emotions and the creation of suitable atmosphere (as a setting to the tale), the author of the *MBh* describes the whole episode in 11 Adhyāyas. Through the episode of Kīcaka, the poet of great epic has heightened the dramatic element of the plot. He describes Kīcaka's might and suggests that there were no other people than the Pāṇḍavas who were able to destroy him. Though this deed was done by Bhīma in disguise, it helped to reveal to the Kauravas the identity of the Pāṇḍavas. Thus through the narration of the episode in great details, the author of the *MBh* aims at achieving successfully dramatic progress of the plot.

3. Kīcaka – episode in *HVP*.

3. 1 In the 46th canto of the *HVP*, we find the episode of Pāṇḍavas' exile narrated and the Kīcaka-event described. The canto is named as *Kīcaka-nirvāṇa-gamana*. The name of the canto reveals the change in one of the traits of the story. It suggests that the author aims to emphasise on the point that Kīcaka attained emancipation as he turned to Jaina faith. This we do not at all get in the *MBh* story. Thus, in the *HVP*, it is told, as in *MBh*, that the

5. Cf. *MBh* 4. 22. 27a : एवं ते भीरु वध्यन्ते ये त्वा क्लिश्यन्त्यनागसम् ।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Pāṇḍavas were defeated in the game of dice. They came to Virāṭa and with his permission, lived at his court. Draupadī stayed there as a Śailandhrī (or Śairandhrī) a 'maid servant'. Virāṭa had a queen called Sudeṣṇā. Her brother was Kīcaka. He was one of the 100 sons of king Cūlika and queen Vikacā of Cūlikānagarī. He was most cruel and arrogant. Once he came to see his sister Sudeṣṇā in Virāṭa's capital, there he saw Draupadī and owing to the rising of passion for her, he could not control his mind. He tried to allure her, but she did not entertain his wish and complained against him to Bhīmasena. Bhīmasena getting angry with him, met him in disguise of her and on meeting him, gave him many blows. These blows were to fulfil his desire for the wife of another; but as he was compassionate, he left Kīcaka alive.[6] Kīcaka, having seen the result of passions, felt dejected and renounced with the great Muni Rativardhana. By Anupreksās,[7] he thought about self and contemplated upon three Gems,[8] (Cf. *HVP* 46. 38).[9] Kīcaka's 100 brothers[10] got restless as they did not see Kīcaka, they got angry with Sairandhrī and wished to throw her into a burning pyre. Bhīma got angry and threw them into it, one after another.

Here the Jaina narrative of Kīcaka takes a new turn. The narrator tells: Kīcaka was once engrossed in meditation (*yogastha*) when he was seen by a Yakṣa. The Yakṣa took the form of Draupadī and tried to attract his mind. Yet he failed to do so, as Kīcaka remained firm and unaffected; he attained the knowledge of the Avadhis.[11] When Kīcaka finished his meditation, the Yakṣa

6. *HVP* 46. 36 : तथा तस्य तदा श्रद्धां प्रपूर्य परयोषिति ।
अमु(मुं ?)चद् व्रज पापेति दयमानो महामनाः ॥

7. Anupreksā (Reflection) is meditating on 12 things, it is preached in the religion. It is one of the five types of study.

In *Tattvārthasūtra* 9. 25 it is told: वाचनापृच्छनानुप्रेक्षाम्नायधर्मोपदेशाः । These *anupreksās* are: अनित्याशरणसंसारैकत्वान्यत्वाशुच्यास्रवसंवरनिर्जरालोकबोधिदुर्लभधर्मस्वाख्यातत्त्वानुचिन्तनम् अनुप्रेक्षाः । Reflection is meditating on transitoriness, helplessness, transmigration, loneliness, distinctness, impurity, influx, stoppage, dissociation, the Universe, rarity of enlightenment and the truth proclaimed by religion. Cf. *Tattvārthasūtra* 9. 7.

8. Three means leading to libration are known as *Triratna*-s three Gems. They are Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct. Cf. *Tattvārthasūtra* 1. 1 : सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणि मोक्षमार्गः ।
'Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct (together) constitute the path to liberation.'

9. Read : अनुप्रेक्षाभिरात्मानं भावयन्भावशुद्धितः ।

10. Should rhis be 99? In *HVP* 46. 26, we get ··· शतपुत्रपवित्रिता (कीचकः प्रथमस्तेषाम् ।) and in 46 39 it is : शतसंख्यास्ते भ्रातरः । Possibly *śata* is a descriptive number.

11. According to Jain Canons, knowledge is of 5 kinds; sensory knowledge, scriptural knowledge, *avadhi*-knowledge clairvoyance), telepathy and omniscience.
मतिश्रुतावमधिमनःपर्ययकेवलानि ज्ञानम् । *Tattvārthasūtra* 1. 9.
Avadhi is to ascertain matter in downward range or to know objects within limits. Therefore, it is also a supernatural power to know earlier births.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

asked him the reason for his (earlier) fascination for Draupadī, because such delusion could not be possible without any reason.[12] Then Kīcaka narrated an account of some former births of himself and that of Draupadī wherein he was related to her as her son. In one of his former births, Kīcaka was an arrogant Mleccha, but he became pecified at the sight of a noble man (*sādhudarśanataḥ śāntaḥ* 46. 50) and attained a noble state in the next birth. His name was Kumāradeva. In that birth, he was born of Sukumārikā i. e. Draupadī in one of her earlier births. In that birth, she killed an ascetic giving him poison and, as a consequence, had to go to hell where she was subjected to quite a lot of sufferings. Since, Kumāradeva also abondoned good vows (*vratas*), he had to suffer many severe pains. He was later born as a dog of dog-mother, who also was his mother, i. e. Sukumārikā, in her earlier life. After that birth, he became a son of an ascetic mother. He witnessed the act of donation of Sage Vinaya (*dānamāhātmya-darśanāt*) and attained heaven. After all his earlier merits had ended, he was born as Kīcaka. Sukumārikā also had to undergo much suffering after her birth as a dog-mother and was born as a woman for more sufferings.[13] Her name was Anumatikā. Lastly, due to Nidānatapas[14] (*sanidāna-tapoyuta*), she was born as Draupadī; therefore, on account of the affection between them in earlier lives[15], Kīcaka felt infatualted for her. Finally, he understood the futility of passions and aspired for final liberation.

3. 2 (Like the *MBh* episode) the episode in Jaina tradition also points out that passions lead ultimately to sufferings. Again, passions are a consequence of many mal-practices and evil actions in earlier birth(s) of an individual, they cause him to undergo a lot of suffering and lead him to a bad condition or state affer death. In this way, this story reveals the main tendency of the Jaina authors to show the irresistible and all-pervading power of *karman* towards determining for each creature the vicissitudes of existence, within the immense and boundless cycle of never-resting Saṁsāra. Also at the end of this particular canto of *HVP*, there occur some verses: in which it is stated that no one can clearly understand the nature of the permutaions and combinations in the rotations of the conditions of beings of Saṁsāra; there is always a diversity in them e. g. one's mother becomes one's sister, daughter becomes a beloved and wife a mother, a sister or a daughtet. Therefore a person should renounce the

12. Cf. *HVP* 46. 47b : कारणेन विना न स्यात्तादृग्मोहसमुद्भवः ।

13. *HVP* 46. 56 : मानुषी दुर्भगीभूता भूताभूतसुखावहा ।

14. *Nīdāna* is one of the three Salyas that cause bodily and mental pain. These are *māyā* 'deceit', *nidāna* desire for worldly pleasure and splendour' and *mithyādarśana* 'wrong faith'. *Nidānatapas* is wish expressed at the end of life to enjoy fruit of the penance done in the life.

15. Cf. verses 58–61 in this particular canto of *HVP*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

world, get away from the binding causes of Saṁsāra and should strongly endeavour for emancipation (Cf. verses 56 to 61).[16]

3.3 These motifts reveal the emphasis of the Jaina author on obeying the moral and ethical norms, generally accepted and preached in the Jaina doctrine. Further, the colophon of each canto of this work indicates that the *HVP* aims at the description of the life and deeds of Bhagawān Neminātha. (The colophon reads : *iti ariṣṭanemipurāṇasaṁgrahe harivaṁśe* ...). In the course of the narration, the author describes the life of prominent personalities like Kṛṣṇa, Rāma etc., and in the narration of the Kṛṣṇa-story, is told the story of the Pāṇḍavas. Therefore, it is quite natural that the author stresses those points which are the preachings of Jaina doctrine. Therefore, he does not give a detailed description of the episode when Kīcaka tried to attract Draupadī or when Bhīma killed Kīcaka. In details, he gives, instead, of the account of previous births of of Kīcaka and Draupadī and more details of Kīcaka's penance. These details are necessary from the preacher's point of view. They vividly picture the progress of Kīcaka as an ascetic on the way to emancipation and clearly speaks the futility of passions. Only for achieving this end, the author has introduced a characteristic element in the story, viz. that of the Yakṣa who tries to distract KIcaka from his path. Through this element he stresses on the firmness of the mind of KIcaka, the aspirant for Nirvāṇa. By means of such stories, the author wants to teach religious ethics and therefore, we find references made to many canonical concepts like three Gems, Avadhis etc.[17] The account of the births reveals that how a JIva has to suffer continuously for breaking religious vows and for going against the social norms. Thus preaching on religion and its ethics and popularising the doctrine is the only purpose of the author, as revealed through this story. Under the guise of tale-telling, there appears moral and life-regulating precepts – this so happens in every such Jaina narrative.

4. Thus we observe that the complex of the story in *MBh* is much simple, and in the Jaina narration it became quite complicated. It involved in it, not only a style, motif viz. that of passion and its effects, but there are added the doctrine of Karman, the idea of the cycle of re-births, the idea of continued relationships between two JIvas and the various shapes it takes. Also it brings in some popular elements of the intervention of the Yakṣa or such a being in human life and this gives a good excuse for the story-teller to hang on it his principles of religious ethics. This obviously indicates a later stage in the

16. माता स्वसा च तनुजा प्रियकामिनीत्वं मातृस्वसृत्वदुहितृत्वमुपैति पत्नी ।
संसारचक्रपरिवर्तिनि जीवलोके ही संकरव्यतिकरौ नियतौ भवेताम् ॥ 46. 58.

17. For details of notes explaining these technical terms,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

development of the preachings of religious practices. This distinguishes the Jaina narratives from earlier and simple narratives.

5. It may be observed at the end, that stories form an inseparable part of human life and they have proved for him a means of entertainment and preaching. India has been a story-loving country and all kinds of her story literature i. e. narratives, fables, fairy-tales etc., have inspired the world. Being a mirror of the society of their time, they hold an important place in the study of culture and history. Stories in Brāhmaṇical literature, Buddhist literature, and Jaina literature, are woven around one and the same episode, yet characteristically differ from one another. True, these stories have certain common traits or motifs; but these are arranged according to the principles or philosophies of the story-teller's religion. The Jaina authors (and also the Buddhists) appear to have utilised the skeletons of the popular stories, known to masses for a long time through Brāhmaṇical literature; but they added to them many a new details and set them in a religious and moral frame, suitable to the ethics of their own religion. They have used the common traits of the stories to some specific purposes. As these stories were popular, they could make an easy appeal to the common folk and persuade them to their faith only easily. The changes or additions in the narrations were made for convincing the listeners the usefulness and practicality of their own religion. It may be observed that the followers of the Jaina faith were, in this field, more active than others. They did every effort to use every favourite popular theme from Brāhmaṇical and general Indian literature in the preaching. It is therefore very interesting to study how they used the great ocean of ancient narratives for justifying the principal theory of their religion, viz. the theory of Karman, and the principles of morality. The example of the episode of of Kīcaka in the Jaina *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasena should prove an indicator of this.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

REFUTATION OF ADVAITA VEDĀNTA IN MAJOR JAIN WORKS

By

YAJNESHWAR S. SHASTRI

History of Indian philosophy tells us that all the systems of Indian philosophy developed in the atmosphere of freedom of thought. There was a tradition in Indian Philosophical platform to present opponent's view first known as the Pūrvapakṣa (prior view) and then establishment of one's own view by refuting opponent's stand point known as the Uttarapakṣa or Siddhānta (conclusion). This kind of method ispired the Indian thinkers to study thoroughly views of all others prior to the establishment of their own system of philosophy and gave thoroughness, perfection and catholic spirit to their system. Jaina philosophers also following the same broadminded tradition presented views of all the systems of Indian thought with considerable care and established their own principles refuting opponents' view with logical rigour. But it is very interesting to note that just as great thinkers of other schools of thought such as Bhartṛhari,[1] Kumārilabhaṭṭa,[2] Prabhākara,[3] Jayantabhaṭṭa[4] and Udayana,[5] who treated only Advaita as real Vedānta system, similarly eminent philosophical personalities of Jainism presented and refuted only Advaita system of Vedānta in their writings. Even later writers who flourished after Rāmānuja and Madhva mention neither Viśiṣṭādvaita nor Dvaita system of Vedānta.

1. *yatra draṣṭā ca dṛśyaṁ ca darśanaṁ ca vikalpanam /*
tasyaivārthasya satyatvam āhus trayyantavedinaḥ //

—*Vākyapadīya* III 200 ed. Wilhelm Rau.

2. *dvaitapakṣāt parānudya buddhyaśuddhisamāśrayāt /*
paramātmanam evaikaṁ tattvaṁ tattvavido vidhuḥ //

—*Bṛhaṭṭīkā*, quoted in *Vedāntadarśanam* (R. P.) Pt. S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Pub. Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit Viśvavidyālaya, 1967.

3. *yas tu brahmavādinām eṣa niścayo yad upalabhyate na tat tāthyaṁ*
yan nopalabhyate tat tathyam iti namas tebhyo ... //

—*Bṛhaṭṭīkā*, Part I, p. 239. Pub. : University of Madras, 1934.

4. *atra tāvad vedāntina āhuḥ..... nityasukham ātmano mahatvavad astīty āgamaprāmāṇyād abhyapagamyatām, tac ca saṁsāradaśāyāṁ avidyāvaraṇavaśena nānubhūyate — Nyāyamañjarī* II, *Apavargaparīkṣā*, 431–2. Pub. : Oriental Institute, Mysore, 1983.

5. *śuddhabuddhasvabhāva ity aupaniṣadaḥ — Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, pp. 4–5. Pub. : Chowkhaba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1912.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Criticism of Upaniṣadic Ātmādvaita or Brahmādvaita is found in early Jainägamas such as *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*,[6] and *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*.[7] The line of presentation and refutation of Advaita is more or less similar in all the major works of Jainism. Certain common features are found in both Jainism and Advaita Vedānta such as liberation as the highest goal of life, ignorance of reality as the cause of our bondage, Law of Karman, Jīvanmukti etc., still in certain other matters both the systems are diametrically opposed to each other. Absolutism of Advaita Vedānta claims that reality is one without a second, this world is mere appearance and ultimately there is no difference between supreme reality and individual soul.[8] Jainism is a system of realism, dualism and pluralism. It is a realism because it recognises the reality of the external world; it is a kind of dualism, because it advocated two fundamental realities, the Jīva (soul) and the Ajīva[9] (matter) which are obviously contradictorily relatted to each other; and a pluralism on account of belief in plurality of substances.[10] Advaita Vedānta believes in absolute non-dualism while Jainism advocates non-absolutism or manysided theory of reality (*Anekāntavāda*).

It rejects both the extreme view of absolute eternality as well as absolute non-existence. It is a system of unity in difference, of one-in-many and of identity-in-change.[11] According to Jainism Advaita Vedānta is a one-sided theory which rejects particularities and emphasises only oneness of reality. It gives only partial knowledge of reality and falls under the Saṁgrahanaya.[12]

---

6. *evamegeti jappanti mnnya ārnmbhanissiā /*
ege kicca sayam pāvaṁ tivvaṁ dukkhaṁ niyacchai //
—*Sūtrakṛtāṅga* I–10, and see 8, 9111, pp. 31–35, Ed. Ambikadatta Oza. Pub. : Jaina Jñānodaya Society, Rajkot, V. S. 1993.

7. *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* II, Gāthā 2036–2045 Pub. : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 9, 1968.

8. a) *brahma satyaṁ jagan mithyā jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ /*
—*Brahmajñānāvalimālā* verse 20, works of Śrī Śaṁkarācārya, Vol. 16, p. 224, Vanivilas Press, Shrirangam.

b) Bhāmati maṅgala verse 1 —*Brahmasūtra-Śāṁkarabhāṣya with Ratnaprabhā, Bhāmatī and Ānandagiri Vyākhyā*, ed. Mahadev Shastri Bakre. Pub. : Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1909.

9. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra with Siddhasenagaṇiṭīkā* I, 1–4 Ed. H. R. Kapadia, Pub. : J. S. Javeri, Bombay, 1226.

10. a) *TS* I, V. 2.

b) *Pramāṇanayatattvālakālaṁkāra* VII, 56, p. 560, ed. H. S. Bhattacharya. Pub. : Jaina Sahitya Vikas Mandal, Bombay, 1967.

11. *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya with Guṇaratnasūriṭīkā*, p. 344, Ed. Mahendrakumar Jain. Pub. : Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, 1969.

12. a) *Akalaṅka Siddhiviniścaya with ṭīkā*, Pt. II, pp. 677–78, Ed. Mahendrakumar Jain. Pub. : Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, 1959.

b) *PNT*, VII–13, 15, 16, pp. 518–520.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Giants of Jain logic such as Samantabhadra,[13] Akalaṅka,[14] Vidyānandi,[15] Prabhācandra,[16] Hemacandra,[17] Vādidevasūri,[18] Malliṣeṇa,[19] and others have severely criticised the Advaitic theory of non-dual-brahman, doctrine of Māyā and oneness of individual souls (Ekajīvavāda). Criticism of Advaitic conceptions is scattered in different Jaina works. An humble attempt has been made here to size them into unity in a very condensed form.

Jaina thinkers argue that Advaitic doctrine of non-duality of Brahman and theory of Māyā (i. e. illusory nature of the world) cannot be proved by any accredited means of knowledge. If it is provable by any means of knowledge then there is duality of *pramāṇa* and *prameya*.[20] First of all, existence of non-dual Brahmana is cantradicted by our perceptual experience. Perception reveals only the world of plurality. Daily experiences of duality or plurality of phenomena cannot be repudiated as false appearance or illusory, because this difference is clearly seen and felt. There is no proof against this duality or plurality which is cognised in our normal experience. Where is a contradiction in saying that potter fashions a pot with his sticks and eats his food with his own hand. The difference (such as potter and his actions) between agent and action is even known by the ordinary people.[21] If Advaitic view of non-dual Brahman is accepted, then, the difference observed between the agent and the action connot be possible.[22] The standpoint of the Advaitin's that one absolute transforms into many such as agent and action, etc., also indicates duality. This is because one

13. *Āptamīmāṁsā*, pp. 24–27. Ed. Pt. Gajadharalal Jain. Pub.: Bhāratīya Jaina Siddhānta Prakāśinī Saṁsthā, Benares, 1914.

14. *SV* II, pp. 463–468, 494, 677–678.

15. a) *Aṣṭasāhasrī*, 157–163, Ed. Vansidher, Pub. : Nirṇayasāgara Prsss, Bombay, 1915.

b) *Tattvārtha Ślokavārttika*, pp. 25–26, Ed. Manoharlal Shastri. Pub. : Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1918.

c) *Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā*, pp. 1–9. Pub. : Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśi, 1964.

16. *Nyāyakumudacandra*, Part I, pp. 63–64, 147–155, Part II, pp. 808, 812, 830–838. Ed. Mahendrakumar Shastri. Pub. : Manikchandra Jaina Granthamala, Bombay, 1938, and 1941.

17. *Anyayogavyavacchedikā with Syādvādamañjarī* 13. Ed. Jagdiscandra Jain. Pub.: Ravajibhai Chaganbhai Desai, Srimadrajachandrashrama, Agas, 1970.

18. *PNT*, I 15, VII. 13–17 and 56.

19. *Syādvādamañjarī*, pp. 77–83, Ed. A. B. Dhruva. Pub.: Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, 1933.

20. *SSP*, p. 7.

21. *AS*, p. 158.

22. a) *Tattvārtharājavārtlika*, p. 21. Pub. : Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī, 1953.

b) *AM*, p. 24.

c) *AS*, p. 158.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

absolute never transforms itself into many without the assistance of others, which means acceptance of duality between the assistant and assisted.[23] The well-known example of shell and silver given by the Advaita Vedāntins to prove the ultimate falsity of the phenomenal world and oneness of Brahman, itself proves the existence of the shell and the silver as two different entities. In the same way, the statement of Advaitins that Brahman is one without a sscond and the world is just appearance[24] proves the duality of Brahman and the phenomenal world which is different from Brahman.[25] It is also not tenable to argue that one unitory self-identical Brahman appears as the plurality of phenomena just as in dream a plurality of facts is experienced though it is one consciousness that only exists and is felt and thus existence of one absolute Brahman is not contradicted by perceptual experience. This is because even in dream as in wakeful experience, the consciousness of action is different from that of the agent because dream contents are produced by different memory impressions.[26]

The view-point that the indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) cognition which cognises existence of Brahman cannot be accepted as source of our experience, because we never percieve what is not determined by space, time and what is not other than the knowing self. On opening our eyes we perceive specific existence determined by space, time and otherness and the like.[27] Granting that indeterminate cognition is a kind of valid source of knowledge, it must be accepted that it will not only take note of what Brahman is, but, will also take note of what Brahman is not and thus, it leads to dualism of Brahman and non-Brahman.[28] Even the argument that perception has no power to deny the reality, it only affirms, is baseless because affirmation always implies negation, a thing cannot be affirmed to be yellow without denying that it is black. Thus, affirmation and negation which are presented together are the positive and negative aspects of a single reality. Our perceptual experience instead of proving one Brahman, proves difference to be as integral to reality as identity.[29] If perception only affirms reality, i. e. Brahman, then why not state that it affirms this plurality

23. *SSP*, pp. 6–7.

24. *anirvācyāvidyādvitayasacivasya prabhavato*
vivartā yasyaite viyadanilatejobavanayaḥ /
yataś cābhūd viśvaṁ caram acaram uccāvacam idaṁ
namāmas tad brahmāparimitasukhajñānam amṛtam //

—*Bhāmatī Maṅgala*, verse 1, quoted in *SSP*, p. 2.

25. *SSP*, p. 2.

26. *AS*, p. 158.

27. *SSP*, p. 4.

28. *SM*, p. 82.

29. *SM*, p. 79.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of phenomenal world also. If it affirms both, then there is a dualism of Brahman and the world. Thus the argument of the Vedāntins that perception only affirms positive reality, is not justified by our experience. If Brahman is only real and this world is false, then Brahman could have been known in the first case of our normal experience and not this pluralistic phenomenal world.[30]

Even the non-duality of Brahman cannot be proved on the basis of pure logic also. When Vedāntins argue that Ātman is un-born, un-bound and always free and thus, in reality, there is neither bondage nor liberation, etc.[31] this is purely fabrication of mind and to prove such kind of Ātman by inference will be completely imaginary. The consequence of this is attainment of an imaginary liberation.[32] Bondage and liberation are facts and both cannot be regarded as illusive. Denial of distinctions between them in defiance of experience is nothing but embarassing the scepticism of universal nihilism.[33]

If non-duality of Brahman is proved with the help of valid inference which involves the proban (*hetu*) and the probandum (*sādhya*), then there is clear admission if duality between the proban and probandum.[34] The fact is that both cannot be identical, because, inference will be invalid unless both are admitted as two distinct facts. Again it will not be possible to construct a syllogism which demands different members. In inference, one proves the probandum by means of proban, proceeding from the 'known to the un-known' which means inevitable dualism of the 'known and the un-known'. It is also illogical to argue that so far as the opponent's refutation is concerned, the conditions of inference, such as the proban, the probandum and the example, are accepted as true by the opponents and hence they are valid, because it will again lead to dualism of one's own acceptance and the acceptance of the opponent.[35] If the conditions of inference (the proban, the probandum and the example) are false and thus cognition of difference be considered as false, then that inference will be declared to be in-valid, because no valid conclusion can be drawn from false premises. If Advaitins prove their theory of non-duality on the basis of false premises, then we may obtain real fire from the dream-smoke.[36]

30. *SSP*, p. 8.
31. *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad with Gauḍapādakārikā and Śāṁkarabhāṣya — Vaiyārthaa prakaraṇa*, verse 32, p. 108, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Vira Samvat 1993.
32. *TSV*, pp. 25–26.
33. a) *AS*, pp. 159.
    b) *SSP*, p. 7.
34. a) *AM*, p. 26.
    b) *AS*, pp. 160–161.
35. a) *AM*, p. 24.
    b) *AS*, p. 158.
36. *SSP*, p. 7.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In addition to all these difficulties, the word 'duality' which occures in the word Advaita itself indicates acceptance of duality. 'Advaita' means rejection of Dvaita. Without acceptance of Dvaita, its denial is also not possible. Nothing is contradicted unless it exists and thus, non-duality which contradicts duality, from this very fact accepts the existence of duality.[37] Again, it is not plausible to argue that Brahman is the supporting ground of all and is that principle of existence which runs through all things and unites them is one reality, because, it clearly involves the dualism of a principle that runs through the things (*anvetṛ*) and the things through which it runs (*anvīyamāna*).[38] If the doctrine of Advaita is based on scriptural testimony and not on pure logic, then, dualism or pluralism may also be said to be based on scriptures on the same ground.

Even acceptance of scriptural testimony implies dualism of Āgama (revelation) and Brahman i. e. dualism of *vācya-vācakabhāva*, without which these scriptures declare nothing.[39] Ontologically, scriptures cannot be identical with Brahman because the means of proof (Āgama) and the object of proof must be different. Otherwise they can establish nothing. In fact, scriptural statements such as "All that exists is Brahman", "Every thing is that one eality", etc. which Advaitins quote in their support, prove dualism between all existing things of the world and Brahman.[40] Even scriptures cannot be regarded as the essence of the absolute, because, essence and possessor of essence must be numerically different.[41] Another important thing is that, as far as these Vedāntic texts are concerned, Advaitin's interpretations are not to be accepted as final word. This is because there are other possible interpretations which are in harmony with dualism or pluralism as interpreated in the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*.[42]

If absolute Brahman is self-proved, then there is no harm in accepting duality or plurality or voidity as self-proved truth. Self-intuition cannot be considered as proof for the existence of non-dual Brahman, because, there is again an inevitable dualism between the proof (i. e. self-intuition) and the object of proof (i. e. Brahman). If self-intuition is identified with the absolute, then it cannot be considered as a proof for the existence of Brahman.[43] It is self-contradictory to say that self-evident pure consciousness is the contradicton of our

37. a) *AM*, p. 27.
    b) *AS*, p. 162.
38. *SM*, p. 83.
39. *vācyavācakabhāvalakṣaṇasya dvaitasyaiva tatrāpi darśanāt* — *SM*, p. 83.
40. a) *SM*, p. 83.
    b) *SSP*, p. 5.
41. *SSP*, p. 6.
42. *VSB* II; Gāthā 2036–2045.
43. *AS*, p. 161.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

normal cognition of plurality, because, it means, again admission of duality of tha contradicted and the contradictor.[44]

Even on the religious ground, the doctrine of non-dual Brahman cannot be accepted, because it means denial of distinctions between good and bad deeds, pain and pleasure, this world and the world hereafter, knowledge and ignorance, bondage and liberation. Thus, if this doctrine is accepted then the consequence is destruction of the moral fabric of human life.[45]

If it is said that, Brahman is the only reality and on account of Māyā or Avidyā this apparent world exists, then again it is impossible to prove, either the existence of Māyā or Mithyātva (illusory nature) of the world by any means of valid knowledge.[46] The fundamental objection against Advaitins is, whether the doctrine of Māyā (cosmic illusion) adopted to explain this multiplicity of the phenomenal world is real or unreal. If it is real, then it destroys the non-dual nature of Brahman and leads to an inevitable dualism. If it is unreal, then, this world which is caused by Māyā will not be possible. To say that Māyā is unreal and still it creates this world is as absurd as to say that a woman is barren and that she is a mother.[47] And the Vedāntins themselves accept the theory that the real thing (the world) cannot be produced from unreal thing.[48] Again, the very statement that Māyā is indescribable i. e. neither existent nor non-existent on account of being existent in the state of mundane life and no more at the state of realisation, indicates that it is describable in terms of either existent on the phenomenal level or non-existent in the state of liberation.[49] To say that Māyā, is indescribable is self-contradiotory like saying that I am silent throughout the life and my father is a bachelor.[50]

If we grant that Māyā exists, then where does it exist? Neither Brahman nor Jīva can be the locus of Māyā. It cannot exist in the supreme Brahman which is pure consciousness by nature. If it exists in Brahman then Brahman cannot be called pure consciousness on account of being associated with Māyā. Even individual self is pure consciousness by nature and in essence, not different from

---

44. *AS*, p. 158.
45. a) *AM*, p. 25.
    b) *AS*, p. 159.
46. *AS*, pp. 161–163.
47. *Anyayogavyavacchedikā with Syādvādamañjarī*, verse 13.
48. *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad with Gauḍapādakārikā and Śāṁkarabhāṣya Advaita Prakaraṇa*, verse 28, pp. 164–165.
49. a) *NK*, Parb I, p. 63.
    b) *SSP*, p. 8.
50. *SSP*, p. 8.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Brahman and thus free from all taint of Māyā. If Māyā is an independent reality like Brahman and co-eval with it from the beginningless time, then it will be an impossible task to annihilate it by any means of liberation and the consequence of this indestructibility of Māyā is an eternal bondage of the soul.[51] It is argued that Māyā exists (*bhāvarūpa*) but it cannot be eternal like Brahman nor can to be an independent entity. Though it is not capable of being determined by logic, still the denial of its existence would be contradiction of a felt fact and without adopting this doctrine of Māyā it is not possible to solve the problem of relation between the absolute and phenomena, individual self and the Brahman, and real and the unreal.[52] Here, again, one may argue why such kind of illogical and irrational concept should be accepted at all? Instead of postulating this kind of unreal principle as the cause of the world, it is better to accept the view that the world is both different as well as non-different from the Brahman. The relation between the absolute and the world is to be identity-cum-difference. An advantage of accepting this view is that there is no necessity of denying any one of the felt facts – the world and its cause – the absolute.[53]

Again, the unreality of the world cannot be proved. Argument of the Vedāntins is that real is real always, remains constant at all the times and is free from origin and destruction, increase and decrease. But things of the world are subject to constant change, decay and death. Thus they are unreal. This Vedāntic position can be put in the following syllogistic form: 'World is unreal, because it is an apparent reality; that which is apparent is unreal, as for instance, silver on a shell; therefore, this world is unreal because of its apparent nature'.[54] This word "unreality" of the Vedāntins can be understood in three alternative ways: absolute non-existence, mistake or one thing appearing as another and indescribable. The first two meanings are denied by the Vedāntins because, the former view leads to *asatkhyāti*, which is accepted by some Buddhists and the latter to *viparītākhyāti*, which involves two reals: the thing which is mistaken and thing as it is mistaken. The third alternative that it means 'indescribability' is also not plausible because everything has corresponding expression for it in language, for instance, 'this is a table', 'this is a Sarala tree' etc. and what gives birth to an expression in language is either an object or a piece of knowledge.

51. *ASP*, p. 9.

52. Sureśvara *Sambandhavārttika* 175–181, pp. 55–58, Ed. Kasinatha Sastri Agase, Pub.: Anandashram Press, Poona, 1982.

53. *AS*, p. 163.

54. a) *SM*, p. 78.

b) *Ratnākarāvatārikā*, p. 34, Ed. Hurgovindas. Pub.: Dharmābhyudaya Press, Benares, Vira Samvat 2437.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Again an object must be either real or unreal; to deny both the alternatives to a thing is meaningless, only one of them can be denied. If indescribability of thing means *niḥsvabhāvatva* (i. e. un-substantial) i. e. it is not what is appears to be then it leads to *viparītākhyāti*. If it is understood in the sense of un-knowability, then the very argument that a thing is un-substantial because it is un-knowable indicates that the thing is not absolutely un-knowable. And again, this apparent world cannot be talked about due to un-knowability and it cannt be made the subject of the syllogism such as the 'world is unreal, because it is an apparent reality', etc. If the world is un-knowable, then it could not be predicated of the world. Thus, un-knowability is inconsistent with the hetu i. e. *pratīyamāṇatva*. If un-knowability means that a thing is not really as it appears to us, then it cannot be said as un-knowable, because, here, a thing is known differently from what it is, which is again principle of *viparītākhyāti*, un-acceptable to Vedāntins. Even direct perception of plurality of thing of the world such as 'table', 'chair', 'Sarala tree' etc. disapproves the doctrine of indescribability of the world.[55]

This doctrine of un-reality of the world of Advaitins can be refuted by providing counter argument such as : 'World is not false, because it is different from a non-existing thing; that which is different from non-existing thing is not false, as for instance the soul; this world is so; hence, it is not false'.[56] This counter argument make it very clear, that, it is irrational to accept the Vedāntins view that the soul which appears to be a reality in our apprehension is only real and other things are unreal which also appear as real in our apprehension. If it is said that inference proves the unreality of the world then, it can be argued that " Is syllogism which is supposed to prove the unreality of the world is part of the world or is it separate from it? If it is separate, then is it true or untrue? It cannot be true, otherwise the whole world will became true. It cannot be untrue, because, it proves nothing. If it is part of the world then, it is unreal like the rest of the world and cannot accomplish its task of priving unreality of the world.[57] If it is said that an argument has a practical validity and serves well as a working theory, then we have to accept that an argument is real, and will destroy the fundamental position of the Advaitins that nothing besides Brahman is real.[58]

---

55. a) *RK*, pp. 34–35.
    b) *SM*, pp. 68–79.
56. a) *RK*, pp. 33–35.
    b) *SM*, p. 80.
57. *SM*, p. 80.
58. *SM*, p. 80.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Even scriptural texts such as *sarvaṁ khalu idaṁ Brahma* etc. instead of proving unreality of the world prove reality of the world and Brahman i. e. all existing things of the world and Brahman.[59]

Even Advaitic one-soul theory is not tenable because this view is again contradicted by perceptual experience of plurality of individual selves. Like Sāṁkhyas,[60] Jainas argue that, if Ātman is only one then birth and death, bondage and liberation, pain and pleasure etc. should be one for the whole universe, if one person is blind or deaf, all should be blind or deaf, if one acts, all should act in the same way, if one suffers or enjoys, all should similarly suffer or enjoy. If selves were one, bondage of one should have meant bondage of all and liberation of one should have meant liberation of all. But what we find in the world is of a nature which is quite the opposite.[61] If Ātman is one then births of different kinds of beings such as hellish, human, divine, etc. are not possible. If Ātman is one and all-pervading, then why consciousness is not seen in innert things such as pot, stone etc.? Again, there will be no difference between liberated and bound Soul, preceptor and pupil, child and wise and so on.[62] Jīva is individuals in each body (*pratikṣetraṁ bhinnaḥ*)[63] and thus, individuals are born and die at different times, their actions and experiences are diverse in nature and so on.

There cannot be absolute identity between Jīva and Brahman because, in that case mundane world of different individual selves will be impossible to conceive on account of inseparability of Jīva from ever liberated supreme Brahman. It also cannot be said that Ātman seems to be different on account of bodily adjuncts but essentially one because, in that case, just as after destruction of pot its space is also freed, similarly, when body is destroyed everyone will be liberated and there will be no need of means of liberation, consequently no one will try to achieve this goal and whole science of liberation will became purposeless[64] and theory of Karman, rebirth etc. will collapse to the ground.

If it is said that, on account of Saṁskāras (impressions) every Jīva is not freed immediately after destruction of the body and becomes object of

59. a) *AS*, p. 161.
b) *SM*, p. 83.

60. *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, verse 18. Pub. : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1963.

61. *Syādvādaratnākara* V, p. 1094. Pub. : Motilal Ladhaji; 27, Bhavanipeth, Pune, Vira Saṁvat 2457.

62. *Śīlāṅka-Sūtrakṛtāṅgaṭīkā*, pp. 30–35. Ed. Ambikadatta Oza, Mahavira Jaina Jnanodaya Society, Rajkot, Vira Samvat 1993.

63. *PNT* VII, p. 56.

64. *SR*, p. 1095.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

trasmigration then the question is whether these Saṁskāras of individual Jīva are specio-temporal or all-perveding like ether. If they are limited by space and time then the man died at a particular place, to say at Citrakūṭa must be born in the same place, because Saṁskāras cannot travel from one place to another being inactive and unconscious (because product of un-cinscious Avidyā); Saṁskāras cannot also be allpervading because in that case, no place and no soul, even liberated, will be free from clutches of all-pervading Saṁskāras and these Saṁskāras might bring liberated man back to this mundane world. So, it is not possible to prove the oneness of souls and it is more wise and practical to accept the view of plurality of selves.[65]

To sum up : Jainas point out that Advaitin's arguments that reality is one without a second, on account of Māyā this world appears as many (*vivarta*) and this apparent world disappears after destruction of Māyā and realisation of Brahman, and Śravaṇa, Manana and Nididhyāsana are the means of liberation, are meaningless like description of the barren woman's son, because the existence of non-dual Brahman or Ātman cannot be proved by any available means of knowledge.[66]

Now, all these objections raised by Jainas are generally found in the writings of Rāmānuja[67] and Madhva.[68] Possible answers are found in the works of stalwarts of Advaita Vedānta such as Śaṁkara[69] and his followers[70] which certainly need separate treatment. It is also very important to note that, though Jainas criticise some of the doctrines of Advaita still some Advaitic trends are

65. *SR*, pp. 1025–96.

66. *SSP*, p. 7.

67. *Śrībhāṣya*, Part I, pp. 77–135, Ed. Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1914.

68. Ānandatīrtha (Madhva) — *Māyāvādakhaṇḍanam*, pp. 1–15. Pub. : T. K. Venkatacarya, Shrividya Printing Press, Kumbhakonam, 1929.

69. a) *Works of Śaṁkarācārya.*
    b) *Saṁbandha Vāttika.*
    c) *Advaita-Siddhi*, Ed. Anantakrishna Shastri, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1917.
    d) *Madhvatantramukhamardanam*, Ed. Pt. Ramanatha Dikshit, Hanumanghat, Benares, 1941.

70. a) *samalaṁ nirmalaṁ caivam iti dvaitaṁ yadāgatam /*
    advaitaṁ nirmalaṁ brahma tadaikaṁ avaśiṣyate //
    Yaśovijaya— Adhyātmopaniṣat Prakaraṇa, II–40, p. 152.
    Adhyātmasāra, Adhyātmopaniṣad, Jñānasāra Prakaraṇatrayī. Pub. : Sanghavi Nagindas Karmacanda, Jamnagar, Vira Samvat 1994.
    b) " Advaitic Trends in Jainism ", *The Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 6–7 1965.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

steeped into Jainism.[71] And there was a trend to reconcils Jainism with Advaita and other systems of Indian philosophy. For instance, Yaśovijaya[72] a 17th century Jaina stalwart proclaims that Jainism has no quarrel with any other system of Indian thought.

Abbreviations

AS — *Aṣṭasāhasrī*

AM — *Āptamīmāṁsā*

NK — *Nyāyakumudacandra*

PNT — *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṁkāra*

RK — *Ratnākarāvatārikā*

SM — *Syādvādamañjarī*

SR — *Syādvādaratnākara*

SSP — *Satyaśāsanaparīkṣā*

SV — *Siddhiviniścaya*

TS — *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*

VSB — *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*

71. *abaddhaṁ paramārthena baddhaṁ ca vyavhārataḥ /*
bruvāṇo brahmavedāntī nānekāntaṁ pratikṣipet //
— *Adhyātmopaniṣat-Prakaraṇa* I–50, and 45–49, 51.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र की प्राचीन विषयवस्तु की खोज

लेखक : सागरमल जैन

श्वेताम्बर और दिगम्बर दोनों ही परम्पराएं यह स्वीकार करती है कि प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र (पण्हवागरण) जैन अङ्ग-आगम साहित्य का दसवां अङ्ग है; किन्तु दिगम्बर परम्परा के अनुसार अङ्ग-आगम साहित्य के विच्छेद (लुप्त) हो जाने के कारण वर्तमान में यह ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध नहीं है। जबकि श्वेताम्बर परम्परा अङ्ग साहित्य का विच्छेद नहीं मानती है अतः उसके उपलब्ध आगमों में प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक ग्रन्थ आज भी पाया जाता है। किन्तु समस्या यह है कि क्या श्वेताम्बर परम्परा के वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषय-वस्तु वही है जिसका निर्देश अन्य श्वेताम्बर प्राचीन आगम ग्रन्थों में है अथवा वह परिवर्तित हो चुकी है। प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु सम्बन्धी प्राचीन निर्देश श्वेताम्बर परम्परा के स्थानाङ्ग (ठाणाङ्ग), समवायाङ्ग, अनुयोगद्वार, नन्दीसूत्र में और दिगम्बर परम्परा के राजवार्तिक, धवला एवं जयधवला नामक टीकाग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध है। इनमें स्थानाङ्ग, समवायाङ्ग एवं नन्दी लगभग ५ वीं शताब्दी, राजवार्तिक ८ वीं शताब्दी का तथा धवला एवं जयधवला १० वीं शताब्दी के ग्रन्थ स्वीकार किये गये है।

प्रश्नव्याकरण नाम क्यों ?

'प्रश्नव्याकरण' इस नाम को लेकर प्राचीन टीकाकारों एवं विद्वानों में यह धारणा बनीली थी कि जिस ग्रन्थ में प्रश्नो के समाधान किये गये हो, वह प्रश्नव्याकरण है। मेरी दृष्टि में प्रश्नव्याकरण के प्राचीन संस्करण की विषयवस्तु प्रश्नोत्तरशैली में नहीं थी और न वह प्रश्न-विद्या से ही सम्बन्धित थी। गुरू शिष्य संवाद की प्रश्नोत्तर शैली में आगम-ग्रन्थ की रचना एक परवर्ती घटना है – भगवती या व्याख्या-प्रज्ञप्ति इसका प्रथम उदाहरण है। यद्यपि समवायाङ्ग एवं नन्दीसूत्र में यह माना गया है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण में १०८ पूछे गये, १०८ नहीं पूछे गये और १०८ अंशतः पूछे गये और अंशतः नहीं पूछे गये प्रश्नो के उत्तर है[1]। किन्तु यह अवधारणा काल्पनिक ही लगती है। प्रश्नव्याकरण की प्राचीनतम विषय-वस्तु प्रश्नोत्तर रूप में थी या उसमें प्रश्नों का उत्तर देने वाली विद्याओं का समावेश था – आज इसका कोई प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं है। प्राचीनकाल में ग्रन्थों को प्रश्नों के रूप में विभाजित करने की परम्परा थी। इसका सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण उदाहरण आपस्तम्बीय धर्मसूत्र है जिसकी विषयवस्तु को दो 'प्रश्नों' में विभक्त किया है। इसके प्रथम प्रश्न में ११ पटल और द्वितीय प्रश्न में ११ पटल है। यह सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ प्रश्नोत्तर रूप में भी नहीं है। इसी प्रकार बौधायन धर्मसूत्र की विषयवस्तु भी प्रश्नों में विभक्त हैं। अतः प्रश्नोत्तर शैली में होने के कारण या प्रश्नविद्या से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण इसे प्रश्नव्याकरण नाम दिया गया था यह मानना उचित नहीं होगा। वैसे इसके प्राचीनतम नाम 'वागरण' (व्याकरण) ही था। ऋषिभाषित में इसका इसी नाम से उल्लेख हैं[2]।

1. पण्हावागरणेसु अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणसयं अट्ठुत्तरं अपसिणसयं अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणापसिणसयं विज्जाइसया नाग-सुवन्नेहिं सद्धिं दिव्वा संवाया आघविज्जंति। — समवायाङ्गसूत्र ५४६.
2. वागरणगन्थाओ पमिति — इसिभासियाइं ३१.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में अन्य ग्रन्थों में जो निर्देश हैं – उससे वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरण निश्चय ही, भिन्न है – यह परिवर्तन किस रूप में हुआ है, यही विचारणीय है। यदि हम ग्रन्थों के कालक्रम को ध्यान में रखते हुए प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में उपलब्ध विवरणों को देखें, तो हमें, कालक्रम में उसकी विषयवस्तु में हुए, परिवर्तनों की स्पष्ट सूचना मिल जाती है —

(अ) **स्थानाङ्ग** — प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में प्राचीनतम उल्लेख स्थानाङ्गसूत्र में मिलता है। उसमें प्रश्नव्याकरण की गणना दस दशाओं में की गई हैं तथा उसके निम्न दस अध्ययनों का उल्लेख किया गया है —

१ उपमा, २ संख्या, ३ ऋषिभाषित, ४ आचार्यभाषित, ५ महावीरभाषित ६ क्षोमकप्रश्न, ७ कोमलप्रश्न, ८ आदर्शप्रश्न आर्द्रकप्रश्न, ९ अङ्गुष्ठप्रश्न, १० बाहुप्रश्न।[3]

(ब) **समवायाङ्ग** — स्थानाङ्ग के पश्चात् प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र की विषयवस्तु का अधिक-विस्तृत विवेचन करनेवाला आगम समवायाङ्ग है। समवायाङ्ग में उसकी विषयवस्तु का निर्देश करते हुए कहा गया है कि प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र में १०८ प्रश्नों, १०८ अप्रश्नों और १०८ प्रश्नाप्रश्नों का, विद्याओं के अतिशयों (चमत्कारों) का तथा नागों-सुपर्णों के साथ दिव्य संवादो का विवेचन है। यह प्रश्नव्याकरणदशा स्वसमय-परमसमय के प्रज्ञापक एवं विविध अर्थोवाली भाषा के प्रवक्ता प्रत्येक बुद्धों के द्वारा भाषित, अतिषय गुणों एवं उपशमभाव के धारक तथा ज्ञान के आकर आचार्यों के द्वारा विस्तार से भाषित और जगत के हित के लिए वीर महर्षि के द्वारा विशेष विस्तार से भाषित है। यह आदर्श, अङ्गुष्ठ, बाहु, असि, मणि, क्षौम (वस्त) एवं आदित्य (के आश्रय से) भाषित है। इसमें महाप्रश्नविद्या, मनःप्रश्नविद्या, देवप्रयोग आदि का उल्लेख है। इसमें सब प्राणियों के प्रधान गुणों के प्रकाशक, दुर्गुणों को अल्प करनेवाले, मनुष्यों की मति को विस्मृत करनेवाले, अतिशयभय, कालज्ञ एवं शमदम से युक्त उत्तम तीर्थंकरों के प्रवचन में स्थित करने वाले, दुरभिगम, दुरावगाह, सभी सर्वज्ञों के द्वारा सम्मत सभी अज्ञजनों को बोध करनेवाले प्रत्यक्ष प्रतीतिकारक, विविधगुणों से और महानअर्थो से युक्त जिनवरप्रणीत प्रश्न (वचन) कहे गये हैं।

प्रश्नव्याकरण अङ्ग की सीमित वाचनायें हैं, संख्यात अनुयोगद्वार है, संख्यात प्रतिपत्तियां है; संख्यात वेढ हैं, संख्यात श्लोक हैं, संख्यात निर्युक्तियां है और संख्यात सङ्ग्रहणियां हैं।

प्रश्नव्याकरण अङ्गरूप से दसवां अङ्ग है, इसमें एक श्रुतस्कन्ध है, पैतालिस उद्देशन काल हैं, पैंतालिस समुद्देशन काल है। पदगणना की अपेक्षा संख्यात लाखपद कहे गये हैं। इसमें संख्यात अक्षर है, अनन्तगम हैं, अनन्तपर्याय हैं, परीत त्रस हैं, अनन्त स्थावर है, इसमें शाश्वतकृत, निबद्ध, निकाचित जिन-प्रज्ञप्त भाव कहे जाते हैं, प्रज्ञापित किये जाते है, प्ररूपित किये जाते है, निदर्शित किये जाते है, और उपदर्शित किये जाते है, इस अङ्ग के द्वारा आत्मा ज्ञाता होता है, विज्ञाता

---

3. पण्हावागरणदसाणं दस अज्झयणा पण्णत्ता, तं जहा-उवमा, सङ्ख, इसिमासियाइं, आयरियमासियाइं, महावीरभासिआइं, खोमगपसिणाइं, कोमलपसिणाइं, अद्दागपसिणाइं, अङ्गुट्ठपसिणाइं, बाहुपसिणाइं। — स्थानाङ्गसूत्र १०. ११६.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

होता है।इस प्रकार चरण और करण की प्ररूपता के द्वारा वस्तु-स्वरूप का कथन, प्रज्ञापन, निदर्शन और उपदर्शन किया जाता है।[4]

(स) **नन्दीसूत्र** — नन्दीसूत्र में प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु का जो उल्लेख है वह समवायाङ्ग के विवरण का मात्र संक्षिप्त रूप है। उसके भाव और भाषा दोनों ही समान है। मात्र विशेषता यह है कि इसमें प्रश्नव्याकरण के ४५ अध्ययन बताये गये है, जबकि समवायाङ्ग में केवल ४५ समुद्देशनकालों का उल्लेख है, ४५ अध्ययन का उल्लेख नहीं है।[5]

(द) **तत्त्वार्थवार्तिक** — तत्त्वार्थवार्तिक में प्रश्नव्याकरण की व्याख्या करते हुए कहा गया है कि आक्षेप और विक्षेप के द्वारा हेतु और नय के आश्रय से प्रश्नों के व्याकरण को प्रश्न व्याकरण कहते है। इसमें लौकिक और वैदिक अर्थो का निर्णय किया जाता है।[6]

(इ) **धवला** — धवला में प्रश्नव्याकरण की जो विषयवस्तु बताई गई है वह तत्त्वार्थ में प्रतिपादित विषयवस्तु से किञ्चित् विभिन्नता रखती है। उसमें कहा गया है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण में

---

4. से किं तं पण्हावागणाइं ? पण्हावागरणेसु अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणसयं अट्ठुत्तरं अपसिणसयं अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणापसिणसयं विज्जाइसया नाग-सुवन्नेहिं सद्धिं दिव्वा समवाया आघविज्जंति।

पण्हावागरणदसासु णं ससमय-परसमय पण्णवय-पत्तेअबुद्ध-विविहत्थ-भासाभासियाणं अइसयगुण-उवसम-णाणप्पगार-आयरियभासियाणं वित्थरेणं, वीरमहेसीहिं विविहवित्थरभासियाणं च जगहियाणं अद्दागङ्गुट्ठ-बाहु-असि-मणि खोम-आइच्चभासियाणं विविहमहापसिणविज्जा-मणपसिणविज्जा देवयपयोग-पहाण-गुणप्पगासि-याणं सब्भूयदुगुणप्पभाव-नरगणमइविम्हयकराणं अइसयमईयकालसमय-दम सम तित्थकरुत्तमस्स ठिइकरण-कारणाणं दुरहिगम-दुरवगाहस्स सव्वसव्वन्नुसम्मअस्स अबुह-जण-विबोहणकरस्स पच्चक्खयपच्चयकराणं पण्हाणं विविहगुणमहत्था जिणवरप्पीया आघविज्जंति।

पण्हावागरणेसु णं परित्ता वायणा, संखेज्जा अणुओगदारा, संखेज्जाओ पडिवत्तीओ, संकेज्जा वेढा, संखेज्जा सिलोगा, संखेज्जाओ निज्जुत्तीओ, संखेज्जाओ संगहणीओ।

से णं अङ्गट्ठयाए दसमे अङ्गे, एगे सुयक्खन्धे, पणयालीसं समुद्देसणकाला, पणयालीसं समुद्देसणकाला, संखेज्जाणि पयसयसहस्साणि पयग्गेणं पण्णत्ताहं। संखेज्जा अक्खरा, अणन्ता गमा, श्रणन्ता पज्जवा, परित्ता तसा, अणन्ता थावरा, सासया कडा णिबद्धा णिकाइया जिणपण्णत्ता भावा आघविज्जंति पण्णविज्जंति परूविज्जंति निदंसिज्जंति उवदंसिज्जंति। से एवं आया, से एवं णाया, एवं विण्णया, एवं चरण-करणपरूवणया आघविज्जंति०। से त्त पण्हावागरणाइं १०। समवायाङ्गसूत्र ५४६-५४९.

5. से किं तं पण्हावागरणाइं ? पण्हावागरणेसु णं-अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणसयं, अट्ठुत्तरं असिणसयं, अट्ठुत्तरं पसिणापसिणसयं, तंजहा-अङ्गुट्ठपसिणाइं, बाहुपसिणाइं, अद्दागपसिणाइं, अन्नेवि विचित्ता विज्जाइसया, नाग-सुवण्णेहिं सद्धिं दिव्वा संवाया आघविज्जंति।

पण्हावागरणाणं परित्ता वायणा, संखेज्जा अणुओगदारा, संखेज्जा वेढा, संखेज्जा सिलोगा, संखेज्जाओ निज्जुत्तीओ, संखेज्जाओ संगहणीओ, संखेज्जाओ पडिवत्तीओ।

से णं अङ्गट्ठयाए दसमें अङ्गे, एगे सुयक्खन्धे, पणयालीसं अज्झयणा, पणयालीसं उद्देसणकाला, पणयालीसं समुद्देसणकाला, संखेज्जाइं पयसहसइं पयग्गेणं, संखेज्जा णिक्खरा, अणन्ता गमा, अणन्ता पज्जवा, परित्ता तसा, अणन्ता थावरा, सासयकडनिबद्धनिकाइया जिणपण्णत्ता भावा आघविज्जंति, पण्णविज्जंति, परूविज्जंति, दंसिज्जंति, निदंसिज्जंति, उवदंसिज्जंति।

से एवं आया, एवं नया, एवं विण्णाया, एवं चरणकरणपरूवणा आघविज्जई, से त्तं पण्हावागरणाइं। —नन्दीसूत्र ५४.

6. आक्षेपविक्षेपैर्हेतुनयाश्रितानां प्रश्नानां व्याकरणं प्रश्नव्याकरणम्, तस्मिंल्लौकिकवैदिकानामर्थानां निर्णयः। —तत्त्वार्थवार्तिक १।२० (पृ. ७३-७४).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

आक्षेपणी, विक्षेपणी, संवेदनी और निर्वेदनी इन चार प्रकार की कथाओं का वर्णन है। उसमें यह भी स्पष्ट किया गया है कि आक्षेपणी कथा पर समयों का निराकरण कर ६ द्रव्यों और नव तत्त्वों का प्रतिपादन करती है। विक्षेपणी कथा में परसमय के द्वारा स्वसमय पर लगाये गये आक्षेपों का निराकरण कर स्वसमय की स्थापना करती है। संवेदनी कथा पुण्यफल की कथा है इसमें तीर्थङ्कर गणधर, ऋषि, चक्रवर्ती आदि की ऋद्धि का विवरण है। निर्वेदनी कथा पाप फल की कथा है, तिर्यञ्च, जरा-मरण, रोग आदि सांसरिक दुःखों का वर्णन किया जाता है। उसमें यह भी कहा गया है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण प्रश्नों के अनुसार हत, नष्ट, मुष्टि, चिन्ता, लाभ, अलाभ, सुख, दुःख, जीवित, मरण, जय, पराजय, नाम, द्रव्य, आयु और संख्या का निरूपण करता है।[7] इस प्रकार प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में प्राचीन उल्लेखों में एकरूपता नहीं है।

मेरी दृष्टि में प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र की विषयवस्तु के तीन संस्कार हुए होंगे। प्रथम एवं प्राचीनतम संस्कार, जो 'वागरण' कहा जाता था, इसमें ऋषिभाषित, आचार्यभाषित और महावीर-भाषित ही इसकी प्रमुख विषयवस्तु रही होगी। ऋषिभाषित में 'वागरण' ग्रन्थ का एवं उसकी विषयवस्तु ऋषिभाषित से समानता का उल्लेख है[8] – इससे प्राचीनकाल (ई. पू. ३ री शताब्दी) में उसके अस्तित्व की सूचना तो मिलती ही है साथ ही प्रश्नव्याकरण और ऋषिभाषित का सम्बन्ध भी स्पष्ट होता है।

स्थानाङ्गसूत्र में प्रश्नव्याकरण का वर्गीकरण दस दशाओं में किया है – सम्भवतः जब प्रश्नव्याकरण के इस प्राचीन संस्करण की रचना हुई होगी तब ग्यारह अङ्गों अथवा द्वादश गणिपिटिक की अवधारणा भी स्पष्ट रूप से नहीं बन पायी थी। अङ्ग आगम साहित्य के ५ ग्रन्थ : उपासकदशा, अन्तकृतदशा, प्रश्नव्याकरणदशा और अनुत्तरौपपातिकदशा तथा कर्मविपाकदशा (विपाकदशा) दस दशाओं में ही परिगणित किये जाते थे। आज इन दशाओं में उपर्युक्त पांच कथा अचारदशा, जो आज दशाश्रुतस्कन्ध के नाम से जानी जाती है, को छोडकर शेष चार : अन्धदशा, द्विगृद्धिदशा, दीर्घदशा और संक्षेपदशा अनुपलब्ध है। उपलब्ध छः दशाओं में भी उपासकदशा और आचारदशा की विषयवस्तु समान है। कर्मविपाक और अनुत्तरोपपातिकदशा की विषयवस्तु कुछ समान है और कुछ भिन्न है। जबकी प्रश्नव्याकरणदशा और अन्तकृतदशा की विषयवस्तु पूरी तरह बदल गई है। स्थानाङ्ग में प्रश्नव्याकरण की जो विषयवस्तु सूचित की गई है

---

7. अक्खेवणी विक्खेवणी संवेयणी णिव्वेयणी चेदि चउव्विहाओ कहाओ वण्णेदि। तत्थ अक्खेवणी णाम छद्दव्व-णव पयत्थाणं सरूवं दिगन्तर-समयान्तर-णिराकरणं सुद्धिं करेन्ती परूवेदि।

विक्खेवणी णाम परसमएण ससमयं दूसंती पच्छा दिगंतरसुद्धिं करेन्ती ससमयं थावंती छद्दव्व-णवपयत्थे परूवेदि।

संवेयणी णाम पुण्णफलसंकहा। काणि पुण्णफलाणि? तित्थयर-गणहर-रिसि-चक्कवट्टि-बलदेव-सुर-विज्जाहररिद्धीओ।

णिव्वेयणी नाम पावफलसंकहा। काणि पावफलाणि? णिरय-तिरिय-कुमाणुसजोणीसु सजोणी जाइ-जरा-मरण-वाहि-वेयणा दालिद्दादीणि। संसारसरीरभोगेसु वेरग्गुप्पाइणी णिव्वेयणी णाम ...।

पण्हावो हद-नट्ठ-मुट्ठि-चिंता-लाहालाह-सुह-दुक्ख-जीविय-जय-पराजय-णाम-दव्वासु-संखं च परूवेदि। — धवला, पुस्तक १, भाग १, (पृ. १०७-१०८).

8. वागरणगन्थाओ पमिति जाव सामित्तं इमं अज्झयणं ताव इमो बीओ पाढो दिस्सति, तं जहा— इसिभासियाइं ११.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

वही इसका प्राचीनतम संस्करण लगता है, क्योंकि यहां तक इसकी विषयवस्तु में नैमित्तिक विद्याओं का अधिक प्रवेश नहीं देखा जाता है। स्थानाङ्ग प्रश्नव्याकरण के जिन दश अध्ययनों का निर्देश करता है, उनमें भी मेरी दृष्टि से इसिभासियाइं, आयरियभासियाइं और महावीरभासियाइं यह तीन प्राचीन प्रतीत होते है। उवमा एवं संख्या की सामग्री क्या थी ? कहा नहीं जा सकता। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि अद्दागपसिणाइं, बाहुपसिणाइं आदि अध्यायों का सम्बन्ध भी निमित्तशास्त्र से न होकर इन नामवाले व्यक्तियों की तात्त्विक परिचर्चा से रहा हो। जो क्रमशः आर्द्रक और बाहुक नामक ऋषियों की तत्त्वचर्चा से सम्बन्धित रहे होंगे। अद्दागपसिणाइं की टीकाकारो ने 'आदर्श-प्रश्न' ऐसी जो संस्कृत छाया की है वह भी उचित नहीं है। उसकी संस्कृतछाया 'आर्द्रकप्रश्न' ऐसा होना चाहिए। आर्द्रक से हुए प्रश्नोत्तरों की चर्चा सूत्रकृताङ्ग में मिलती है साथ ही वर्तमान ऋषिभाषित में भी अद्दागण (आर्द्रक) और बाहु (बाहुक) नामक अध्ययन उपलब्ध हैं। हो सकता है कि कोमल और खोम = क्षोम भी कोई ऋषि रहे हो। सोम का उल्लेख भी ऋषिभाषित में है फिर भी यदि हम यह मानने को उत्सुक ही हो कि ये अध्ययन निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित थे तो हमें यह मानना होगा कि यह सामग्री उसमें बाद में जुडी है, प्रारम्भ में उसका अङ्ग नहीं थी। क्योंकि प्राचीन काल में निमित्तशास्त्र का अध्ययन जैनभिक्षु के लिए वर्जित था और इसे पापश्रुत माना जाता था।[9]

स्थानाङ्ग और समवायाङ्ग दोनों में प्रश्नव्याकरण सम्बन्धी जो विवरण हैं, वे भी एक काल के नहीं हैं। समवायाङ्ग का विवरण परवर्ती हैं, क्योंकि उस विवरण में मूल तथ्य सुरक्षित रहते हुए भी निमित्तशास्त्र सम्बन्धी विवरण काफी विस्तृत हो गया हैं। स्थानाङ्ग में प्रश्नव्याकरण के दस अध्ययन बताये गये हैं जबकि समवायाङ्ग उसमें ४५ उद्देशक होने की सूचना देता हैं। 'उवमा' और 'सङ्खा' नामक स्थानाङ्ग में वर्णित प्रारम्भिक दो अध्ययनों का यहां निर्देश ही नहीं है। 'कोमलपसिणाइं' का भी उल्लेख नहीं है। इन तीनों के स्थान पर 'असि', 'मणि' और 'आदित्य' ये तीन नाम नये जुडे गये है, पुनः इनका उल्लेख भी अध्ययनों के रूप में नहीं है। समवायाङ्ग का विवरण स्पष्टरूप से यह बताता है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण का वर्ण्य-विषय चमत्कारपूर्ण विविध विधाओं से परिपूर्ण है। यहां इसिभासियाइं, आयरियाभासियाइं और महावीरभासियाइं तीन अध्ययनों का विलोप कर यह निमित्तशास्त्र सम्बन्धी विवरण इनके द्वारा कथित है, यह कह दिया गया है।

वस्तुतः समवायाङ्ग का विवरण हमें प्रश्नव्याकरण के किसी दूसरे परिवर्धित संस्करण की सूचना देता है जिसमें निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित विवरण जोडकर प्रत्येक बुद्धभाषित (ऋषिभाषित) आचार्यभाषित और वीरभाषित (महावीरभाषित) भाग अलग कर दिये गये थे और इस प्रकार इसे शुद्धरूप से एक निमित्तशास्त्र का ग्रन्थ बना दिया गया था। उसे प्रामाणिकता देने के लिए यहां तक कह दिया गया कि यह प्रत्येक बुद्ध, आचार्य और महावीरभाषित है।

तत्त्वार्थवार्तिक में प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु का जो विवरण उपलब्ध है वह इतना अवश्य सूचित करता है कि ग्रन्थकार के सामने प्रश्नव्याकरण की कोई प्रति नहीं थी उसने प्रश्न-

9. नवविहे पावसुयपसङ्गे पण्णत्ते, तं जहा :
उप्पाए, नेमित्तए, मन्ते, आइक्खए, तिगिच्छीए ।
कलावरण-अन्नाणे, मिच्छापावयणेत्ति य ॥ —स्थानाङ्ग ९ स्थान.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

व्याकरण की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में जो विवरण दिया है, वह कल्पनाश्रित ही है। यद्यपि धवला में प्रश्नव्याकरण के सम्बन्ध में जो निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित कुछ विवरण है, वह निश्चय ही यह बताता है कि ग्रन्थकार ने उसे अनुश्रुति के रूप में श्वेताम्बर या यापनीय परम्परा से प्राप्त किया होगा। धवला में वर्णित विषयवस्तुवाला कोई प्रश्नव्याकरण अस्तित्व में भी रहा होगा, यह कहना कठिन है।

जैसा कि हम पूर्व में कह चुके है कि समवायाङ्ग का प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु सम्बन्धी विवरण स्थानाङ्ग की अनेक्षा परवर्ती काल का है। फिर भी इसमें कुछ तथ्य ऐसे अवश्य है जो हमारी इस धारणा को पुष्ट करते है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण की मूलभूत विषयवस्तु ऋषिभाषित, आचार्य-भाषित और महावीरभाषित ही थी और जिसका अधिकांश भाग आज भी ऋषिभाषित आदि के रूप में सुरक्षित है। क्योंकि समवायाङ्ग भी प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु को प्रत्येक बुद्धभाषित आचार्य-भाषित, महर्षिवीरभाषित कहा गया है। स्थानाङ्ग में जहां ऋषिभाषित है, वहां समवायाङ्ग इसमें प्रत्येक बुद्धभाषित शब्द है। यह स्पष्ट है कि ऋषिभाषित के प्रत्येक ऋषि को आगे चलकर जैनाचार्यो ने प्रत्येक बुद्ध के रूप में स्वीकार किया है[10] और यह शब्द परिवर्तन उसी का सूचक है। यही कारण है कि इस में ऋषिभाषित के स्थान पर प्रत्येक बुद्धभाषित कहा गया है।

हमारे कथन की पुष्टि का दूसरा आधार यह है कि समवायाङ्ग में प्रश्नव्याकरण के एक श्रुतस्कन्ध और ४५ अध्याय माने गये है। इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि समवायाङ्ग के प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु सम्बन्धी इस विवरण के लिखे जाने तक भी यह अवधारणा अचेतनरूप में अवश्य थी कि प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु प्रत्येक बुद्धधर्माचार्यो और महावीर के उपदेशों से निर्मित थी, यद्यपि इस काल तक ऋषिभाषित को उससे अलग कर दिया गया हो होगा और उसके ४५ अध्ययनों के स्थान पर निमित्तशास्त्र सम्बन्धी विद्याएं समाविष्ट कर दी गई होगी। यद्यपि निमित्तशास्त्र के विषय जोडने का हीं ऐसा कुछ प्रयत्न सीमितरूप में स्थानाङ्ग में प्रश्नव्याकरण सम्बन्धी विवरण लिखे जाने के पूर्व भी हुआ होगा। मेरी धारणा यह है कि प्रथम प्रश्नव्याकरण में निमित्तशास्त्र का विषय जुडा और फिर ऋषिभाषित वाला अंश अलग हुआ तथा बीच का कुछ काल ऐसा रहा जब यहीं विषयवस्तु दोनों में समान्तर बनी रही। यहां हमें यह भी स्मरण रखना होगा कि जहां स्थानाङ्ग में प्रश्नव्याकरण के दस अध्ययन होने का उल्लेख है वहां समवायाङ्ग में इसके ४५ उद्देशनकाल और नन्दी में ४५ अध्ययन होने का उल्लेख है यह आकस्मिक नहीं है। यह उल्लेख प्रश्नव्याकरण और ऋषिभाषित की किसी साम्य का सङ्केतक है। वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरण में दस अध्ययन होना भी सप्रयोजन है – स्थानाङ्ग के पूर्व विवरण से सङ्गति बैठाने के लिए ही ऐसा किया गया होगा। दस और पैंतालीस के इस विवाद को सुलझाने के दो ही विकल्प है प्रथम सम्भावना यह हो सकती है कि प्राचीन संस्करण में दस अध्याय रहे हो और उसके ऋषिभाषितवाले अध्याय के ४५ उद्देशक रहे हो अथवा मूल प्रश्नव्याकरण में वर्तमान ऋषिभाषित के ४५ अध्याय ही हों क्योंकि इनमें भी ऋषिभाषित के साथ महावीरभाषित और आचार्यभाषित का समावेश तो हो ही जाता है। यह भी सम्भव है कि वर्तमान ऋषिभाषित के ४५ अध्यायों में से कुछ अध्याय ऋषिभाषित के अन्तर्गत और कुछ आचार्यभाषित एवं कुछ महावीरभाषित के अन्तर्गत उद्देशकों के रूप में वर्गीकृत हुए हो। महत्त्व-

10. पत्तयबुद्धमिसिणो वीसं तित्थे अरिट्ठणेमिस्स।
पासस्स य पण्णरस वीरस्स विलीणमोहस्स॥ — इसिभासिय पठमा सङ्गहिणी १.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

पूर्ण यह हैं कि समवायाङ्ग में उन्हें ४५ अध्ययन ने कहकर ४५ उद्देशनकाल कहा गया है, किन्तु प्रश्नव्याकरण से अलग करने के पश्चात् उन्हें एक ही ग्रन्थ के अन्तर्गत ४५ अध्यायों के रूप में रख दिया गया हो। एक महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न यह भी है कि समवायाङ्ग में ऋषिभाषित के ४४ अध्ययन कहे गये हैं[11] जबकि वर्तमान ऋषिभाषित में ४५ अध्ययन है। क्या वर्धमान नामक अध्ययन पहले इसमें सम्मिलित नहीं था। क्योंकि इसे महावीरभाषित में परिगणित किया था या अन्य कोई कारण था हम नहीं कह सकते। समवायाङ्ग और नन्दीसूत्र के मूलपाठों में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अन्तर है वह यह कि नन्दीसूत्र में प्रश्नव्याकरण के ४५ अध्ययन है ऐसा स्पष्ट पाठ है।[12] जबकि समवायाङ्ग में ४५ अध्ययन ऐसा पाठ न होकर ४५ उद्देशन काल हैं, मात्र यही पाठ है। हो सकता है कि समवायाङ्ग के रचनाकाल तक वे उद्देशक रहे हो, किन्तु आगे चलकर वे अध्ययन कहे जाने लगे हो यदि समवायाङ्ग के कालतक ४५ अध्ययनों की अवधारणा होती तो समवायाङ्गकार उसका उल्लेख अवश्य करता, क्योंकि समवायाङ्ग में अन्य अङ्ग आगमों की चर्चा के प्रसङ्ग में अध्ययनों का स्पष्ट उल्लेख हैं।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न यह भी है कि क्या निमित्तशास्त्र एवं चामत्कारिक विद्याओं से युक्त कोई प्रश्नव्याकरण बना भी था या यह सब कल्पना की उडाने है? यह सत्य है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण की पदसंख्या का समवायाङ्ग, नन्दी, नन्दीचूर्णी और धवला में जो उल्लेख है, वह काल्पनिक है। यद्यपि समवायाङ्ग और नन्दी प्रश्नव्याकरण के पदों की निश्चित संख्या नहीं देते है, मात्र संख्यात शत-सहस्र ऐसा उल्लेख करते हैं, किन्तु नन्दीचूर्णी एवं समवायाङ्गवृत्ति[13] में उसके पदों की संख्या ९२१६००० और धवला[14] में ९३१६००० में बतायी गई है, जो मुझे तो काल्पनिक ही अधिक लगती है।

मेरी अवधारणा यह है कि स्थरनाङ्ग, समवायाङ्ग, नन्दी, तत्त्वार्थराजवार्तिक, धवला एवं जयधवला में प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु का जिस रूप में उल्लेख है वह पूर्णतः काल्पनिक चाहे न हो किन्तु उसमें सत्यांश कम और कल्पना का पुट अधिक है। यद्यपि निमित्तशास्त्र के विषय को लेकर कोई प्रश्नव्याकरण अवश्य बना होगा फिर भी उसमें समवायाङ्ग और धवला में वर्णित समग्र विषयवस्तु एवं चमत्कारिक विद्याएं रही होगी यह कल्पना कठिन ही है।

इसी संदर्भ में समवायाङ्ग के मूलपाठ 'अद्दागङ्गुट्ठबाहुअसिमणिलोभआइच्चभासियाणं'[14] के अर्थ के सम्बन्ध में भी यहां हमें पुनर्विचार करना होगा कहीं अद्दाग, अङ्गुष्ठ, बाहु, असि, मणि, खोम (क्षोम) और आदित्य व्यक्ति तो नहीं है, क्योंकि इनके द्वारा भाषित कहने का क्या अर्थ है? स्थानाङ्ग के विवरण की समीक्षा करते हुए जैसी कि मैने सम्भावना प्रकट की है कि कही अद्दाग = आर्द्रक, बाहु = बाहुक, खोम = सोम नामक ऋषि तो नहीं है, क्योंकि ऋषिभाषित में इनके उल्लेख है। आदित्य भी कोई ऋषि हो सकते है केवल अङ्गुष्ठ, असि और मणि ये तीन नाम अवश्य ऐसे है जिनके व्यक्ति होने की सम्भावना धूमिल है।

---

11. चोयालीसं अज्फयणा इसिभासिया दियलोगचुया भासिया पण्णत्ता। समवायाङ्गसूत्र ४४।५२८.
12. अङ्गट्ठाए दसमे अङ्गे, एगे सुअक्खन्धे, पणयालीसं अज्फयणा। —नन्दीसूत्र ५४.
13. (क) पदग्गं दोणउतिलक्खा सोलस य सहस्सा। —नन्दीसूत्र ५४.
    (ख) द्विनवतिर्लक्षाणि षोडश च सहस्राणि। —समवायाङ्गवृत्ति.
14. पण्हवायरणं णाम अङ्गं तेणउदिलक्ख-सोलससहस्सपदेहि। —धवला, भाग १, पृ. १०४.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

क्या प्रश्नव्याकरण की प्राचीन विषयवस्तु सुरक्षित है ?

क्या प्रश्नव्याकरण के प्रथम और द्वितीय संस्करणों की विषयवस्तु पूर्णतः नष्ट हो गई है या वह आज भी पूर्णतः या आंशिक रूप में सुरक्षित है – यह चर्चा भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

प्रश्नव्याकरण के प्रथम संस्करण में ऋषिभाषित, आचार्यभाषित और महावीरभाषित के नाम से जो सामग्री थी वह आज भी ऋषिभाषित, सूत्रकृताङ्ग एवं उत्तराध्ययन में बहुत कुछ सुरक्षित है। ऐसा लगता है कि उस सामग्री को वहां से अलग कर इसिभासियाइं के नाम से स्वतन्त्रग्रन्थ के रूप में सुरक्षित कर लिया गया। जैन परम्परामें ऐसे प्रयास अनेक बार हुए है जब चूला या चूलिका के रूप में ग्रन्थों में नवीन सामग्री जोडी जाती रही अथवा किसी ग्रन्थ की सामग्री को निकालकर उससे एक नया ग्रन्थ बना दिया। उदाहरण के रूप में किसी समय निशीथ को आचाराङ्ग की चूला के रूप में जोडा गया। और कालान्तर में उसे वहां से अलग कर निशीथ नामक नया ग्रन्थ ही बना दिया गया। इसी प्रकार आयारदशा (दशाश्रुतस्कन्ध) के आठवें अध्याय (पर्यूषण कल्प) की सामग्री से कल्पसूत्र नामक एक नया ग्रन्थ ही बना दिया गया। अतः यह मानने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण की इसिभासियाइं आदि अध्ययनों की सामग्री से ही इसिाभसियाइं नामक स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ अस्तित्व में आया है। मेरा यह कथन निराधार भी नहीं है। प्रथम तो दोनों नामों की साम्यता तो है ही। साथ ही समवायाङ्ग में यह भी स्पष्ट उल्लेख है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण में ससमय और परसमय के प्रज्ञापक प्रत्येक बुद्धों के कथन है। (पण्हावागरणदसासुणं ससमय-परसमय पण्णवय पत्तेअबुद्ध-भासियाइणं[15])। इसिभासियाइं के सम्बन्ध में यह स्पष्ट मान्यता है कि उसमें प्रत्येकबुद्धों के वचन है। मात्र यही नहीं समवायाङ्ग ससमय-परसमय पण्णवय पत्तेअबुद्ध[16] अर्थात् स्वसमय एवं परसमय के प्रज्ञापक प्रत्येकबुद्ध का उल्लेख कर इसकी पुष्टि भी कर देता है कि वे प्रत्येक बुद्ध मात्र जैन परम्परा के नहीं है अपितु अन्य परम्पराओं के भी है। इसिभासियाइं में मङ्खलिगोसाल, रामपुत... याज्ञवल्क्य, विदुर, उद्दालक आदि से सम्बन्धित अध्याय भी इसी तथ्य को सूचित करते है। मेरी दृष्टि में प्रश्नव्याकरण का प्राचीनतम अधिकांश भाग आज भी इसिभासियाइं में तथा सूत्रकृताङ्ग और उत्तराध्ययन के कुछ अध्यायों के रूप में सुरक्षित है। प्रश्नव्याकरण का इसिभासियाइं वाला अंश वर्तमान इसिभासियाइं और आयरियाभासियाइं वाला अंश वर्तमान इसिभासियाइं (ऋषिभाषित) में महावीरभासियाइं का कुछ अंश महावीर द्वारा उपदिष्ट उत्तराध्ययन के प्राचीन कहे जानेवाले अध्ययनों में और आद्दगपसिणाइ वाला अंश सूत्रकृताङ्ग के आर्द्रक अध्ययन में मूलतः अथवा अंशतः कुछ परिवर्तनों के साथ हो सकता है। सम्भावना यह भी है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण के आचार्यभाषित और महावीर-भाषित नामक उत्तर भाग से उत्तराध्ययन का प्राचीनरूप बना होगा। क्योंकि उत्तराध्ययन का शाब्दिक अर्थ भी उत्तर अध्ययन अर्थात् बाद के अध्ययन है। अतः यह भी सम्भव हो कि वर्तमान उत्तराध्ययन मूलप्रश्नव्याकरण के इसिभासियाइं के पश्चात् का भाग रहा हो – जिसमें आचार्यभाषित और महावीरभाषित समाहित हो और कालान्तर में उसे वहां से अलग करके स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ बना दिया गया हो। यद्यपि ऋषिभाषित और उत्तराध्ययन की भाषा में अन्तर है – उत्तराध्ययन कुछ परवर्ती रहा होगा यह भी सम्भव हैं कि सर्वाधिक प्रवचन में रहने के कारण इसमें यह भाषा परिवर्तन हो गया हो।

---

15. समवायाङ्ग ५४७.

16. समवायाङ्ग ५४७.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

यह तो हुई प्रश्नव्याकरण की प्राचीनतम प्रथम संस्करण की बात। अब यह विचार करना है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण के निमित्तशास्त्र प्रधान दूसरे संस्करण की क्या स्थिति हो सकती हैं – क्या वह भी किसी रूप में सुरक्षित है ?

जहां तक निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित प्रश्नव्याकरण के दूसरे संस्करण के अस्तित्व के होने का प्रश्न है – मेरी दृष्टि में वह भी पूर्णतया विलुप्त नहीं हुआ है। अपितु मात्र हुआ यह है कि उसे प्रश्नव्याकरण से पृथक् कर उसके स्थान पर आश्रवद्वार और संवरद्वार नामक नई विषयवस्तु डाल दी गई। श्री अगरचन्दजी नाहटा ने जिनवाणी, दिसम्बर १९८० मे प्रकाशित अपने लेख में प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक कुछ अन्य ग्रन्थों का सङ्केत किया है। प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्य जयपाहुड के नाम से एक ग्रन्थ मुनि जिनविजयजी सिंधी जैन ग्रन्थमाला के ग्रन्थक्रमाङ्क ४३ में संवत् २०१५ में प्रकाशित किया है। यह ग्रन्थ एक प्राचीन ताडपत्रीय प्रति के आधारपर प्रकाशित किया गया है। ताडपत्रीय प्रति खरतरगच्छ के आचार्यशाखा के भण्डार जैसलमेर से प्राप्त हुई थी और यह विक्रम संवत् १३३६ की लिखी हुई थी। ग्रन्थ मूलतः प्राकृत भाषा में है और उसमें ३७८ गाथाएं है। उसके साथ संस्कृत टीका भी हैं। यह प्रकाशित ग्रन्थ पार्श्वनाथ विद्याश्रम वाराणसी के पुस्तकालय में है। ग्रन्थ का विषय निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित है। इसी प्रकार जिनरत्नकोश में भी शान्तिनाथ भण्डार खम्मात में उपलब्ध जयपाहुड प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक ग्रन्थ की सूचना उपलब्ध होती है।[17] यद्यपि इसकी गाथा सङ्ख्या २२८ बताई गई हैं। एक अन्य प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक ग्रन्थ की सूचना हमें नेपाल के महाराजा की लायब्रेरी से प्राप्त होती है। श्री अगरचन्दजी नाहटा की सूचना के अनुसार इस ग्रन्थ की प्रतिलिपि तेरा पन्थ धर्मसंघ के युवाचार्य मुनि श्री नथमलजी ने प्राप्त कर ली है। यद्यपि इसकी विषयवस्तु क्या है इसकी जानकारी हमें उपलब्ध नहीं हो सकी है। एक अन्य प्रश्नव्याकरण की सूचना हमें पाटन ज्ञान भण्डार की सूची से प्राप्त होती है। यह ग्रन्थ भी चूडामणि नामक टीका के साथ है और टीका का ग्रन्थाङ्क २३०० श्लोक परिमाण बताया गया है। यह प्रति भी काफी पुरानी हो सकती है।[18]

इन सब आधारों पर ऐसा लगता है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण का निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित संस्करण भी पूरी तरह विलुप्त नहीं हुआ अपितु उसे अलग करके सुरक्षित कर लिया गया। यदि कोई विद्वान् इन सब ग्रन्थों को लेकर उनकी विषयवस्तु को समवायाङ्ग, नन्दीसूत्र एवं धवला में प्रश्नव्याकरण की उल्लिखित विषय सामग्री के साथ मिलना करे तो यह पता चल सकेगा कि प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक जो अन्य ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध है मूलप्रश्नव्याकरण के द्वितीय संस्करण ही अंश है या अन्य है। यह भी सम्भव है समवायाङ्ग और नन्दी के रचनाकाल में प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक कई ग्रन्थ वाचना-भेद से प्रचलित हो और उनमें उन सभी की विषयवस्तु को समाहित किया गया हो, इस मान्यता का एक आधार यह है कि ऋषिभाषित समवायाङ्ग, नन्दी एवं अनुयोगद्वार में वागरण-

17. प्रश्नव्याकरण जयप्राभृत, (ग्रन्थ २२८), जैन ग्रन्थावली, पृ. ३५५.
(अ) चूडामणिवृत्ति ग्रन्थ (२३००), पाटन कैटलोग, भाग १, पृ. ८.
(ब) लीलावती टीका, पाटन कैटलोग, भाग १, पृ. ८, इन्ट्रोडक्शन, पृ. ६०.
(स) प्रदर्शनज्योतिर्वृत्ति, पाटन कैटलोग, भाग १, पृ. ६०, इन्ट्रोडक्शन, पृ. ६०; वृत्तटिप्पणिका (जैन साहित्य संशोधक, पूना, १९२५, क्रमांक ५६०, जैन ग्रन्थावली, पृ. ३५५).

18. जिनरत्नकोश, पृ. २७४.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

गाथा, एवं पण्हावागरणाइं – ऐसे बहुवचन के प्रयोग मिलते है। इससे ऐसा लगता है कि इस काल वाचना-भेद से या अन्यरूप अनेक प्रश्नव्याकरण उपस्थित रहे होगे।

इन प्रश्नव्याकरणों की टीका संस्कृत टीका सहित ताडपत्रीय प्रतियां मिलना इस बात की अवश्य सूचक है इसवी ४–५ वी शती में ये ग्रन्थ अस्तित्व में थे क्योंकि ९–१० वीं शताब्दी में जब इनकी टीकाएं लिखी गई, तो उसके पूर्व भी ये ग्रन्थ अपने मूलरूप मे रहे होंगे।

सम्भवतः ईसा की लगभग २–३ री शताब्दी में प्रश्नव्याकरण में निमित्तशास्त्रसम्बन्धी सामग्री जोडी गई हैं और फिर उसमें से ऋषिभाषित का हिस्सा अलग किया गया और उसे विशिष्ट रूप से एक निमित्तशास्त्र का ग्रन्थ बना दिया गया। पुनः लगभग ७ वीं शताब्दी में यह निमित्त-शास्त्रवाला हिस्सा अलग किया गया और उसके स्थान पर पांच आणव तथा पांच संवरद्वार वाला वर्तमान संस्करण रखा गया। जैसा कि मैने सूचित किया कि प्रश्नव्याकरण के पूर्व के दो संस्करण भी चाहे उससे पृथक् कर दिये गये हो, किन्तु वे ऋषिभाषित और प्रश्नव्याकरण नामक अन्य निमित्तशास्त्र के ग्रन्थ के रूप में अपना अस्तित्व रख रहे हैं। आशा हैं, इस सम्बन्ध में विद्वद्वर्ग आगे और मन्थन करके किसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचेगा।

प्रश्नव्याकरण और ऋषिभाषित की विषयवस्तु की समरूपता का प्रमाण

ऋषिभाषित और प्राचीन प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तुओं की एकरूपता का सबसे महत्त्व-पूर्ण प्रमाण हमें ऋषिभाषित के पार्श्व नामक ३१ वें अध्ययन में मिल जाता है। इसमें पार्श्व की दार्शनिक अवधारणाओं की चर्चा है। इस चर्चा के प्रसङ्ग में ग्रन्थकार ने स्पष्ट रूप से यह उल्लेख किया है कि व्याकरणप्रभृति ग्रन्थों में समाहित इस अध्ययन का ऐसा दूसरा पाठ भी मिलता है। इसके पश्चात् सम्पूर्ण अध्ययन का दूसरा पाठ (पाठान्तर के रूप में) दिया गया है। मूलपाठ इस प्रकार है —

वागरणंगंथाओ पुभिति समाणितं (सामित्तं)
इमं अज्झयणं ताव इमो बीओ पाठो दिस्सति[19]

इसका तात्पर्य तो यह है कि ऋषिभाषित की विषयवस्तु प्रश्नव्याकरण में भी समाहित थी। यद्यपि यह एक विवादास्पद प्रश्न होगा कि प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु से ऋषिभाषित का निर्माण हुआ या ऋषिभाषित की विषयवस्तु से प्रश्नव्याकरण का। लेकिन यह सुस्पष्ट है कि किसी समय प्रश्नव्याकरण और ऋषिभाषित की विषयवस्तु समान थी और उनमें कुछ पाठान्तर भी थे। अतः वर्तमान ऋषिभाषित में प्राचीत प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु का होना निर्विवाद रूप से सिद्ध हो जाता है। साथ ही यह भी सिद्ध हो जाता है कि मूल प्रश्नव्याकरण में पार्श्व आदि प्राचीन अर्हत् ऋषियों के दार्शनिक विचार एवं उपदेश निहित है।

'प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्य जयपायड' नामक जिस ग्रन्थ का हमने उल्लेख किया है, उसकी विषय-सामग्री निमित्तशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित है। पुनः उसमें कर्ता ने तीसरी गाथा में 'पण्ह जयपायड

19. इसिभासियाइं, ३१.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

वाच्छं' कहकर के प्रश्नव्याकरण और जयपायड की समरूपता को स्पष्ट किया है।[20] प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ की इसी गाथा की टीका में ग्रन्थ की विषयवस्तु को स्पष्ट करते हुये कहा गया है कि इसमें 'नष्टमुष्टि-चिन्तालाभालाभसुखदुःखजीवनमरण' आदि सम्बन्धी प्रश्न है। इस उल्लेख से ऐसा लगता है कि धवलाकार ने प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु का जिस रूप में उल्लेख किया है, उसकी इससे बहुत कुछ समानता है।[21] प्रस्तुत ग्रंन्थ के विषयों में मुष्टिविभाग प्रकरण, नष्टिका चक्र, संख्या प्रमाण, लाभ प्रकरण, अस्तविभाग प्रकरण आदि ऐसे हैं जिनकी विषयवस्तु की समवायाङ्ग एवं धवला में प्रश्न-व्याकरण के वर्णित विषयों से यत्किंचित साम्यता हो सकती है।[22] दुर्भाग्य यह है कि प्रकाशित होते हुये भी विद्वानों को इस ग्रन्थ की जानकारी नही है। जैन निमित्तशास्त्र का प्राचीन एवं प्रमुख ग्रन्थ है।

ग्रन्थ की भाषा को देखकर सामान्यतया यह अनुमान किया जां सकता है कि यह ईस्वी सन् की चौथी-पांचवी शताब्दी की हो सकती है। ग्रन्थ के लिए प्रयुक्त पायड या पाहुड शब्द से भी यह फलित होता है कि यह ग्रन्थ पांचवीं शताब्दी के लगभग की रचना होना चाहिए, क्योंकि कसायपाहुड एवं कुन्दकुन्द के पाहुडग्रन्थ इसी कालावधि के कुछ पूर्व की रचनाएं है। सूर्य-प्रज्ञप्ति में भी विषयों का वर्गीकरण पाहुडों के रूप में हुआ है। अतः यह सम्भावना हो सकता है कि जयपायड प्रश्नव्याकरण के द्वितीय संस्करण का कोई रूप हो, यद्यपि इस सम्बन्ध में अन्तिमरूप से तभी कुछ कहा जा सकता है कि जब प्रश्नव्याकरण के नाम से मिलनेवाली सभी रचनाएं हमारे समक्ष उपस्थित हो।

विषयसामग्री में परिवर्तन क्यों?

यद्यपि यहां यह प्रश्न स्वभाविकरूप से उठता है कि प्रथम ऋषिभाषित, आचार्यभाषित आदि भाग को हटाकर उसमें निमित्तशास्त्र सम्बन्धी विवरण रखना और फिर निमित्तशास्त्र सम्बन्धी विवरण हटाकर आश्रवद्वार और संवरद्वार सम्बन्धी विवरण रखना – यह सब क्यों हुआ? सर्व-प्रथम ऋषिभाषित आदि भाग क्यों हटाया गया? मेरी दृष्टि में इसका कारण यह कि ऋषिभाषित में अधिकांशतः अजैन परम्परा के ऋषियों के उपदेश एवं विचार सङ्कलित थे – इसके पठन-पाठन से एक उदार दृष्टिकोन का विकास तो होता था किन्तु जैनधर्म संघ के प्रति अटूट श्रद्धा खण्डित होती थी तथा परिणाम स्वरूप संघीय व्यवस्था के लिए अपेक्षित धार्मिक कट्टरता और आस्था टिक नहीं पाती थी। इससे धर्म-संघ को खतरा था। पुनः वह युग चमत्कारों द्वारा लोगों को अपने धर्म-संघ के प्रति आकर्षित करने और उनकी धार्मिक श्रद्धा को दृढ करने का था – चूंकि तत्कालीन जैन परम्परा के साहित्य में इसका अभाव था, अतः उसे जोडना जरूरी था। समवायाङ्ग में प्रश्न-व्याकरण सम्बन्धी जो विवरण उपलब्ध है उससे भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है, उसमें स्पष्ट रूप से

20. मइमाहप्पुप्पायं, सुवणब्भंतरपवंत(वत्त) वावारं।
अइसयपुण्णं णाणं, पण्हं जयपायडं वोच्छं॥
—प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्यं जयपाहुडं नाम निमित्तशास्त्र, ३.

21. नष्ट-मुष्टिचिन्ता-लाभालाभ-सुख-दुःख-जीवितमरणाभिव्यञ्जकत्वम्।
—प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्यं जयपाहुडं नाम निमित्तशास्त्रम् टीका.
एएण तुलनीय — पण्हादो हद-नट्ठ-मुट्ठि-चिन्ता-लाहालाहसुह-दुक्ख-जीविय-मरण जय-पराजय -णाम-दव्वायु-संखं च परूवेदि। —धवला, भाग १, पृ. १०७-१०८.

22. देखें — प्रकरण १४, १७, २१, ३८ —प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्यं जयपाहुडं नाम निमित्तशास्त्रम्।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

कहा गया है कि लोगों को जिनप्रवचन में स्थित करने के लिए, उनकी मति को विस्मित करने के लिए सर्वज्ञ के वचनों में विश्वास उत्पन्न करने के लिए इसमें — महाप्रश्नविद्या, मनःप्रश्नविद्या, देवप्रयोग आदि का उल्लेख किया गया है। यद्यपि यह आश्चर्यजनक है कि एक ओर निमित्तशास्त्र को पापसूत्र कहा गया – किन्तु संघहित के लिए दूसरी ओर उसे अङ्ग आगम में सम्मिलित कर लिया गया। क्योंकि जब तक उसे अङ्ग साहित्य का भाग बनाकर जिनप्रणीत नहीं कहा जाता तब-तक लोगों की आस्था उस पर टिक नहीं पाती और जिनप्रवचन की अतिशयता प्रकट नहीं होती। अतः प्रश्नव्याकरण की विषयवस्तु में परिवर्तन करने का दोहरा लाभ था एक ओर अन्यतीर्थिक ऋषियों के वचनों का उससे अलग किया जा सकता था दूसरी ओर उसमें निमित्तशास्त्रसम्बन्धी नई सामग्री जोडकर उसकी प्रामाणिकता को भी सिद्ध किया जा सकता था। किन्तु जब परवर्ती आचार्यों ने इसका दुरुपयोग होते देखा होगा और मुनिवर्ग को साधना से विरत होकर इन्हीं नैमित्तिक विद्याओं की उपासना में रत देखा होगा तो उन्होंने यह नैमित्तिक विद्याओं से युक्त विवरण उसमें पांच आश्रवद्वार और पांच संवरद्वारवाला विवरण रख दिया। प्रश्नव्याकरण टीकाकार अभयदेव एवं ज्ञानविमल ने भी विषय परिवर्तन के लिए यही तर्क स्वीकार किया है।[23]

प्रश्नव्याकरण प्राचीन विषयवस्तु कब उससे अलग कर दी गई और उसके स्थान पर पांच आश्रवद्वार और पांच संवरद्वार रूप नवीन विषय रख दी गई यह प्रश्न भी विचारणी है? अभयदेवसूरि ने अपनी स्थानाङ्ग, और समवायाङ्ग की टीका में भी यह स्पष्ट निर्देश किया है कि वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरण में इनमें सूचित विषयवस्तु उपलब्ध नहीं है। मात्र यही नहीं, उन्होंने पांच पांच आश्रवद्वार और पांच संवरद्वारवाले वर्तमान में उपलब्ध प्रश्नव्याकरण पर ही टीका लिखी है।[24] अतः वर्तमान संस्करण की निम्नतम सीमा अभयदेव के काल अर्थात् ईस्वी सन् १०८० से पूर्ववर्ती होना चाहिए। पुनः अभयदेव ने प्रश्नव्याकरण में एक श्रुतस्कन्ध है या दो श्रुतस्कन्ध है इस समस्या को उठाते हुए अपनी वृत्ति की पूर्वपीठिका में अपने से पूर्ववर्ती आचार्य का मत उद्धृत किया है – दो सुयसंधा पण्णता आसवदारा या संवरदारा य-। अभयदेव ने पूर्वाचार्य की मान्यता को अस्वीकार भी किया है और यह भी कहा है कि यह दी श्रुतस्कन्धों की मान्यता रूढ नहीं है। सम्भवतः उन्होंने अपना एक श्रुतस्कन्धसम्बन्धी मत समवायाङ्ग और नन्दी के आधार पर बनाया हो। इसका अर्थ यह भी है कि अभयदेव के पूर्व भी प्रश्नव्याकरण के वर्तमान संस्करण पर प्राकृत भाषा में ही कोई व्याख्या लिखी गई थी जिसमें दो श्रुतस्कन्ध की मान्यता को पुष्ट किया गया था। उसका काल अभयदेव से २–३ शताब्दी पूर्व अर्थात् ईसा की ८ वीं शताब्दी के अवश्य रहा

23. अतिशयानां पूर्वाचार्यैरेदंयुगीनानामपुष्टालम्बनप्रतिषेविपुरुषापेक्षयोत्तारितत्वादिति।
—प्रश्नव्याकरणवृत्ति (अभयदेव), प्रारम्भ।
पूर्वाचार्यैरेदंयुगीनपुरुषाणां तथाविधहीनहीनतरपाण्डित्यबल-बुद्धिवीर्यापेक्षया पुष्टालम्बन-मुद्दिश्य प्रश्नादिविद्यास्थाने पञ्चाश्रय-संवररूपं समुत्तारितम्।
—प्रश्नव्याकरणटीका (ज्ञानविमल), प्रारम्भ.

24. प्रश्नानां-विद्याविशेषाणां यानि व्याकरणानि तेषां प्रतिपादनपरा दशा-दशाध्ययनप्रतिबद्धाः ग्रन्थ-पद्धतय इति प्रश्नव्याकरणदशाः। अयं च व्युत्पत्त्यर्थोऽस्य पूर्वकालेऽभूत्। इदानीं त्वाश्रवपञ्चक-संवरपञ्चकव्याकृति-रेवेहोपलभ्यते। —प्रश्नव्याकरणवृत्ति (अभयदेव), प्रारम्भ.
प्रश्नाः अङ्गुष्ठादिप्रश्नविद्यास्ता व्याक्रियन्ते अभिधीयन्ते अस्मिन्निति प्रश्नव्याकरणम् एतादृशं अङ्गं पूर्वकालेऽभूत्। इदानीं तु आश्रवसंवरपञ्चकव्याकृतिरेव लभ्यते।
—प्रश्नव्याकरणटीका (ज्ञानविमल), प्रारम्भ.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

होगा। पुनः आचार्य जिनदासगणी महत्तर ने नन्दीसूत्र पर शक सम्वत् ५९८ अर्थात् ईस्वी की सन् ६७६ इ. में अपनी चूर्णी समाप्त की थी।[25] उस चूर्णी में उन्होंने प्रश्नव्याकरण में पञ्चसंवरादि की व्याख्या होने का स्पष्ट निर्देश किया है।[26] इससे भी यह सिद्ध हो जाता है कि ईस्वी सन् ६७६ के पूर्व प्रश्नव्याकरण का पञ्च संवर द्वारों से युक्त संस्करण प्रसार में आ गया था, अर्थात् आगमों के लेखनकाल के पश्चात् लगभग सौ वर्ष की अवधि में वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरण अस्तित्व में अवश्य आ गया था। प्रस्तुत प्रश्नव्याकरण की प्रथम गाथा, जिसमें 'वोच्छामि' कहकर ग्रन्थ के कथन का निश्चय सूचित किया गया है, कि रचना शेष सभी अङ्ग आगमों के प्रारम्भिक कथन से बिलकुल भिन्न है। यह ५ वीं-६ ठीं शताब्दी में रचित ग्रन्थों की प्रथम प्राक्कथन गाथा के समान ही है। अतः प्रस्तुत प्रश्नव्याकरण का रचनाकाल ईस्वी सन की छठीं शताब्दी माना जा सकता है।

इस प्रकार हम कह सकते है कि प्रश्नव्याकरण वह प्राचीनतम संस्करण है जिसमें उसकी विषयवस्तु ऋषिभाषित की विषयवस्तु के समरूप थी। लगभग ईसा पूर्व ३ री शताब्दी की रचना होगी फिर उसमें ईसा की दूसरी-तीसरी शताब्दी में उसमें निमित्तशास्त्रसम्बन्धी विवरण जुडे जिनकी सूचना स्थानाङ्ग के विवरण से मिलती है। इसके पश्चात् ईसा की चौथी शताब्दी में ऋषि-भाषित आदि भाग अलग किये गये और उसे निमित्तशास्त्र का ग्रन्थ बना दिया समवायाङ्ग का विवरण इसका साक्षी है। इस काल में प्रश्नव्याकरण के नाम से वाचनाभेद से अनेक ग्रन्थ अस्तित्व में थे ऐसी भी सूचना हमें आगम साहित्य से मिल जाती है। लगभग ईसा की ६ ठीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में इन ग्रन्थों के स्थान पर वर्तमान प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र का आश्रव एवं संवर के विवेचन से युक्त संस्करण अस्तित्व में आया है जो वर्तमान में हमें उपलब्ध है। और प्रश्नव्याकरण का अन्तिम संस्करण कहा जा सकता है।

जहांतक प्रश्नव्याकरण के उपर्युक्त लुप्त दो प्राचीत संस्करणों की विषयवस्तु का प्रश्न है, उसमें से प्रथम संस्करण की अधिकांश विषयवस्तु कुछ परिवर्तन के साथ वर्तमान में उपलब्ध ऋषि-भाषित (इसिभासियाइं), उत्तराध्ययन एवं सूत्रकृताङ्ग में है। द्वितीय निमित्तशास्त्रसम्बन्धी संस्करण की विषयवस्तु भी 'प्रश्नव्याकरणाख्यजयपायड' में और प्रश्नव्याकरण के नाम से प्रचलित अन्य निमित्तशास्त्र के ग्रन्थों में हो सकती है, यद्यपि इस सम्बन्ध में विशेष रूप से शोधकार्य की आवश्यकता है। आशा है विद्वत्जन इस दिशा में प्रयत्न करेंगे।

---

25. शकराज्ञो पञ्चसु वर्षशतेषु व्यतिक्रान्तेषु अष्टनवतेषु नन्द्यध्ययनचूर्णी समाप्ता।
—नन्दीचूर्णि (प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटी).
पाठान्तर : सकाराजातो पञ्चसु वर्षशतेषु नन्द्यध्ययनचूर्णी समाप्ता। —नन्दीचूर्णि.

26. तम्हि पण्हावागरणे अङ्गे पञ्चासवदाराइदा व्याख्येयाः परप्पवादिणो य।
—नन्दीसुत्तं चूर्णि, पृ. ६९.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

MAHĀPARIṆṆĀ : THE LOST CHAPTER IN THE ĀCĀRĀṄGASŪTRA

By

B. BHATT

The Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition is unanimous in the belief that a whole chapter on the *Mahāpariṇṇā* (Skt. *Mahāparijñā Mp*) is altogether lost from the First *Srutaskandha* of the Ācāra (Ācāra I).

The title *Mp*, seems to be given on the analogy of the title *Satthapariṇṇā* (Skt. *Śāstraparijñā Sp*), the First Chapter in Ācāra I. The *Sp* has gained much popularity in the Śvetāmbara tradition on account of its earlier character and popular content of the *ṣaḍ-jīvanikāya vis-à-vis ahiṃsā*. We have one of the earlier traditions in the *Ācāra-Niryukti* (*Āc. Nir.*) where the *Mp.* is considered to be 7th chapter (vs. 31, see also the Ṭīkā on vs. 290), coming after the 6th one called *Dhuya*.

It has been a common tendency among the scholiasts to state and to describe some of the secred concepts as greater than the great and better than the good ones, cf. *Vīra* (earler epithet for the Lord Mahāvīra) *Mahāvīra, vrata mahāvrata, Kalpasūtra Mahākalpasūtra, Niśītha, Mahāniśītha, Bala Mahābbala, gambhira/Saṃsāra mahā-gambhira/Mahāsaṃsāra* (Ṭīkā, p. 211), etc. Probably such a tendency is reflected in the title *Mp.* It is framed out of the suffix *pariṇṇā* from the title *Sp.*

Mp as the 7th chapter existed probably till the *Ācāra-Cūrṇi* (*Āc-Cūrṇi*) was composed in *ca.* 6th cent. A. D. The chapter on *Mp* might have been lost at the time of the last recension in Valabhi (*ca.* 7th cent. A. D.). We show how *Mp* was lost on account of some continuous activities of rendering the following text of *Vimoho* much spurious. As a result, the sūtras of the preceding chapter on *Mp* had been interspersed among the chapter on *Vimoho*. Umltimately *Mp* lost their identity, individual character. Because of such *loss of identity* almost all palm-leaf manuscripts of *ca.* 13th cent. A. D. mention *Dhuya, Vimoho*, and *Uvahāṇasūya* as the 6th, 7th and 8th chapters of Ācāra I (respectively) and neglect *Mp* altogether (cf. colophons in JĀgS : p. 71, fn. 6, p. 74, fn. 5, p. 76, fn. 4, p. 77, fn. 18, p. 79, fn. 19, p. 82, fn. 4p. 84, fn. 12, p. 88, fn. 10).

The concept of "loss", therefore, in connection with *Mp* has to be distinguished from that for *Dṛṣṭivāḍha*. *Mp* exists (partly or fully) but *lost its*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

identity– i. e. lying scattered within the text of the Ācāra itself. *Dṛṣṭivāda disappeared* altogether from the existing Jaina Siddhānta. The Śvetāmbara tradition being ignorant of the facts, believed that *Mp* is *vyavacchinna* (lost, cut off, separated) from the Ācāra text (see Ṭīkā, p. 173).

However, the *Āc-Nir*. verses of " *Enumeration* " type (enumeration of titles and/or contents of chapters) reflect the early tradition and retained the fact intact that *Mp* existed as the 7th chapter. The Enumeration-type *niryukti* verses might be originally from the *saṅgrahaṇī*-verses in contradistinction to later *niryukti* verses which are characteristic of *nikṣepization* of titles/*sūtras*, dealing with the *sūtras*, authors, details, etc. None of the *Āc-Nir* verses of of later character is traced even for its most common characteristic of *nikṣepization* of the title *Mp* (see below for verses 346–352 added to the main corpus of the *Āc-Nir* text proper) simply because *Mp* had lost its identity in the Ācāra ! Nevertheless, the *Āc-Nir* text as a whole does not give us even a slightest hint of the loss of *Mp*. It implies also that the loss of identity of *Mp* already existed during the period of later *nirynkti* verses on the Ācāra. In course of our investigation on the basis of the Enumeration-type *Āc-Nir* verses we will attempt to trace some relevant *Āc-Nir* verses meant for the chapter on *Mp* and show how they are mixed up with other *niryukti* verses relevant to the chapters on *Dhuya* and *Vimoho*.

We have already stated that the *Sp* might be an ideal for *Mp* with regard to the title-name and also its division into sections. *Sp* contains 7 sections (*uddeśas*) so also it is believed that *Mp* had 7 sections (*uddeśas*). Each one of them again is supposed to have extended the 7 *sattikka* (Septenary), an Appendix (*Cūlā*) 2 in the Second *Śrutaskandha* of Ācāra (Ācāra II) according to the *Āc-Nir* vs. 290. *Āc-Nir* verse 320 mentions *Cūlā* 2 to be without any sections (*ikka-sarā*. Ṭīkā on p. 271 means it as *that without uddeśas* and believes that *Cūlā* 2 is divided into *adhyayanas* !) and *continuous*. The *Āc-Nir* vs. 290 : (*sattikkagāṇi satta vi nijjūḍhāiṃ mahāpariṇṇāo...*) tells us nothing about any sections of *Mp*. The tradition relies on this verse-line as an evidence suggesting sections of *Mp*. This line though simple in meaning (" all the 7 *sattikkas* are extended from the *Mp*) has been misinterpreted by all, the scholiasts and the Jainologists. In fact, each of the 7 *sattikkas* believed to have constituted one section (*adhyayana*) in the tradition. Some young redactors attempted to divide *Cūlā* 2 also on the analogy of the preceding *Cūlā* 1 which contained 7 sections (*adhyayanas*) ! The subject-matter, style, language, etc. of Cūlās 1 and 2 are more or less similar (cf. *sa-bhikkhu-sūtra* etc.) and they can be compared with each other (see Schubring : *Ācāra*, Vorwort, pp. 8–9). The study of the *Ācāra-Cūrṇi* on Cūlās 1 and 2 reveals that the *sattikkas* are without any sections. It is also quite obvious that each *sattikka* containing only one or

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

at the most two-three more *sūtras* could hardly be constituted as a separate *adhyayana*. The *Āc-Nir* vs. 344 (*sattahiṃ chahiṃ cau-cauhi ya pañcahī aṭṭha-aṭṭha-cauhi nāyavvā*) is spurious and informs us nothing about any sections in *Mp*. The same verse can be compared with a *saṅgraha-gāthā*: (*satta ya cha caucauro cha pañca aṭṭh eva satta cauro ya*) quoted in Haribhadra's *Nandī-vṛtti* (PTS, p. 76). Accordingly *Mp* contained 7 sections!

The Śvetāmbara scholiasts are not unanimous in placing *Mp* after the 6th chapter *Dhuya*. Some of them believe it to be after *Vimoho*, or after *Uvahāṇasuya*. Such confusion would have prevailed due to the mixing up of more than one tradition. Tradition "A" representing *Mp* after the 6th chapter *Dhuya* would have been later mixed up with the other tradition "B" representing *Vimoho* as the 7th chapter coming after *Dhuya*. The tradition "B" retained the position of *Vimoho* intact and gave *Mp* a position after *Vimoho*, i. e. *Mp* was then considered as the 8th chapter. It can be shown in the following way:

TRADITION "A"	TRADITION "B"
(*Mp*. 7th)	(*Vimoho* 7th)
Āc-Nir. vs. 31	*Nandī-Vṛtti*
Āc Cūrṇi	*Samavāya-Vṛtti*
Ṭīkā	*Āvaśyaka-saṁgrahaṇī*
etc.	*Āc-Carṇi*

It should, have. however, be mentioned that the traditian "B" might be running parallel to and independent from the tradition "A" before both were mixed up together,

Some texts mentioning *Mp* as the 9th chapter (*Samavāya*, *Praśamarati* and *Sthāna*, etc.) seem to be spurious. Even Haribhadra in his *Ṭippaṇaka* on the *Nandī-Vṛtti* (PTS, p. 163) has rejected the view that *Mp* is a 9th chapter *Uvahāṇasuyaṃ Mahapariṇṇ 'eti paṭhyate tac céha nôpapadyate*. Mention of *Mp* as the 9th chapter in such texts is improper as a misreading.

The verses 346–352 found after the main *Āc-Nir* text proper deal with nikṣepization of the title *Mp* and discuss some *Sāṃkhya* views. In some editions vss. 253–270 are also connected with *Mp* (vss. 264–270 = 346–352, the rest of the preceding verses 253–263 total 11 verses-are not found in either the *Ṭīkā* or the *Āc-Cūrṇi*). *Ṭīkā* and *Āc-Curṇi* are quite unaware of their existence. These verses are of later origin and added at the end of the *Āc-Niryukti* text by a redactor or an author who might have felt such a type of verses lacking for *Mp* (title — *nikṣepization*, etc.) in the *Āc-Niryukti* text. He would have also believed *Mp* as a 9th chapter. Such an addition took place

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

after Śīlāṅka (*ca.* 8th cent. A.D.). An attempt to enumerate the subject-matter of the so-called 7 *uddeśas* is imaginary (vss. 253–263) and the *nikṣpization* of the title *Mp* (vss. 264–270 = vss 346–352) is much sophisticated. Both (the so-called enumeration and the *nikṣepization*) have no place in the early character of the *Niryukti* text in question.

(For vss. 253–270, — especially for vss. 253–263, see *Mahāparijñā Adhyayana aur us-kī Niryukti* — a Hindi article by Samaṇi Kusumaprabha published in *Tulsi Prajñā* 11. 2, Anekānta Shodhapith, Jaina Vishva Bharati, Ladnun, September 1985, pp. 36–42).

The distribution of *Āc-Nir* verses for *Vimoho* (consisting of 8 *uddeśas*) is uneven and not normal as it is for other chapters. The title *nikṣepa* for *Vimoho* contains 6 verses (257–262), which are spurious, cf. vs. 259 which would be the last in the title *nikṣepa*, but seems to be extended further till 262. No *niryukti* verses are allotted to *uddeśas* 1–7, while *uddeśa* 8 has three *niryukti* verses (263, 266, 274) dealing with the *sūtras* of the 8th *uddeśa* and have been placed wrongly with the *niryukti* verses 252–253 as giving Enumeration (contents). The *niryukti* verses 264, 265, 267–273 (total 9) is an uneven distribution for the Author's Details in *uddeśa* 8. The contents of *uddeśa* 2–4, 6–8 mentioned in *niryukti* verses 252–256 are actually not traceable from the existing *uddeśas*!

The *niryukti* verses 252, 253 form a single unit. After giving contents of *uddeśas* 1–3, there is a conclusion with *ahigāro* for *sesesu*. In the *niryukti*-literature, *ahigāro* suggests an end of the topic at hand, either *nikṣepization* or "(Enumeration/) contents", *sesesu* in vs. 253 stands for *uvagaraṇa* ... etc.

The *niryukti* verses 254–256 form a different unit. They give contents of *uddeśas* 4–8 (*maraṇas*). In fact, these two units (vss. 252–253, and 254–256) are different and distinct. The *niryukti* vss. 254–256 seem to be an extension, even after the Enumeration of contents is well concluded in vs. 253 (*ahigāro*). It is strange that the vss. 254–256 forming a different unit have also their own *ahigāro* reserved for the 8th *uddeśa* (cf. vs. 256cd)!

The chapter on *Vimoho* itself with its *uddeśas* 1–8 might also be rendered spurious. The 8th *uddeśa* has 1–25 *gāthās* dealing with endurance (*titikkhā*) in calamities. The *parisaha/uvasaggā* of the *gāthā* 22 can be campared with the content of *Mp* in general as mentioned in the *Āc-Nir* vs. 34 (*mohasamutthā parīsaha-uvasaggā*?). This *uddeśa* ends with the theme *vimoh'-annayara* (other than the *vimoho*?) The *uddeśas* 1–7 are in prose, and some of their *sūtras* seem to be an extension of the *gāthās* of *uddeśa* 8. The *uddeśas* 1–3 in general can be distinguished from the *uddeśas* 4–7; both these groups form

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

different units of their own. The theme of *uddeśas* 1–3 is comparable with that of the chapter 1 : *Sp*. The theme of *uddeśas* 4–7 gives details of the *vastra-parityāga* with the same concluding sentence : *iccēvaṃ vimohāyāyaṇam... tti bemi*. The *vimoh'-āyayaṇam* might be derived from the concept *vimoh' annayara* (*gāthā* 25) of *uddeśa* 8.

The whole problem requires still further investigation. But the discussion in short we supplied here is enough to hint at the fact that the text of *Vimoho* (chapter 8) and the *niryukti* verses on it is spurious. The *uddeśa* 8 is an early version from which the extension for *maraṇas* developed in *uddeśas* 4–7. The *uddeśas* 1–3 forming a separate unit describe *samaṇunna-a-samaṇunna* with regard to *aśaṇa-pāṇa-* etc. (*uddeśas* 1–2), and *parīsaha pariggaha agaṇi-kāya*, etc. (*uddeśa* 3 cf. *gāthā* 22 in *uddeśa* 8). The *niryukti* verse 252 while giving contents of *uddeśās* 1–3 borrows as a *pratīka* the wording *a-samaṇunna* from the *sūtra* 197, the first *sūtra* in *uddeśa* 1.

Ac-Cūrṇi throws more light on the problem of *samaṇunna-a-samaṇunna*. It is a normal practice adopted in the *Ac-Cūrṇi* text to give a *pratīka* generally from the beginning *sūtra* of a *chapter/uddeśa* before starting any comments. Similarly, in introducing the chapter on *Mp* the *Ac-Cūrṇi* attempts to show its connection with the preceding chapter 6th on *Dhūya*, and adds : *Mahāpariṇṇā ṇa(ṃ) paḍhijjai : a-samaṇuṇṇāyā* .... On account of *ṇa* instead of the correct and appropriate interjection *ṇam* the scholiasts have interpreted the sentence to suit to their beliefs, to find reasons behind the loss of *Mp*, they have mystified "contents" of *Mp*, purely based on their conjectures! The above-quoted sentence means : "The *Mp* is indeed recited with *a-samaṇuṇṇāyā*... etc. We trace here in such references at least the first *sūtra* of the first *uddeśa* of *Mp*! The *Ac-Cūrṇi* text further describing the matter has been obscured, but it is clear that some concepts from the chapter on *Sp* are involved in it.

On account of the false reading (viz. *Mahāpariṇṇā ṇa paḍhijjai, asamanuṇṇāyā*) of the sentence in the *Cūrṇi* text, the scholiasts offer their conjectures for the loss of *Mp*, that *Mp* is not recited or learnt (*ṇa paḍhijjai*), because it was not allowed to do so (*asamaṇuṇṇāyā*), which led to many legends and/mystic subject matter connected with *Mp*. The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* vs. 769 (*jeṇ' uddhariyā vijjā āgāsa-samā Mahāpariṇṇāo* ...) finds *Mp* as a source of knowledge to move in the space. This idea is again repeated in the *Prabhāvakacarita* 148 and such other texts.

We wish to demonstrate in detail in future and attempt to show, if not fully, but in fractions the chapter on *Mp* and the *niryukti* verses relevant to the text restored.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

HISTORY SECTION

SOME INTERESTING RESULTS OF RECENT RESEARCH IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF GUJARAT

By

H. G. SHASTRI

The documented history of Gujarat commences with the Mauryan period. The ancient period therein extends upto the end of the Caulukya period including the Vaghela sub-period (1244–1304 A. D.).

The intensive study of the epigraphic and literary sources of information during the last four decades has yielded several interesting results of research.

Some outstanding results are given here in a chronological sequence.

(i) The years 41–46 given in the cave inscriptions[1] of the time of Nahapāna were generally ascribed to the śaka Era. But as Nahapāna reigned prior to Cāṣṭana and as Cāṣṭana now seems to have reigned since 78 A. C., the years 41–46 mentioned above must be ascribed to another era with an earlier epoch or must be taken as regnal years. The Vikrama Era would be too early, hence it is better to take these years as regnal years.[2] Accordingly the reign of the Kṣaharāt kings Bhāmaka and Nahapāna should be put immediately before 78 A. D.

(ii) The Audhau inscriptions[3] of the Kṣatrapa kings Cāṣṭana and Rudradāman, dated year 52, were the earliest known records of the Kārdamaka, Kṣatrapas, whose dates are usually ascribed to the Śaka Era. It was generally held that the Śaka Era was started by the Kushan king Kaniṣka I and that it was subsequently adopted by the western Kṣatrapas who were taken to be subordinate to the Kushan sovereigns. But the recent discovery of the Daulatpur inscription[4] of Cāṣṭana, dated year 6 and the Audhau inscription[5] of Cāṣṭana dated year 11

1. Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*EI.*, Vol. VIII), pp. 82 ff.); Junnar Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*ASWI*, p. 103)

2. Jamindar Rasesh, *Kṣatraga kāla num Gujarat*, pp. 55 f. and 59 ff.

3. *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

4. Mirashi V. V., "Daulatpur Inscription of the reign of Cāṣṭana, year 6", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Baroda, 1278), pp. 34 ff.

5 Gokhale, Shobhana, "Andhra Inscription of Cāṣṭana, Saka 11", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol II, Parts 1–2 (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 104 ff.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

has led us to re-consider the problem of the origin of the Śaka Era and now ascribe it to the Kṣatrapa king Cāṣṭana who was probably a Śaka himself rather than to the Kushan king Kaniṣka I, who belonged to the Yue-ehi tribe.[6]

(iii) It was formerly held that the Gupta rule over Gujarat was extended by Candragupta II (*circa* 376–414 A. C.). But the known dates of the Kṣatrapa kings now extend up to Ś. E. 320 (348–44 A. C.) and they are now known to have been succeeded by Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka in Gujarat.

(iv) As Dr. P. L. Gupta suggested, the Gupta rule seems to have been extended by Candragupta II only over Malva, while the conquest of Gujarat should be ascribed to Kumāragupta I (415–449 A. C.)[7]

(v) The Maitrakas were different from the Maitrayakas. They were devotees of Maheśvara and not of Mitra, the Sun-god. The origin of the Maitraka tribe can probably be ascribed to Mitra, one of the four principal pupils of Lord Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect.[8]

(vi) The Valabhī Era is but a modified form of the Gupta Era. A chronological study of the known key-dates in the Maitraka records indicates that the years of the Valabhī Era were Kārttikādi, while its months were Pūrṇimānta. The years were reckoned as commencing five months earlier than those of the Gupta Era, which were Caitrādi. It was dlistinctly known as the 'Valabhi Era' during the post-Maitraka period, when the original Era was specifically designated 'Gupta Era',[9]

(vii) The omission of the praśasti of king Dharapaṭṭa in the plates of king Guhasena, dated Val. E. 240, raised a doubt that Dharpaṭṭa did not accede to the throne, but a minute study by the context clearly indicates that the scribe omitted two lines through oversight.[10]

The Bagumra grant[11] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, dated Ś. E 810 (888 A. C.) contains omissions not only of several words in stanzas but also of at least ten entire stanzas, omitting the enology of four intermadiate kings, viz.

---

6. Shāstrī, H. G. and Jamindar, Rasesh, "The Reconsideration of the Chronological Relation between Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana and the Origin of the Śaka Era in the light of the Recently known early dates of Cāṣṭana", *JOI*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1–2 (Baroda, 1979, pp. 59 ff.

7. Bhāratiya Vidya, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3–4, pp. 84 ff.

8. Shastri, H. G., *Maitraka-Kālin Gujarāt* (Ahmedabad, 1955), pp. 16 ff.

9. Shāstrī, H. G., 'The Valabhī Era', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, (Calcutta, 1948), pp. 238 ff.

10. Shāstrī, H. G., *Op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

11. *IA*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Dhruva II, Akālavarṣa, Dhruva III and Dantivarman. The omissions would cover as many as about sixteen lines on the plate i. e., an entire side of the plate. As suggested by Hultzsch who edited the grants the omissions may be accounted for by the want of space.[13]

(viii) The discovery of the Sanjeli plates[18] in 1974 indicates that the Hūṇa soverign Toramāṇa held supremacy over a feudatory family reigning on Śivabhāgapura. The first grant is dated year 3, regnal year 3 of Toramāṇa, while the other two grants are dated years 6 and 19, probably of the reign of the same soverign. Thus the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa is now known to have extended his sway over North-east Gujarat.

(ix) The Maitraka kings of Valabhi ruled over Central Gujarat and the Gurjara kings of Nāndīpurī held sway also over Akrūreśvara Viṣaya and Sangamakheṭaka Viṣaya. But it is not known which dynasty occupied the Bharukaccha Viṣaya before 648 A. C. In 648 A. C. the Maitraka soverign Dharasena IV possessed Bharukaccha, where he had his military camp.[14] In 676 A. C. Maitraka king Śīlāditya III issued a grant of land situated in the Bharukaccha Viṣaya.[15] Thus the Broach region seems to have been under the sway of the Maitraka kings at least from 648 to 676 A. C.

But in 677 A. C. we find the Bharukaccha Viṣaya occupied by Gurjara king Dadda III *alias* Bāhusahāya.[16] He shitted his capital from Nāndīpurī to Bharukaccha. The Bharukaccha Viṣaya remained in the possesion of the Gurjara kings up to the end as testified by the grants[17] issued by king Jayabhaṭa III in 706 A. C. and king Jayabhaṭa IV in 736 A. C.

The comparison between the dates of the copper edicts of Śīladitya III and Dadda III clearly indicates that Bharukaccha was occupied by the former between Dvio Pauṣa badi 4 and Māgha śudi 7 of Vol. E. 357 (676 A. C.) and

12. *Ibid.*, p. 66; Bhatt, Malati K., 'Anu-Maitraka-Kāl-num Gujarāt : Itihās ane Samskriti' (Ahmedabad, 1973), pp. ff.

13. Mehta, R. N. and Thakkar, A. M., *MS. University Copper-plates of the time of Toramāṇa*' Vadodara, 1978).

14. *IA*, VII, pp. 73 ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 335 ff.

15. Gadre, A. S., *Important Inscriptions from* the Baroda State (Baroda, 1943), pp. 16 ff.

16. Mirashi, V. V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV (Gotacamund, 1955) No. 18.

17. *Ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 23–24,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

by the latter between Māgha śudi 7 of 676 A.C. and Māgha śudi 7 of 677 A. C.[18]

(x) Navsari grant[19] of the Cālukya king Avanijanāśraya Pulekeśin, dated K. E. 490 (740 A. C.) records that the Tājīka army which penetrated through Sindh, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, Gurjara and other kingdoms and intended to enter the Deccan to win a victory over its kings, was vanquished by this king at Navasārikā (Navsari). The two grants[20] of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV of Broach dated K. E. 486 (736 A. C.) indicate that the king defeated the Tājikas in the city of Valabhī. The Arabic History 'Fateh-ul-Buldau' by Ahmed Balāzari records that Junaid, the Arab governor of Sindh, shortly after his appointment in in A. H. 107 (725 A. C.), sent military expeditions to Marwad, Kaccha, North Gujarat; south Gujarat, Malwa and Mewad[21]. On constructing all these statements together, it appears that in *cīrca* 726 A. C. the Arab army of Sindh first overran Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, North Gujarat and the Gurjara kingdom of Broach, and marched as far as Navsari in South Gujarat, but met with a decisive defeat at Navsari and could not proceed together to the Deccan, it was forced to retreat and was routed at Valabhi, where the Gurjara king of Broach played a prominent role in alliance with the Maitraka king[22].

(xi) The fall of Vàlabhī is differently dated in the Jaina tradition. It is dated V. E. 375 in *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*[23] (1304–05 A. C.), *Purātana Prabandha Saṁgraha*[24] (14th century A. C.) and *Prabandha Kośa*[25] (1398–99 A. C.), and Vīranirvāṇa Era 845 in *Prabhāvakacarita*[26] (1277 A. C.) and V. E. 845 in *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (1332–33 A. C.). Among those dates V. E. 375 is the same as Vīranirvāṇa Era 845, both corresponding to 318–19 A. C. This date is quite incongruent, as it falls even before the foundation of the Maitraka kingdom. V. E. 845 would correspond to 788–89 A. C. It falls within the reign of Śīlāditya VII, the last known king of Valabhī. It is therefore, the correct date of the event. It seems that the year 845 was misascribed to the Vīranirvāṇa Era by some Jains and it gave rise to the variant date of V. E. 375,

18. Mirashi equates the date of Val. E. 357 with the same day as that of K. E. 427 but the former date falls one year earlier than the latter one.

19. Mirashi, V. V., *Op. cit.* No. 30.

20. *Ibid.*, Nos. 23–24.

21. Elliot, H. M., *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 125 f.

22. Shastrī, H. G., 'Gurjara-Pratiharo', *Gujarāt no Rājakīya ane Sāmskritik Itihās*, Vol. III (Ahmedabad, 1974), p. 103.

23. Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, *Jaina Singhi Series* (1933), p. 109.

24. Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, *Jaina Singhi Series* (1936), p. 83.

25. Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, *Jaina Singhi Series* (1935), p. 23.

26. Ed. by muni Jinavijayaji, *Jaina Singhi Series* (1934), p. 29,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

which is obviously absurd.[27] The fall of Valabhī is ascribed to the Mleccha army.[28] This event is not recorded in the Arabic annals, but from the Indian tradition records that the Arab army was sent by the Lord of al-Mansura, the capital of Sindh.[29] The Arab governor of Sindh in 788 A. C. was Salim Tunusi (786–90 A. C.).

The Jain tradition also records that when the Arab invasion was imminent Jain images at Valabhī were shifted to sate places.[30] The shifting of images is dated on the full-moon day of Āśvina. Hilol grant[31] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka II, dated (Val., E. 470 (788 A. C.), alludes to his rule over Harṣapura Viṣaya in northeast Gujarat. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of south Gujarat could have extended his rule over northeast of Gujarat only after the fall of the Maitraka kingdom. The fall of Valabhī can therefore, be dated between Āśvina śu, 15 of Val. E. 469 (19th september 788 A. C.) and Mārgaśīrṣa śu 7 (11th November, 788 A. C.).

(xii) The history of the Saindhava kings, revealed by the six Ghumdi grants[32] dated G. E. 513 to 596, the Morbi grant[33] dated G. E. 585 and the Vala clay sealing[34] indicated that the Saindhava kings ruled over Western Saurāṣṭra, with their capital at Bhūtāmbilikā (Ghumli) from about 735 to 920 A. C. But the recent discovery of the Ambalas grant[35] of king Ahivarman, issued from Kuberanagara in probably Val. E. 404 723 (A. C.), indicates that the early Saindhavas ruled over South Saurāṣṭra. Ahivarman I probably reigned in Sindh. His son Puṣyaseṇa migrated to Saurāṣṭra, officiated as Mahāsenāpati in the Maitraka kingdom, and carved out a principality in South Saurāṣṭra. He was succeeded by his son Ahivarman II. His son and successor Puṣyadeva seems to have shifted his capital to Ghumli in Western Saurāṣṭra.

(xiii) The Hilol grant[36] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakka II, dated Val. E. 470 (788 A. C.), indicates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who ruled over Kāśīkūla

27. Shastri, H. G., 'the date of the fall of Valabhī', *IHQ*, vol. xxiii, pp. 248 ff
28. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, p. 108; *Purātana Prabandha Sangraha*, p. 82; *Prabandha kośa*, p. 23.
29. Sachau, *AlBeruni's India* (1914), Vol. I, pp. 192 f.
30. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, p. 109; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 29, *Purātana Prabandha Sangraha*, p. 83.
31. *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 213 ff.
32. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.
33. *IA*, Vol. II, pp. 257 f.
34. *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 274 f.; Vol. XXXVIII, p. 145.
35. *JOI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 272 ff.
36. Vide n. 32 above.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Viṣaya to the south of the Kim river in 757 A. C., extended his sway northward as far as Harṣapura (Harsul) in Sabarkantha (District) and shifted his capital to Kheṭaka (Kheda) in course of time. Probably he did this shortly after the fall of the Maitraka kingdom in 788 A. C. This grant supplies the lower limit of the catastrophic event.

(xiv) Four inscriptions of the Caulukya period, are dated in the Siṁha Era, the years ranging from 32 to 151.[37] They all belong to Sorath represented by Junagadh District. The mention of the corresponding year of Vikrama Era or the Valabhī Era along with its years clearly indicates that the era started in V. E. 1170 (1113–14 A. C.).

A study of the known data shows that the years of the Siṁha Era were either Caitrādi or Āṣāḍhādi, but not Kārtikādi.[38] It is difficult to explain the signifance of the name of the Era, which has a bearing on its origin. The epoch of the Era falls within the reign of the Caulukya soverign Jaysiṁha Siddharāja, who is credited with the conquest of Sorath. It is probably that it commemorates his conquest of Sorath, but it is not easy to explain why it remained confined to Sorath.[39]

(xv) The Kadi grant[40] of Jayasiṁha *alias* Jayasiṁha, dated V. E. 1280 indicates that the throne of the Caulukya king Bhīmadeva II was usurped by the former by that time. The defeat of this Jayasimha by the Paramāra king Arjuna Varman of Malwa at the foot of Mt. Parva (Pawa) took place during V. E. 1266–67.[41] Śrīdhara Praśasti,[42] dated V. E. 1273, introduces him as a favourite courtier of king Bhimadeva II. Does it imply that Jayasiṁha II usurped the throne twice and Bhīmadeva regained it twice? The recent discovery of the Bhūtiyā Vāsaṇā grant[43] of Jayasiṁha II, dated V. S. 1274, in October 1984, makes it clear that the usurper enjoyed the throne for several years. It therefore now appears that Jayasimha II probably ruled over Gujarat for a continuous period of about 15 years (*circa* V. S. 1266 to 1281) and that the reference to Bhīmadeva II in Śrīdhara Praśasti must be taken as applicable to the earlier position of the courtier.

37. G. V. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part II (1935), No. 145 (S. E. 33, V. E. 1909); No. 154 (S. E. 60, Val. E. 855); No 162 (S. E. 96, V. E. 1966); and Part III (1942), No. 217 (S. E. 151, V. E. 1320, Val. E. 954).

38. B. K. Thaker, 'Kālagaṇanā', *GRSL*, Vol. I, (1972), p. 492.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 491.

40. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 196 f.

41. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.; *JASB*, Vol. V, pp. 378 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 110 ff.

42. *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 437 ff.

43. Sāmīpya, Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1984), pp. 63 ff.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(xvi) In the traditional account of the history of Gujarat the Vaghelas are treated as quite different from the Solankis, but both the royal lineages belonged to one and the same tribe designated 'Caulukya'[44]. The so called Vaghelas are usually introduced as Caulukyas, specified to be of a different branch,[45] sometimes named Vyāghrapallīya' i. e. of Vyāghrapallī or Vaghal.[46]

(xvii) In *Prabandhakośa* (V. S. 1405) Rāja Śekhara Sūri introduces Vīrama as the elder son of Vīradhavala[47] and narrates that on being threatened by Vīśaladeva who captured the throne and varquished Vīrama, Udayasiṁha, the father-in-law of Vīrama, got his son-in-law killed.[48] This traditional account of later origin is proved to be false by the facts given in the contemporary records of the Caulukya kings. Kali grants[49] of Bhīmadeva II, dated V. E. 1295 and 1296 introduce Rāṇka Vīrama as the son of the Caulukya Rāṇaka Līṃapasā i. e. Lavaṇaprasāda, while the Cintra Praśasti,[50] dated V. E. 1343 and the Murlidhar Temple Praśasti[51] dated V. E. 1354 clearly indicate that Vīradhavala had two sons named Pratāpamalla and Vīśaladeva. The same relationship is also given in *Purātana Prabandha Saṁgraha*.[52] Thus Vīrama was in fact, the elder brother rather than the elder son of Vīradhavala. He reigned at Vidyutpura (Vijapur)[53] and Ghūsaḍī was named Vīramagam after him.

(xviii) The invasion of Gujarat by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan took place in A. H. 698 or V. E. 135b (Caitrādi)[54] i. e. 1355 (Kārttikādi), corresponding to 1299 A. C., while *Vicāraśreṇī*[55] dates the event in V. E. 1360. *Pravacanaparśkṣā*[56] (1573 A.C.) by Dharmasāgara assigns a reign of 7 years since V.S.

---

44. In their Inscriptions.
45. Someśvara, *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, 61.
46. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇī*, p. 98; *Purātana Prabandhana Sangraha*, p. 54.
47. P. 124.
48. PP. 124 f.
49. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 205 f. and 206 f.
50. *IA*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.
51. *Buddhiprakāśa*, Vol. LVII, pp. 77 ff.
52. P. 54.
53. *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Sangraha*, Ed. by Muni Jinavijaya (Bombay, 1943), p. 122, No. 181.
54. *Tārīkh-i-Firozshahi* (Eng. trans. by Fuller), *JASB*, 1869, p. 190); Nizam-ud-din, *Tabagrāl-i-Akcari* (Tr. I, 157).
55. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 30.
Somanath Patan stone-inscription dates this event in V. E. 1355, evidently of the Kārttikādi years. It falls in June, 1999 A. D. (Diskalkar Inscriptions of Kathiawad, No. 17).
56. *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka*, Vol. II, Nos. 3–4 (1925), p. 9.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

1353[57] and thus corroborates the date of V. S. 1360. The Praśasti in a MS dated V. E. 1571 assigns V. S. 1360 to the reign of Karṇadeva[58]. In his *Futuhula Salatīn* Isami states that Karṇa returned to Gujarat after the return of the first Muslim army, recovered his capital and was compelled to have Gujarat for ever after his complete defeat by the second army led by Jhitam and Panchami.[59] Dr. A. K. Majumdar, therefore, pointed out that Gujarat was invaded twice by the Khalji army.[60] Obviously the earlier invasion was dated 1299 A. C. and the latter one 1304 A. C. The recent discovery of Sampa Persian Sanskrit stone inscription[61] of Karṇadeva in 1981 has corroborated the fact that Karṇa's reign lasted upto 1304 A C. It is dated A. H. 704 and V. E. 1360, the day corresponding to 4th August, 1304 A. C.

(xix) The stone-inscriptions recently discovered by Shri A. V. Pandya have brought to light some more kingdoms in south Gujarat, such as the Cālukya kingdoms of Mangalapurī, Vijayapura and Vasantapura, and the Vaijavāpāyana kingdom of Nandaputra.[62]

(xx) The more intensive studies of the epigraphic and literary sources have shed more light on some other aspects of the ancient history of Gujarat. Dr. H. D. Sankalia made *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat* (1949) mainly on the basis of the ancient inscriptions of Gujarat. Kum. S. P. Jadejā made a critical study of the Epical and Puranic Tradition of the Yādavas and their Genealogies (1965). P. C. Parikh traced the gradual evolution of the script in Gujarat from Brāhmī to Nāgarī (1966).[63] Kum. B. K. Thakar made an investigation into the chronological systems reflected in the epigraphic and literary records of Gujarat from early times upto 1300 A. D. (1969).[64] Shri I. V. Trivedi studied the data supplied by the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Muslim Period in Gujarat (1971). Prof. Y. I. Dixit made an analytical study of the administrative organization and its working in Gujarat from the beginning of the Maitraka Period to the end of the Caulukya Period.

57. Dharmasāgara, *Pravacana Parīkṣā*, (1937), p. 272.

58. *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, Grantha-Praśasti dated VS. 1574 cited in a MS at Patan, dated VS. 1735 (*Puratattva*, Vol. I, p. 63).

59. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 190 (Isamī, *Futuh-as-Salatin*, pp. 242 ff.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 189 ff.

61. *Epigraphica Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1975, pp. 26 ff.

62. A. V. Pandya, *New Dynasties of Medieval Gujarat* (1963), pp. 52 ff.

63. P. C. Parikh, Gujarat-māṁ Brāhmī thī Nāgari Sudhī-ro Lipi-vikās (Ahmedabad, 1974).

64. In the Press.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

To these are supplemented the archaeological sources. Shri K. F. Sompura made a historical survey of the structural temples built in Gujarat upto 1600 A. D. with special reference to the architectural canons discerned in their extant remains (1963).[65] Prof. J. P. Amin studied the early form of Shaivism in Gujarat and its subsequent spread upto 1300 A. D. (1964).

Thus recent activities of research in the ancient history of Gujarat have yielded several interesting results.

65. Sompura, K. F. *The Structural Temples of Gujarat*, (Ahmedabad, 1969).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

VEDIC PHILOSOPHY AND RITUAL OF NOMADISM AND SETTLEMENT

By

S. N. MISRA

Vedic literature preserves very valuable evidence on the early reaches culture. In fact, the *Ṛgveda* is a unique document of the people from the moving to the settled life, incidentally giving information on the settlement pattern origin of agrarian economy and various aspects of sympolitical institutions. Now when serious attempts are being made to correlate the Vedic evidence with the archaeological finds, an intensive study of the Vedic literature has become almost imperative. An humble attempt is made here in this direction in the context of nomadism and settlement.

Two kinds of people are mentioned in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* – the *yāyāvarīya* and the *kṣemya*.[1] The *yāyāvara*[2] is a constant wanderer, whereas the *kṣemya* is one who lives in a tent. Though the nomad does not lead a permanent or settled life yet he resides in a tent for a short while and takes rest. So the *yāyāvarīya* and the *kṣemya* are actually not two types of people but are merely two ways of life, as it is indicated by the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[3]. In the earlier part of the day, the nomad marches (*pra-kramayati*), in the later part he rests and thus upholds both *yoga* (yoke) and *kṣema* (resting in tent). The mobile life is the *yoga* (yoke), whereas the restful life is *kṣema*. The word in the commentaries of the *Yoga-sūtra* is derived from √*yuja* to be in the *Samādhi* and not from √*yujir* to contact.[4]

The root *yuja* in the *Ṛgveda* has yielded a number of derivatives, such as *yoga*, *ayoga*, *yoktra*, *yogya*, *yajana* etc. Though the primary and pre-eminent meaning of the √*yuja* is to 'harness an animal', such secondary meanings as 'bringing into contact, mixing, endeavour, object attained through endeavour' seem

---

1. *tasmād yāyāvarā anyāḥ prajāḥ, kṣemyā anyāḥ* — *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā* 3. 2. 2.

2. The word *yāyāvara* is derived from the √*yā* 'to go', an extended form of the Indo-European √*ei*. The √*yā* is found in Sanskrit, Avestan, Tocharian and Hittite languages.

3. *tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyasyeśe tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyam adhyavasyati* —*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 5. 2. 1.

4. *yuja samādhau ity asmād vyutpannaḥ samādhyartho na tu yujir yoga ity asmāt saṁyogārtha ity arthaḥ.* —*Tattva-Vaiśāradī of* Vācaspatī *on Yoga-sūtra* 1. 1.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

to have developed. In *Ṛgveda* 5. 33. 2 *yoktra* occurs in the sense of yoke or rope (leather-strap) used for harnessing the horses in a chariot. In *Ṛgveda* 1. 191. 10 the word *yojanam* cannotes 'mixture'. Further, in 7. 70. 4 *yogya* means 'suitable' or 'applicable'.

yogá (masculine and *antydoātta*) occurs in the nominative only once, in accusative twice and in locative thirteen times in the *Ṛgveda*. In compound, *yoga-kṣema* occurs only once. The general cannotation of *yoga* is "striving, endeavour", but it developed various secondary meanings, prominent among them being of course, the object obtained through endeavours. Thus, *yoge-goge tavastaram, vāje-vāje havāmahe* (1. 30. 7) (we invoke Indra for protection at the commencement of) every endeavour and every struggle. *yoga-kṣemaṁ va ādāya = aham bhūyāsam = uttama* (*ṚV* 10. 166. 5) "I will become supreme having appropriated your *yoga* and *kṣema*". Here, evidently *yoga* is used in the sense of "wealth obtained through endeavours".

Before proceeding further, we may note here the semantic development of of the word *kṣema*, derived from √*kṣi* which strangely indicates both movement and settlement. All Sanskrit grammarians Kṣīrasvāmī, Kāśakṛtsna, Maitreya, Śākaṭāyana, Kātantra and Hemacandra attribute the seemingly contradictory meanings of movment and settlement. Indo-European congnates emphasise the conotation of settlement.[5] The Greek *kusai* and the Avesten *śī*, both mean dwelling or settlement.

Here it may be noted that *kṣhiti, kṣaya, kṣetra* and *kṣemya* are other derivatives which occur in the *Ṛgveda*. About *kṣaya*, we shall write later. The word *kṣema* (masculine) occurs sixteen times in collocation or compound with *yoga*. Twice we find its verbal form *kṣemayan* – once each in nominative and accusative. In all these references, the primary meaning is 'dwelling or shelter', which at times is extended to 'security, place or comfort' derived from the undisturbed inhabitation.

In *Ṛgveda* 3. 7. 2. Sāyaṇa interprets *sadasi kṣemayantam* in the sense of 'desiring an abode or shelter in the house', and the interpretation may be correct as it neatly fits in the context. This meaning is rendered explicit in references where *kṣema* occurs in contra-distinction with *yoga*. Thus, it is stated that 'through nourishment (*puṣyāt*) both are obtained *kṣema* and *yoga*. He conquers (in day and in night) two modes of existence (*vritau*) i. e. *yoga* and *kṣema*. This strongly recalls the passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* as quoted above.

---

5. Tripathi, B. P. *Pāṇini-Dhātupāṭha a Samīkṣā*, p. 393.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Again, attention may be drawn to a verse (7. 54. 3) of the *Ṛgveda* addressed to Vāstoṣpati, the deity of the house. "O Vāstoṣpati, we may walk along with your *gātumatyā* (moving) *saṁsadā* (abode or place of meeting), you protect our *yoga* and *kṣema*". Reference to moving abode (*gātumatyā saṁsadā*) is interesting in as much as it indicates the nomadic stage and, therefore, *yoga* and *kṣema* may be taken respectively in the sense of yoking endeavour and shelter. In 10. 89. 10, where Indra is to be invoked on the occasion of *yoga* and *kṣema*, and in 7. 86. 8 where *yoga* and *kṣema* are desired to be auspicious, the meaning of *yoga* and *kṣema* seems to be the same – endeavour and rest.

Later, however, the meaning changed. In the *Brāhmaṇas*[6], the *Upaniṣads*[7], the *Bhagavadgītā*[8], and in the Pāli literature[9], *yoga* indicated concentration, mode or philosophy of action and *kṣema* indicated peace, welfare, comfort etc. When compounded with each other, *yoga* and *kṣema* mean respectively "the achievement of something new and the protection or preservation of already acquired prosperity".

The idea is further elaborated. It is stated that *yoga* (yoke) is *Viṣṇu-krama* or Viṣṇu's strides and the *kṣema* (tent) is *Vātsapra*, the gladdener of the decendants of *Vatsa*. The *Viṣṇu-krama* is constant wandering. Viṣṇu by his three gigantic strides had measured the whole universe, and, therefore, it is said that one who follows *Viṣṇu-krama* conquers the universe[10]. Thus, the mobile aspect of the nomadic life is the yoke (*yoga*) whereas the settled or sedentary life is the restful (*kṣema*). Further, the yoke represents *Viṣṇu-krama* and the restful indicates *Vātsapra*. These are the two-fold modes of divine creation. *Viṣṇu-krama* and *Vātsapra* are complementory to each other. According to a legend mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhhmaṇa*, Prajāpati created the whole universe by the *Viṣṇu-krama* and the *Vātsapra*[11]. It is stated that "by the Viṣṇu-*strides* Prajāpati created this world, the air, the sky, the regions and that whlch has been and by the *Vātsapra* Prajāpati created fire (Agni), wind (*vāyu*), the moon and which shall be. Again, by the *Viṣṇu-strides* Prajāpati created possession (wealth), the day, the former (bright) fortnights, the half months, and the seasons and by the *Vātsapra* Prajāpati created hope night, the latter (dark) fortnight, the monlhs, and the year. And thus, the

6. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8. 6; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3. 33. 4; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11. 5. 6. 4.
7. *Kaṭhopniṣad* 2. 2; *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 3. 10. 2.
8. *Bhagavadgītā* 9. 22.
9. Rhys Davids, *Pali-English Dictionary*, *s. v.* Yoga.
10. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 5. 2. 1.
11. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6. 7. 4. 7.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

reason why the *Viṣṇu-strides* and *Vātsapra* are (performed) and that he thereby even now creates everything[12]. Thus, it is clear that Prajāpāti has created everything of the past, present and future by the *Viṣṇu-strides* and *Vātsapara*.

The Ritnal of Settlement

The philosophy of *yoga* (yoke) and *kṣema* (restful) is symbolised through a ritual which is of great significance to understand the process of Aryan settlement. *Yoga* (yoke) and *kṣema* (restful) or *Viṣṇu-krama* and *Vātsapra* are the two ways of life, of the nomadic and settled people respectively. So it is said that the mind of the nomadic people resides in the *yoga* while the mind of other people lives in the *kṣema*. Thus, the *yāyāvara* lives in the *kṣema* through the *Vātsapra*.[13]

The sacred literature enjoins the performance of the ritual of *Vātsapra* on those who discarding nomadic wandering would like to lead a settled life. The sacred fire, kept in a cart, is pulled by bulls and taken around. This is supposed to metamorphose the divine creator into the human. The cart is driven towards the eastern direction. Before starting, a prayer is offered to the sacred fire so that the people may not be injured. After reaching the destination the bulls are unyoked but the fire is not taken out of the cart which is placed in the eastern direction of the site selected for the settlement. This part of the ritual which involves the driving of the cart is indicative of the *Viṣṇu-krama* and the following part which consists in the construction of the *vedī* (altar) indicates *Vātsapra* The entire site is sprinkled with water and the *vedī* (altar) is erected in the north. The sacred fire is then taken out of the cart and is placed on the altar. The burnt ashes are collected in a bowl prepared out of the leaves and is thrown in water. Thereafter, the whole site is cleared by the branch of the Palāśa-tree. The Palāśa tree indicates the Brāhmaṇa and the clearance is symbolic of the driving away of the earlier settlers of the place. The settlement is planned in a circular fashion. The *Vātsapra* part of the ritual, thus marks the cessation of the nomadic and the beginning of the settled life.

12. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.7.4.7.

13. *manaḥ kṣeme'nyāsām ..., tasmād yāyāvaraḥ kṣemyam adhyavasyati* —*Kāṭhāka Saṁitā* 19.12.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

A STUDY OF LAND-SYSTEM IN THE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE MAITRAKA KINGS OF GUJARAT

[*Circa* 470 A. D. to 788 A. D.]

By

YATINDRA I. DIXIT

The documeuted history of Gujarat commences with the Mauryan period. It is with the rise of the Maitraka dynasty in *c.* 470 A. D. that the ancient kingdoms of Gujarat have left considerably profuse data for an intensive study of land-system. The copper-plate grants of land have proved to be a copious and valuable source of information for the Maitraka kingdom. More than hundred copper-plate grants are already published, deciphered, translated and various times explained by learned scholars. Therefore I am tempted to select the above mentioned subject for my paper at this conference.

Hereditory momarchy was the prevailing type of government in our period. Of all the states that arose out of the buck-up of the Gupta Empire in the west, the kingdom of Valabhi proved to be the most durable. Bhatarka was a Gupta General (Senāpati) of the Maitraka clan. He ruled the province comprising Saurāṣṭra and a part of Ānarta from the new headquarters at Valabhipura. His successors grew sufficiently powerful to shed all semblance of vassalage, and in time came to be recognized as Emperors. At the height of their power they held Malwa and Gujarat under their sway in addition to their home province of Saurāṣṭra. In all, 19 Maitraka kings ruled over Gujarat. Their rule was human, benificant and civilized. The capital Valabhi, boasted of a far-famed university, the state was well ahead of the times in matters of administration and the country prospered owing to a brisk trade following through its ports.

The main subject of the Maitraka edicts is the denotion and the purpose is religious. This type of donation is known as Dharmadeya or Dharmadāya. It is considered to be meritorious. The Dharmadāya donations are of two types, viz., Devadeya or donations given to temples and Brahmadeya or donation given to Brāhmaṇas. For the sake of simplicity the Dharmadeya donations can be devided into (i) Donations to the Institutions and (ii) Donations to the individuals.

B. Ch. Chhabra[1] uses the word 'diplomatic' in the sense of 'a critical study of diplomas' and 'diploma' in that of 'documentary source of history'.

1. B. Ch. Chhabra: *Diplomatic of Sanskrit Copper-plate Grants in the Indian Archives*, Vol. V (1951), pp. 1 fn. especially pp. 6 fn.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The grants of Maitraka rulers were incised on the inner side of the plates of copper. The plates were held together by means of two copper-rings passing through holes made in the lower margin of the first plate and upper margin of the second plate. One of the two rings bore the impression of the royal seal on its joint.

The contents of the royal charters, which were generally engraved on copper-plates, may be divided into three broad sections, viz., (a) preamble, (b) notification, (c) conclusion.

Preamble generally comprises the following items : (i) invocation, (ii) the place of issue, (iii) the name of the donor with his titles and ancestry, and (iv) the address in respect of grant.

The items in notification are the central theme of a charter. They are (i) the specification of the land granted, (ii) the name etc. of the owner, (iii) the purpose and utility of the grant, (iv) the rite of donation.

The concluding part of a charter is important. Its items are : (i) an exhortation, (ii) the names of the official responsible for the preparation of the document, and (iii) the date and the authentification.

The copper-edicts are records of the royal gifts of land for solely religious purposes. The edicts show that the king generally made gifts of villages, fields and wells. He could bestow the land upon the grantee, who was then entitled to receive its revenue for himself. The grants make it clear that the land given in gift would belong to the grantee not only for his whole lifetime but would be even 'enjoyed by the succession of his sons and grandsons', 'as long as the moon, the sun, the occan, the land, the rivers and the mountains endure'. Naturally it is also specified that the land given in gift excludes the lands previously donated to the deities and Brāhmaṇas.

But it is not clear whether the land given as gifts was originally owned by the state or was purchased from its holder or owner (if any) for this purpose. King Śīlāditya I made a gift of a field from the village Kālāsamaka which belonged to queen Jañjikā.[2] But this instance does not solve the point, since the king could donate even on behalf of the holder, who could be his own queen. The *Arthaśāstra* also clearly differentiates between the crownlands and private lands.[3] We have also many records which transfer the full ownership in land to the donee. In such cases, however, not the entire land in the village, but certain small pieces situated in it, often detached, are usually transferred. Thus

2. *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part I, No. 55, p. 125.
3. B. K. II, Ch. 23.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Dhruvasena I of Valabhi wanted to give 360 pādāvartas of land to a temple in his kingdom; he gave four pieces of land situated to the North-west and four others situated to the North-east of the village, eight together measuring 300 pādāvartas; and two other fields, one of 40 pādāvartas and the other of 20 pādāvartas, both irrigated by walls.[4] The donee in this case would certainly have preferred to get an entire connected piece of land measuring 360 pādāvartas, and the king also would certainly have given such a piece, were he the owner of the entire cultivable land in the village. If he gave disconnected pieces the reason must be that the state possessed only a few fields in the village, the ownership of which accrued to it, either through failure of heirs through the non-payment of land tax. As in modern times so in ancient times, state used to acquire ownership in some such pieces of land in most villages; they have been expressly described as rājyavāstu or state property in some records.[5]

In the Maitraka edicts we come across some technical words which may suggest the types of ownership and/or holding of land, viz, *satka* (as in 'Brāhmaṇa-Swāmidatta-satka-kṣetra'), *prabhukta* (as in 'Brāhmaṇa-Vishākha-prabhukta-karada-kṣetra') *pratyaya* (as in Āditya-pratyayaka-kṣetra'). In one record, it is mentioned, 'Devabrāhmaṇa-kṣetrād-uttarataḥ ... Brāhmaṇa-Skanda satka-kṣetrād uttarataḥ ... Ādityaka-pratyaya-kṣetra-pādāvarta-śataṁ'.[6] *Pratyaya* means 'probably a lesser' or holding.[7] So 'Brāhmaṇa-Skanda-satka-kṣetra' means that the field belonging to Brāhmaṇa Skanda; 'Āditya-pratyaya-kṣetra' means 'the holder of the field is Āditya and 'Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kṣetra' means the field which was liable to payment of revenue and was enjoyed by Viśākha. The word 'satka', 'pratyaya' and 'prabhukta' may be here used to suggest the various degrees of ownership and/or holding of land. But at this stage of our knowledge it is very difficult to state categorically the exact interpretation of these terms.

Nealy all edicts refer to the three words, viz. *kṛṣataḥ*, *karṣayataḥ* and *pradiśataḥ*. These are technical terms denoting the privileges of cultivating the land, getting it oultinating by others and assigning it to others respectively.

From the above narration we can only surmise that there may be private ownership as well as state ownership of lands, and the Maitraka kingdom was not the exception to the general condition prevailing in India.

---

4. I, III, p. 721.
5. EI, I, p. 235.
6. HIG, No. 29.
7. Cf. U. N. Ghosbal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 43; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 262.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The details of the measures given in the copper edicts, there were different units of land measurement prevalent in the different parts the Maitraka kingdom. The usual unit in Saurashtra was the pādāvarta. The Maitraka grants contain many references to kṣetras (fields) and vāpis (step-wells) and a reference to kūpa. The kṣetras given in the gift were of various sizes; the average kṣetra of the large size measured 200 pādāvartas, that of medium size measured 100 pādāvartas and that of small size measured 50 pādavartas; the size of individual kṣetras varied from 700 to 10 pādāvartas. The vāpis given in the gift measured commonly 16 pādāvartas, sometimes 12, 18, 20 or 25 pādāvartas and occasionally 28, 32, 35, 40 or 55 pādāvartas. A kūpa given in gift measured 16 pādāvartas. Fleet suggests that the pādāvartas may be taken to measure one foot each way i. e. one foot in length and one foot in midth.[8] According to this interpretation an expression like 100 pādāvartas means a plot of ground measuring a 600 feet each way i. e. the thousand square feet. But if we take pādāvarta as a step (i. e. in Gujarati a *pagalu*) it will nearly measure 2 to 4 feet, the smallest field of 10 pādāvarta will measure 40 feet each way i. e. 1600 square feet and I feel that this may really be the case. Still this is also a defatable point of measurement.

From the records, we get references that in Kheṭaka and Bharukachchha there was a different system of measuring land, i. e. vrīhipiṭaka. All the fields mentioned as situated in these territories are Kedāras or rice-fields. Their measures are given in terms of their capacity for the sowing of a certain number of piṭakas or basketful of vrīhi (paddy).[9] It is not clear how much area of a plot was regarded to have the sowing capacity for a vrīhipiṭaka. The grants also indicate that the piṭaka had a special measure in Kheṭaka, while Bharukachchha used the ground measure for it.[10] In the Eastern Bengal there was a measurement known as 'kulyavāpa'. One kulya paddy can be sown in the area of one acre. This suggests that one piṭaka paddy to be sown requires a bigger area than one kulya paddy to be sown. One kulyavāpa is equivalent to 38 to 48 bighas.[11]

Bhukti was the standard unit of land measurement prevalent in the Mālavaka[12] region. The two plots of land donated from Mālavaka measured 100 bhuktis. It is not possible to know the exact extent of ths bhukti. Possibly it may correspond to the Vākāṭaka measure 'bhūmī',[13] and pādāvarta.

8. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 170, fn. 1; cf. D. C. Sircar, *E. G.* p. 225,
9. *HIG*, NVS 64, 72 etc.
10. *Buddhi Prakash*, 1941, 3, p. 113.
11. D. C. Sircar: *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 414.
12. *HIG*, NV. 69.
13. Fleet, CII, p. 241, fn. 9,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the Maitraka kingdom the land-system is well organized. Specific terms are used to suggest different kinds of ownership. Different units of land measurments are mentained but unfortunately we are not able to interpret the terms correctly as these terms are desired now. It may be suggested that these terms may be prevalent prior to the establishment of the Maitraka rule in Gujarat. Yet it suggests a well-estabiished state-administration and its organization is founded on sound basis.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

THE CHURCHES OF AHMEDABAD BUILT DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD — A HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL STUDY

By

THOMAS B. PARMAR

The church architecture began to construct in Gujarat as Christianity started to spread. The word 'church' is derived from a Greek root *kūptakóv* properly adjective 'of the Lord, dominicum, dominical' and means 'house of the Lord; as a name of the Christian house of worship.[1] In short the Christian house of worship is called church. The word 'church' is also used for the Christian society, but here it is used for the Christian house of worship.

The churches built in Ahmedabad during the British period (1818 to 1947) are six in number. Three of them belong to Roman Catholic and three to Protestant. In historical order they are as under:

1. Church of our Lady of Mount Carmel 1842 (?)
2. Christ Church 1848
3. Church of Immaculate Conception 1866 (?)
4. St. George's Church 1882
5. St Paul's Church 1882 (?)
6. I. P. Mission Church 1900

Church No. 1, 3 and 5 belong to Roman catholic while church No. 2, 4 and 6 belong to Protestant. Most of them are built in Gothic sryle. They can be described as under.

1. The Church of our Lady of Mount Carmel

This Roman Catholic church is situated about 130 yards to the southeast of Rani Rupamati mosque on Mirzapur road. In Ahmedabad the first Roman Catholic chaplain was appointed in 1830 and first small church was built in 1842.[2] The original chapel was a small plain building. In 1864 it was enlarged.[3] The

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III; Newyork, 1910, pp. 617-623; *The Oxford English Dictonary*, Vol. II, p. 403.
2. Boyd, Robin, *Church History of Gujarat*, Madras, 1981, p. 28,
3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V, p. 279.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

other source tells that Fr. Peter d' Oliveira from Mahim built it in 1856 which stood up to 1969[4] The Original struture cannot be traced at present.

2. The Christ church

This Protestant church is situated on Mirzapur road near R. C. High School. The church is named 'English church' in Bombay Gazetteer[5]. At present it is known as Christ church. It was conscecrated by Bishop Carr on 6th January, 1848.[6]

It is built in Elizabethan style with lancet windows, pointed tiled roof and western belfry. The plan has a form of a cross. The church east to west is 71′ in length and 42′ in breadth. It is constructed in brick and faces to west. The projected entrance porch is to south. A small projected room is to north in axial line of the entrance purch. Each of the southern and northern walls of the nave contains four windows. Eastern and western walls are closed with lancet windows. The altar to east is with ciborium. Three steps are leading up to the altar. So the ground floor of the altar is little higher than the nave. A small belfry rests on the western top of the nave with a simple cross.

3. The church of Immaculate Conception

This church is situated in cantonment area on Airodrome Road. In original form it was a chapel and was opened in 1856 and rebuilt in 1865.[7] Another opinion is that in 1866 Fr. Peter started to build in Gothic style the church of camp blessed in 1870.[8] It is still in use as a parish.

This simple brick structure is built in area of 62′–8″ × 32′–8″. It faces to west. The main entrance is to west. Eastern end has no apse, but closed with three lancet windows. The whole church is placed on a platform. It is thached with double sloping roof with tiles. The roof is supported on the wooden frame. A simple cross is raised on the eastern top of the roof. Western belfry also contains a simple cross. Southern and northern walls of the nave each contain 6 doors.

4. St. George's Church

This Gothic architectural monument is situated in the contonment area near the temple of Hanuman. The corner stone of the shurch was laid on 22nd

4. Varghese Paul, S. J. (Ed.). *Ahmedabad Mission Golden Jubille Suvenir*, 1934–1981, Ahmedabad, 1984, p. 175.
5. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V, p. 279.
6. Boyd Robin, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
8. Varghese Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

September, 1880[9] by Major General J. W. Schneider. It was consecreted by C. M. Cruickshamkre on 8th September 1881.[10]

The church presents a homogeneous Gothic character. East to west it is 103'–4" in length and 50'–4" in breadth. It is brick structure and faces to west. Eastern wall is without an apse but contains three beautiful stained windows. The cruicification and the ressurrection of Christ is depicted in the middle window. The altar with ciborium is raised on double platforms, the first platform with three steps and second platform with five steps leading up to them. A balcony with railing is projected to left side of the altar. The nave is simple and without pillars. Two corridors are attached to northern and southern wall of the nave. Each wall of the nave contains seven doors. Two arcades are arranged in the corridor : one faces to west and other faces to south. An octagonal shaped baptismal font stands on north-west corner of the nave. Double sloping roof is thached on the altar, the nave and the porch. While on corridors single sloping roof is thached the roof on the nave is little higher than the roof on the altar. The entrance purch is in front of the splayed door. In this church two types of cross can be seen : (1) Swinnerton cross on the belfry and eastern top of the roof of the altar. (2) Latin cross on the top of eastern end of the nave. The plan of this church does not follow the form of a cross. A rose window is arranged under the belfry.

5. St. Paul's Church

This church is situated near Sabarmati Railway colony on road to Kabir Chowk. It was built in 1882[11] but was replaced by present church in 1904.[12]

This brick structure is built on a platform in area of 30.55ms. × 18.20ms. The plan has a form of a cross. The altar is without ciborium. A large room is constructed behind the altar. Six windows are arranged in each side wall of the nave. Two small rooms are projected on side walls between the altar and the nave. The interior openings of these rooms are arched and face to the nave while the exterior openings are with wooden doors. An arched partition is raised between the altar and the nave. A simple wheel cross is raised on the belfry. A rose window is arranged under the belfry.

9. This date is recorded in the corner stone.

10. Boyd Robin, in his *Church History of Gujarat*, p. 26, gives the year of the consecration 1882. But it is not correct. The inscription about consecration itself records the year 1881.

11. Varghese Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

12. Boyd Robin, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

6. I. P. Mission Church

This church is situated in Raikhad area near Victoria Garden. The foundation stone records the erection of the church in 1900.

East to west it is 129'-10" in length and 76'-6" in breadth. Eastern end of the church is in pentagonal form. Each side of the pentagon contains an arched window. The altar is without ciborium. A baptismal font is raised to the left side of the altar. A small balcony with wooden railing is projected on the right side of the altar. Northern wall coutains 5 twin-windows while southern wall 4 twin-windows. Two rooms are projected on each wall of the nave in axial line. The porch is to west. It is open from north and south but western side is covered with perforated lattice with geometrical and flora-founa designs. The main door is made of wood and set it an arched fram. A rose-window is arranged on the facade under the belfry. Six wooden arches support the double sloping roof above the nave. These arches are supported by six wooden pilasters with Corinthian capitals. The roof above the altar is single sloping type. It is remarkable that there is not a single cross raised on the roof, not even on the belfry. They might have fallen. The plan has the form of a cross.

Architectural Characters

Some architectural characters of these churches are described as under: (1) All churches are built in Gothic style, except Christ church which is built in Elizabethan styte. (2) They all are built in brick. (3) They all face to west. (4) All have belfry on the western top of the nave. (5) crosses are of four types : Latin cross, Greek cross, Wheel cross and Swinnerton cross.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

IMAGES OF INCARNATORY FORMS OF VIṢṆU IN BIHAR

[A review and Reappraisal]

By

S. S. LALL

Incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu images occupy an important place in the Vaiṣṇava group of sculptures. According to Brahmanical religious works[1], the great god Viṣṇu of the Brahmanical trinity is known to have assumed numerous forms or incarnations for the welfare of human beings. A text like *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, after giving twentytwo incarnation, alludes that the incarnations of Viṣṇu are innumerable like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake.[2] But the most commonly accepted and recognised are the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, the purpose of the *avatāra* being to do away with the act of impiety and restore the law of *dharma* in this universe[3]. In this paper, an attempt has been made to take a special study of the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu images in Bihar with a view to throwing light on their artistic and iconographic peculiarities. Some of the finest sculptures representing Viṣṇu's incarnations especially belonging to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have come from Bihar, although the representations of all the ten incarnations have not been found in this region.

Among the various incarnation of Viṣṇu, the *Varātha avatāra* representing the third incarnation of Viṣṇu appears to have gained special favour in this region. Although images of Varāha – Viṣṇu in Bihar are few and far between, still the most notable are the three sculptures that have come respetively from Aphsad in the Newda distrirt, Sultanganj in the Bhagapur district and Rajgir in the Nalanda district. In all the three sculptures, the deity has been represented in two different ways either in true animal-form or in the hybrid form. The most famous Varāha – Viṣṇu image from Aphsad is one of the finest examples of the theriomorphic form of *Varāha avatāra* showing the representation of deity in the form of a large-sized boar with numrous divine figures and religious symbols carved over its body. The large-sized boar figure carved out of a rock shows the goddess Earth or Bhūdevī firmly grasping the tusks protruding out of the boar muzzle. The sculptural rendering of the boar figures with the goddess Earth shown in front of the boar as being rescued by him exhibits a high degree of fine

1. *Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 7.
2. *Muir's Original Samskrit Texts*, p. 156.
3. Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 120.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

workmanship. The Varāha image from Aphsad, however, bears close iconographic similarity with the Varāha image from Eran and this similarity even extends from small figures covering the body to the image rendered in the ear. Despite this similarity, the Aphsad Varāha is vastly more refined than the Eran image both in respect of form and artistic execution. In the Eran image, the Pṛthivī has been shown dangling precariously, while the goddess of Aphsad has been shown seated securely with her arm extending upward to grasp the boar's tusk.[4] In terms of its vastly improved form, the Varāha from Aphsad is definitely a later work dating after the Eran image. Asher has hinted about the political allegory suggested by the colossal image of Varāha keeping in view the Aphsad inscription of the later Gupta monarch Ādityasena. The inscription, no doubt, records the religious donations of his family, but it proclaims his valour more than his piety. In the light of this implication, the Aphsad Varāha image was presumbly established by Ādityasena at least in part as a testament to his great deeds. And it may be safely assumed that the intention behind the setting up of this image must have been to show figuratively that he had saved the earth in the same way that Viṣṇu was said to have rescued it in his boar incarnation.[5] Thus, the Aphsad Varāha figure, both in terms of its fine rendering and other essential attributes may be considered to be one of the magnificent specimens that have yet been discovered in the country.

The Varāha-Viṣṇu figure from Sultanganj[6] has been carved in the rock and shows the representation of deity in anthropomorphic form with boar face. The figure has been shown with the right leg stretched and the left one slightly turned but trampling upon the body of the demon – the evil incarnate. He wears transparent drapery around the waist and a *vanamālā* has been shown hanging over his thigh. But of more special interest is the representation of deity lifting up the goddress earth and supporting her on his shoulders with the boar muzzle turned towards her. The rendering of the Bhūdevī with her hair arranged in *dhammila* style exhibits in a remarkable manner the rhythm of feminine elegance. Besides, the majestic and powerful build of the Varāha figure bears a close likeness with the corresponding figures from Udayagiri.

The Varāh-Viṣṇu figure from Rajgir,[7] however, is four armed and has been shown trampling upon the body of the demon – half human and half serpent-

4. Asher, F. M., *The Art of Eastern India*, p. 53, Dehli, 1980.
5. Asher F. M., *The Art of Eastern India*, p. 53, Dehli, 1980.
6. Sahai, S., "Some Brahmanical Rock-Sculptures from Sultanganj", *JBRS*, XLI, 1963, pp.137–146; See also Pramod Chandra. "Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture in P. Pal, ed." *Aspects on Indian Art.*, p. 62, 1975.
7. *JBRS*, Vol. LVI, p. 57, Pl. XVII.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

tine. The front right hand of the figure is holding a gadā, while the back right one has been shown grasping the cakra supported over the head of a miniature figure who is usually identified with the attendant Cakrapuruṣa. Curiously enough in no other figure of Varāha has been found an attribute of Viṣṇu restlng over the head of Cakrapuruṣa which in a way underlines the unique feature of this figure.

The representation of *Varāha avatāra* of Viṣṇu has been noted on a clay sealing from Basarh[8] which also shows the Vaiṣṇava symbol conchshell on either side of the sealing. Another private clay sealing from Basarh excavations[9] shows the representation of a recumbent boar which is regarded as representing the *Varāha avatāra* of Viṣṇu in theriomorphic form. The sculptural renderlng of the Varāha Viṣṇu figures together with the clay sealings bearing representation of *Varāha avatāra* of Viṣṇu highlights in a significant way the wide popularity of this deity in Bihar. One may also take note in this connection of the allusions to *Varāhadattaḥ* and *Varāhāśva* on private clay seals.[10] The textual references pertaining to Varāha as being sacred to Gaya Śīrṣa and Kandamālā hill in the Gaya region clearly imply that it was becoming almost obligatory to worship him.[11] The images of Varāha Viṣṇu in authropomorphic form with boar face generally conform with the description of *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* with slight variation though the Varāha image in theriomorphic form (Aphsad) appears to be the earlier prototype of the Varāha Viṣṇu images in boar form as noticed at Dudhai in Jhansi.

The man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, which stands fourth in his list of incarnations, has usually been represented in theriomorphic and hybrid forms.

The legend of this incarnation centring round the story of Prahlāda, an ardent devote of Viṣṇu and his father the demon king Hiraṇyakaśipu has been narrated in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Padma-Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, though the description of Narasiṁha image and his attributes may be found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The sculptures showing the *Narasiṁha avatāra* in Bihar are represented mainly by two specimens of which one has come from Sultanganj in the Bhagalpur district and the other from Kheri hills also located in the same district. In both the sculptures, the *Narasiṁha-avatāra* represented in human form with four hands has an impressive lion-face.

8. *ASI*–AR, 1903–04, p. 109.
9. *Ibid*, p. 126, Pl. XLVI (No. 54).
10. *ASI*-AR, 1903–03, p. 109) (Seal Nas. 113–115).
11. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 119, 13.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The sculptural representation from Sultanganj[12] shows the deity in the act of tearing the belly of demon king Hiraṇyakaśipu who is lying on the left thigh of the god. The front two hands of the deity have been shown ripping open the belly of the demon-king, while the two back hands raised above are holding some objects. The objects held in them, however, are not clear. The head portion of the deity, almost like the head of a lion, shows bulging eyes, distorted face and manes around the head. He wears usual ornaments like necklace, armlets, wristlets and waist girdle and a long *vanamāla* is shown hanging below the knee. The treatment of drapery round his waist is more or less similar to what has been noticed on the *Varāha-avatāha* sculpture from Sultanganj.

The representation of a Man-lion Viṣṇu from the Kheri hills[13] near Shahkund (Bhagalpur district) shows the deity standing all alone with his impressive lion face. The figure, however, stands in a abhaṅga pose leaning towards his left The two normal hands of the deity hold attributes like conch shell and *akṣamālā* or rosary, while the other two back hands have *cakra* and *gadā*. There is no figure of Hiraṇyakaśipu as noted in most other Gupta images of Narasiṁha. The figure has been shown wearing a drapery round the waist, which is indicated by the cloth all around the body. The ornaments over his person include armlets and a beaded necklace hanging over his chest. Of special stylistic interest is the treatment of manes hanging over the shoulders, the mace and conch-shell and the crown adorned with chains over his head. All in all, this figure is a superbly carved image of Narasiṁha, though the Sultanganj image is considered to be more powerful. Both the sculptures partly agree with the description of *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Agni-Purāṇa* in having lion-face and human body. One may also refer in this connection to a seal from Vaiśālī[14] which shows the representation of man-lion incarnation.

Like the other incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu images, the images of Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu in Bihar are also fewer in number. So far only four examples are known, one from Muṇḍeśwarī temple[15] in the Rohtas district, and the other three respectively from Jahangira[16] and Murli hillocks[17] near Sultanganj and Patharghata[18] near Colgong in the Bhagalpur district. The Dwarf incarnation representing the fifth incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu is clearly of Vedic origin because

12. *JBRS*, XLIX, p. 145, Fig. 7.
13. *JAS*, Vol. V, pp. 81–82, Pl- 1.
14. *ASI*–AR, 1913–14, p.133, Pl. XLVI. (Soal No. 191).
15. Sinha C. P., *Early Sculpture of Bihar*, p. 98, Patna, 1980.
16. *JAS*, Vol. XL, Fig. 7.
17. Asher F. M., *Op. cit.*, p. 31.
18. *Ṛgveda* 1. 22. 8.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the great God has been repeatedly mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as having taken three strides to measure the three worlds. The myth of incarnation has been narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as well as in the Epics and some of the *Purāṇas*. But a more evolved version of the legend in the form of powerful story together with two aspects of Vāmana incarnation viz. the Dwarf and Trivikrama forms as well as the various attributes of these forms have been provided in different *Purāṇas* and in the texts like *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Vaikhnasāgama*. The sculptaral rendering of the Vāmana-Trivikrama has been done in two ways. The first one is in the form of a dwarf Brahmacārin holding various attributes and the other as Trivikrama with one of the legs thrown upwards in the act of measuring the Universe.

The sculptural example from Muṇḍeśwarī temple shows the representation of the great God in simpler form as a Dwarf Brahmacārin[19] holding attributes like kamaṇḍalu and umbrella in his hands. It is essentially a two-armed figure standing in *dvivaṅga* pose with the upper part of his body practically bare but showing the *yajñopavīta* over his person and his coiffure is tied into a *jaṭā*. He has been shown wearing dhoti with the drapery treated in folds. Stylistically, the figure is regarded as belonging to a period of transition between the later Gupta and Pala periods around 7th / 8th century A. D.

The sculptures from Sultanganj[20] show the representation of the Great God as Trivikrama with his left leg raised upward in the sky and the right one is firmly planted on the earth. The four hands of the deity have been shown holding various attributes. The lower right hand in the *kaṭyavalambita-hasta-mudrā* is holding a lotus flower with long stalk, while the upper one holds a cakra. The lower left hand is merely outstretched in Suci form and the upper one holds a mace. Both the figures show charming execution, though they are less elaborate in details as compared to the images of Pala period. On the basis of style, the sculptures from Sultanganj may be placed in early 7th century A. D.

Among the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu, one may also take note of Lord Saṁkaraṣaṇa or Balarāma who is considered as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *Purāṇas*[21] describe the Lord Saṁkaraṣaṇa as a heavy drinker with his eyes rolling owing to intoxication and holding attributes like *musala*, plough, discus and mace. In the *Mahābhārata*[22] there is a passage referring to a serpant Balarāma, whose main emblem is the Palmyra leaf. He is also therefore considered to be

19. Sinha C. P., *Op. cit.*, pp. 97–98.
20. *Ibid*, p. 98.
21. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, 25.
22. *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 132. 8. 11.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

an incarnation of the cosmic serpant Ananta or Śeṣanāga. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Agni-Purāṇa* respectively refer to his two or four hands holding various attributes. So far only two images of this *avatāra* are known from Bihar of which the one from Muṇḍeśwarī temple is a four armed god and the other from the stone-temple at Nalanda is a two-armed seated figure.

The sculptural representation of Balarāma from Muṇḍeśvarī[23] shows the deity in standing posture slightly turned to right and a canopy of snakes over his head. The four-armed deity carries a pestle, ploughshare and a cup of wine in his hands and the fourth one is placed on his thigh. Stylistically, the figure shows the typical features of the Muṇḍeśvarī group of sculptures which have been dated in 7th century A. D. The two-armed seated figure of the deity from Nalanda[24] has a snake-canopy over his head and holds a staff surmounted probably by a plough-like object. On the basis of style, the figure has been dated in the 7th century A. D. The four-armed deity corresponds with the descrlption of the *Agni-Purāṇa* in having a pestle and plough.

The representation of minor *avatāra* in the form of Paraśurāma and manifestations of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma have also been attested from this region. A solitary figure of Paraśurāma from Sultanganj[25] shows the two-armed deity holding a paraśu or battle-axe in the left hand and the right one is shown in *varada* pose. The bare-bodied figure has a waistband and *yajñopavīta* and a transparent drapery around the waist hangs below the knee. The over-all treatment of the figure is more or less like other sculptures at Sultanganj, but the modelling of the figure somehow is not quite proportionate or balanced. On the basis of style, the figure may be placed in the 7th / 8th century A. D.

One may also take into account the representations showing the manifestation of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, which have been provided in the stonereliefs and stucco panels repspectively at Patharghata, Nalanda and Aphsad. In the relief sculptures from Patharghata[26], the role of Viṣṇu as a protector in the form of Kṛṣṇa has been rather well-emphasized in a number of scenes which leave no doubt about the identity of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu at this time. The relief shows in the beginning the representation of a standing Viṣṇu and then the *avatāras* of Narasiṁha and Trivikrama. This is followed by the illustrations of a number of eposodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇa-legend begins with the representation of Kṛṣṇa as a great warrior mounted on the back of Garuḍa and then he descends

23. Sinha C. P., *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
24. *JUPHS*, XXIII, p. 210.
25. *JBRS*, XLIX, p. 146, Fig. 8.
26. Asher F. M., *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

on the earth probably in the midst of Pāṇḍavas and releases the discus which severs the head of an enemy, presumably a Kaurava. The next scene shows demon-like figures attending the principal seated noble and this probably illustrates an episode from the court of Kaṁsa. The last two scenes respectively illustrate Kṛṣṇa supporting Mount Govardhana and his wrestling match with Cānūra– a famous wrestler of Kaṁsa's court. The illustrations of *avatāras* like Narasiṁha and Trivikrama – the slayers of evil – on this rock cut relief correspond well with the above theme Asher has dated the relief sculptures to late 5th or 6th century A. D. on account of their closeness to Gupta traditions.

The representation of Rāma and Rāmāyaṇic scenes have been fouud on the stucco panels adorning the sides of the Viṣṇu temple at Aphsad.[27] The Rāmāyaṇic scenes depicted on the panels show in a running sequence the story of Rāma starting from his crossing the river Ganges to meeting Bharata at Chitrakut. The stone carvings on the walls of the Patharghatti temple at Nalanda[28] show a few scenes like Rāma with bow and arrow, Ahilya's offering of homage to Rāma, Rāma and Sītā at Pañcavaṭī and Rāvaṇa threatening Sītā etc. A seventh century date has been suggested for these sculptures on the basis of stylitic consi_derations. All the mentioned representations of the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu together with the minor avatāra figure of Paraśurāma and manifestation of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma indicate the great popularity of Vaiṣṇava religion and worship of these deities sometime during the late Gtpta and later Gupta periods in Bihar.

But the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu as available in plastic art in Bihar are also of added importance from the point of the visualised iconic forms and their evolution and the stylistic and regional features rrflected in them. One may begin with the general observation of some of the scholars that the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu appear to be an evolution of the Gupta period. The discovery, however, of an image of Varāha with an inscription in Kuśāna script from Mathurā poses a serious problem inasmuch as this image pronounces the incarnation theory in its earliest origin in the plastic art of the Kuśāna period. Howsoever, taking into account the attendant details shown with the central Varāha figure in this scene, it has been suggested that probably the definite form of Varāha incarnation was not yet decided, which evolved at a later stage in the Gupta period.

Among the sculptural representation of incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu in Bihar, the earliest in point of time dating to late fifth or sixth century A. D. include the figure of Varāha from Sultanganj, the Narasiṁha figure from Kheri hill near Shahkund and the *avatāras* of Narasiṁha and Trivikrama including the illustra-

27. *JBRS*, IIV, pp. 216–218, Pl). XVIII–XXII.
28. Desai Kalpana, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, pp. 116–117, Dehli, 1973.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

tions of Kṛṣṇa-legend from Patharghata. The Narasiṁha figure from Kheri hill, like most Gupta images of Narasiṁha has been shown alone without the figure of Hiraṇyakaśipu, while the Varāha figure from Sultanganj bears close correspondence both iconographically and stylistically with the Varāha figure at Udayagiri. The stylistic treatment of Narasiṁha and Trivikrama including the illustrations of Kṛṣṇa-legend on the rock-cut relief at Patharghata is closer to the Gupta tradition. In the light of these features, an early attribution can easily be sustained for these figures. But the rest of the figures such as the Aphsad and Rajgir Varāha, the Trivikrama and Narasiṁha figures from Sultanganj, the Vāmana and Balarāma from Muṇḍeśvarī and the stucco panels and stone reliefs containing Rāmāyaṇic scenes respectively from Aphsad and Nalanda are datable to 7th century A. D. on the basis of style. In all these images, the figure form shows harsher modelling and a harder appearance of the surface of the body. This stylistic feature is peculiar to a large body of 7th century images in Bihar. The best artistic product of this style is the Varāha figure from Aphsad, which represents a perfect portrayal of a well modelled figure, both proportionate and balanced within a massive form. The stucco panels showing Rāma and Rāmāyaṇic scenes from the same site also exhibit the characteristic elements of this style especially in the bold and vigorous treatment of human figures and majestic and lifelike representation of the animal figures. The Rāmāyaṇic scenes on the stone panels at Nalanda show more or less a continuation of the same style with slight variation. The Narasiṁha and Trivikrama figures from Sultanganj are also more powerfull in plastic conception and treatment, though the Trivikrama figure shows less elaborate detaills. The Vāmana figure from Muṇḍeśvarī merely shows the representation of the God in his simplest form.

As to the visualised iconic forms of the incarnatory images, special reference may be made in this connection to the Varāha, Viṣṇu images in Bihar, which same show two different forms viz. theriomorphic and therio-anthropomorphic. The forms are noticed in North India Varāha images especially from Uttar Pradesh. But the Varāha and other figure, as known from this region, show a little greater elaboration in respect of ornaments and attributes, while those from Bihar are less elaborate in details which in a way underline the regional feature of the iconic forms. In the Varāha-Viṣṇu figure from Rajgir, the chakra grasped by the deity is sapported over the head of the attendant Cakrapuruṣa, which forms a unique iconographic feature of this image.

It must however be added that the great popularity of the Vaiṣṇava religion and the evolution of incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu in Bihar may have been due to the patronage extended to the Vaiṣṇava religion by the late Gupta and Later Gupta rulers in this region. And it is not unlikely that like a Gupta king at Udayagiri, some of the Late Gupta and later Gupta rulers had used Vaiṣṇava imagery for allegorical purposes both in eastern and southern Bihar.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

INDIAN LINGUISTIC SECTION

STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC ASPECT OF THE *DVANDVA*-COMPOUND

By

V. V. BHANDARE

Samāsa or compound is undoubtedly the crowning piece of Sanskrit language. Among the several outstanding features of Sanskrit, compound is its strongest point so far as its power of expression is concerned. Not only does the compound achieve the compactness in the expression, but it also lends to the language a surprising variety of the nuances of the meaning. In the second chepter of his *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, Pāṇini gives an exhaustive treatment of this feature of the Sanskrit language. Among the several categories of the compound, the *dvandva* is one, which at once attracts our attention, since it is unique, in senses more than one. From the structural point of view, *Dvandva* presents certain features, which are striking and not exhibited by any other form of compound. On the semantic plane too, it presents its own peculiarity which at times and in certain contexts, acquires a philosophical dimension, which no other compound is capable of. The compound has been dealt with at three different places in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Pāṇini. The rules presented in the second quarter of the second chapter, deal with the semantic aspect in general and lay down the basic structure of the first variety of *Dvandva* i. e. *itaretara*. The fourth quarter of the second chapter (II. 4. 2. to II. 4. 16) presents various aspects of *Samāhāra Dvandva*, whereas third quarter of the sixth chapter (VI. 3. 25 to VI. 3. 32) deals with the substitutions introduced in the formation of the *Dvandva* compound. Besides these Pāṇinian rules, we come across several supplements added on these rules by Kātyāyana, marking the further development in Sanskrit and bringing to light a few more engaging features. The composite picture that emerges out of the study of these rules and their supplements is certainly a unique one so far as it spotlights the social customs, usages and conventions, underlines the speech habits of the people and lays stress on its philosophical character as well. The uniqueness of the compound therefore will not only be established, but also jusified if we probe into the structure, the nature and the meaning of this *Dvandva* compound.

The general structure for the formation of all sorts of compounds has been laid down by Pāṇini by formulating the rules in the first quarter of the second

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

chapter. The primary requisites for the formation of any compound are that, the constituents which enter into the formation of the compound (1) must be semantically related to each other (II. 2. 1) and (2) these constituents must be case-inflected words. The word-order in the formation of compound is an equally important factor and a proper guideline in this direction has been provided by Pāṇini by formulating two rules-viz. (1) प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ॥ (I. 2. 43) and (2) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ (2. 2. 30.) These rules provide us with the clues as regards the placement of the constituents. In the formation of a compound the case-inflected word put in the first case is colled *upasarjana* (the subordinate one) and this *upasarjana* occupies the first place in the formation of the compound. With this outer frame the compounds can be formed. As regards the word-order no problem arises in the formation of *Avyayībhāva* and *Tatpuruṣa* compounds. But the *Dvandva* compound, being unique in its character, presents a difficulty inasmuch as the element of equality existing between the two constituents. Patañjali describes *Dvandva* as *ubhaya-pada-pradhāna*, which stresses equal importance attached to both the constitunts, The rules of *upasarjana*, formulated by Pāṇini, lose all their relevance and they are no longer applicable to establish the structure of *Dvandva* compound. Are we therefore to state that the structure of this compound follows free word-order ? But this certainly is not the case inasmuch as we observe that it is the speech habit, social customs, usages and conventions which go a long way in determining the word-order and giving a final shape to the formation of this compound. This is undoubtedly an outstanding character of the *Dvandva* that the factors like the convenience of pronuncation, social customs, usages and conventions are found to be crystalised into the peculiar and interesting speech habiis of the people. The final shape, therefore, is a remarkable structure, distinguishing *Dvandva* from all other categories of the compunds. The statement can be justified and illustrated by means of exaples in the light of Pāṇinian rules and supplements (Vārttikas) added to them by Kātyāyana.

If we analyse the contents of the first three rules viz. II. 2. 32, 33 and 34, ordained by Pāṇini for the formation of *Itaretara dvandva*, it becomes quite obvious that the underlying principle is *mukha-sukhārtha* i. e. for the sake of pronunciation. Thus the rule II. 2. 32 says that the words ending in short इ and उ should be placed first in the *Dvandva*. The stock examples cited in this respect are हरिहरौ and मृदुगुष्णौ. Even a slight change in respective places of the words is bound to result into the difficulty which will make the pronunciation quite awkward, though not impossible. The rule II. 2. 33 states that the word beginning with a vowel and ending with short अ should occupy the first place in the compound. (1) ईशकृष्णौ and (2) उष्ट्रखरम् are the instances which illustrate the rule. If we pause a while and think of the logic behind the rule, we at once

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

realise that the word-order has its own significance, it makes the pronunciation easy and lays equal emphasis on both the constituents. The third rule II. 2. 34 enjoins that the word consisting of fewer vowels is to be placed first in the *dvandva* compound. शिवकेशवौ is the example illustrating the rule. The spirit of this is seen to be acquiring additional dimensions in the light of innovations introduced by Kātyāyana in forms of his supplements (Vārttikas). These supplements serve the doube purpose. In the first place they mark the development of Sanskrit in the passage of time and secondly they bring out successfully how the conventions, customs and usages prevalent among the society are responsible in determining the final shape of *dvandva* establishing thereby the peculiar speech habits. The total number of these supplements is seven, the first one of which says that when *dvandva* compounds are the names of seasons and constellations containing equal number of syllables, then the first place is decided by the natural sequence. Thus हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः and कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ are proper illustrations explaining the supplement. (दिनयामिन्यौ सायंप्रातः शिशिरवसन्तौ पुनरायातः, चर्पटपञ्जरी). The second supplement puts down that the word containing short syllables should be placed first in *dvandva*, e. g., कुशकाशम्, शरचापम् etc.

The third and fourth supplement taken together represent social usage and social custom reflected in the formation of the *dvandva* compound. The third one informs that the word standing for a thing highly valued (अभ्यर्हित) in comparison with another thing, occupies the first place in *dvandva*. Thus मातापितरौ, श्रद्धामेधे, दीक्षातपसी are the illustrations of the said rule. The fourth one throws light on the order of castes as determined by the order of origination (*Puruṣasūkta*, *Ṛg.* X. 90). The compound formed according to this sub-rule is ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः. The rule being subsequent one debars the previous one enjoining the order of words having equal letters. The following one too underlines the social convention when it says that the rame of the elder brother comes first in *dvandva*. Thus युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ रामकृष्णौ and etc. set aside all other previous rules and establish a new pattern of a *dvandva*.

The next one makes an interesting observation and accentuates the speech-habit behind it. According to this supplement the word standing for lower number takes the first place in *dvandva*, e. g., त्रिचतुष्कः, नवतिशतम्, एकादश etc. It is interesting to note that the numbers like एकविंशति, द्वाविंशति etc. the lower number occurs first whereas in English system it is exactly opposite the higher number being the first as in twentyone, twentytwo etc.

The last supplement allows the free word-order when these words entering into the compounds are धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*) the four goals of human life as well as the words such as *vṛddhi*, *guṇa ādi*, *anta*,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

etc. Thus the resulting compounds are धर्मार्थौ, अर्थधर्मौ, कामार्थौ, अर्थकामौ, आद्यन्तौ, अन्तादी etc.

Before we enquire into the nature of another variety of *dvandva*, viz., *samāhāra*, it is absolutely indispensable to give full consideration to the semantic aspect of this *dvandva*-compound, because it is the core, the pivotal factor which controls, regulates and dominates the entire structure and nature of this *dvandva*-compound. It has been already shown that the social customs, conventions and speech-habits are powerful enough to determine the word-order and thereby influence the very structure of *dvandva* compound. The same semantic aspect continues to exercise its influence on the structure of *samāhāra-dvandva* too. The same semantic aspect ultimately culminates into the philosophical dimension which will be discussed in the light of the statement from the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

The solitary aphorism which deals with the semantic aspect of *dvandva* and throws light on it is — चार्थे द्वन्द्वः II. 2.29. The rule, though short, is pregnant with meaning which has been fully brought out by Patañjali, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and other commentators. The prolonged discussion introduced in the *Mahābhāṣya* is highly helpful in understanding the full connotation of this rule. The rule II. 2. 29 which explains the semantic relation between the two constituents states that two or more case-inflected and syntactically connected words are optionally compounded, when the meaning च 'and' is to be conveyed and the compound so formed is designated as a *dvandva*-compound. The pivotal position in the formation of the compound is obviously occupied by the indeclinable, which according to the commentators is able to express fourfold meaning viz. (1) *Samuccaya*, (2) *Anvācaya* (3) *Itaretara-yoga*, and (4) *Samāhāra*. Out of these four senses the first two viz. *Samuccaya* and *Anvācaya* on account of their failure and inability to establish a semantic relation between the two case-inflected words, are ruled out, so far as the formation of the *dvandva*-compound is concerned. The *dvandva*-compound is evolved out of the third i. e. *Itaretara-yoga* and the fourth i. e. *Samāhāra*. It goes without saying that each meaning gives rise to one varity and that is why we have two varieties of *dvandva* viz. *itaretara* and *samāhāra*. Now, of what nature are these *itaretara* and *samāhāra* or in other words what do they signify ? Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita paraphrases by stating मिलितानामन्वयः इतरेतरयोगः and समूहः समाहारः। According to this explanation *Itaetara-yoga* is the connection between two equally important items which are grouped together by the intention of the speaker. Here the importance is attached to the constituents rather than the group as a whole. The emphasis here being on both the constituents or all the constituents the compound-form will either take the dual or plural number in accordance with the number of items included therein. The gender of the compound will be decided by the final member of the compound as stated in the rule II. 4. 26 (परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥):

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

On the contrary *samāhāra* is an aggregate. It means connection of items which form part of the whole. In *Samāhāra-dvandva* the idea of a whole is prominent.[1] Nāgeśa, the commentator on the *Mahābhāṣya* defines *samāhāra* as *anudbhūtāvayava* "where parts do not appear as being distinct from the whole". The whole being more prominent than its parts, it is but natural that the gender and the number of the compound is neuter and singular. On this background and with this clear-cut idea of the whole which is prominent, it is highly interesting to study the group of fifteen rules (II. 4. 2 to II. 4. 16) unfolding a remarkable variety in the structure of *Samāhāra-dvandva*-compound. Here too, it is found that the social customs, usages and social conventions greatly influence the structure of the compound. Lest the treatment would be quite bulky and prolix, we are here concentrating on the prominent features only which support our observations.

The opening rule enjoining the formation of *Samāhāra-dvandva* informs that this compound is singular when the compounded words refer to the members of animal-body, the players or singers and the component parts of an army. The resulting compounds are – पाणिपादम्, मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम्, रथिकाश्वारोहम् and etc. In all these compounds the idea of a whole is brought to the fore whereas the parts are thrown into the background. The compounds underline the speech habit of the people. It is important to note in this connection that the compound loses its singular character, the moment the compound denotes a fixed number of the material things. Thus दन्तोष्ठम् is all right but when the number दश precedes it the compound is *itaretara* दश दन्तोष्ठाः, similarly मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् transforms itself into दश मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः (ten sets of drum and *panava*-players). This variation is introduced by Pāṇini by the rule II. 4. 14.

The rules II. 4. 3, 4 and 5 can be conveniently grouped together on the basis of their reference to the Vedas in some way or other. The sense of unity or whole is prominent in all the resulting compounds. Thus the compounds are *Samāhāra-dvandva* in structure when the words signify the persons belongiag to different Vedic-schools, provided the sense of *anuvāda* i. e. repetition is meant उदगात् कठकालापम् is stock example in this connection (II. 4. 3). There is one more variation in the structure of *Samāhāra-dvandva* when the names of sacrifices never used in neuter, but ordained by the *Yajurveda* enter the formation of the compound. अर्काश्वमेधम् is the compound of this type (II. 4. 4). Further variation in the structure occurs when the expressions signify the group of persons studying subjects which reveal some close connection among themselves. पदक्रमकम् is the convincing example since पदक refers to the person studying *pada*-arrangement whereas क्रमक denotes a person conversant with *krama*-arrangement. The close

1. *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, edited by S. D. Joshi & J. A. F. Roo d bergen, p. 141.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

connection between *pada* and *krama* gives rise to such compound. The social conventions transformed into speech-habits form the basis of the compound as shown above.

One more group of compounds having for its subject-matter the animals and small animals, presents a very interesting variety of *Samāhāra-dvandva*. The compound यूकालिक्षम् (the louse and the nit) and दंशमशकम् (the bug and mosquito) illustrate the rule which enjoins compouding of the words signifying small animals (II. 4. 8), whereas the compounds अहिनकुलम् (the group of snake and mongoose), मार्जारमूषकम् (the group of cat and mouse) काकोलूकम् (the group of crow and owl) present one more variety wherein the animals referred to bear permanent enmity among themselves (II. 4. 9). The speech-habits underlying these compounds are obvious and need no comment.

Among the several rules dealing with the structure of *Samāhāra-dvandva*, two rules (II. 4. 11 and II. 4. 14) introduce two classes of words viz. गवाश्वप्रभृति-गण and दधिपयआदिगण. These inventories consist of compounded expressions which betray high irregularity in their formation. The comounds such as गवाश्वम् (the group of cow and horse), दासीदासम् and etc. violate all the rules of constituents. The moment the places of constituents are interchanged they no longer remain *Samāhāra-dvandva*. Pāṇini accepts these compounds as they are, giving sanction of the grammar, and regularising them in spite of their high irregularity. This is the prominent example which shows that the usages current in daily communication acquire the nature of speech-habits and receive the sanction from the grammarians.

But outstanding of all is the rule II. 4. 10 (शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ which throws a flood of light on the social custom prevalent in those times. The words in the compound refer to those classes of Śūdras who have not been excommunicated by the higher classes, but who enjoy the company of upper classes of the society at the time of dinner. The compound तक्षायस्कारम् refers to the carpenter and blacksmith who have the honour of dining with the people of the upper class. The compound is unique as it traces a very important social custom.

In his treatment of *Dvandva*-compound, Pāṇini deals with some interesting cases of substitutions which are seen to be invariably associated with peculiar speech habits. These rules are introduced in the third quarter of the sixth chapter and are ten in number (VI. 3. 25 to 34). An illustration or two in this respect will suffice to prove the conclusion. Thus the rule VI. 3. 25 states that the words ending in short ऋ which are the first members and express the relationship through study or blood, have their ऋ substituted by आ. The illustrative examples are होतापोतारौ, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तारौ and etc. The same substitute आ (i. e. आनङ्) has been prescribed for the final of the first member when the constituents are the names of deities moving in pair. मित्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रावरुणौ इन्द्रासोमौ are some

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

of the examples of the rule. Examples discussed so far are sufficient enough to establish the conclusion that substitutions and speech-habits are invariably related to each other.

But the real glory of this *Dvandva*-compound which distinguishes it from all other categories of the compound, is its acquisition of additional philosophical dimension, which is simply a unique feature of this *Dvandva*. The phenomenon that the *Dvandva*-compound should cover the philosophical area, is something new in comparison with other forms of compounds. This *Dvandva*-compound has been declared to be the best among all the compounds in the *Vibhūti-yoga* of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The statement of the Lord who informs Arjuna of his excellent manifestations, is अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ॥ *Gītā* 10. 33. No commentator of the *Gītā* has paid any attention to this statement by bringing out the relevance and significance of this assertion The commentators like Śaṁkarācārya, Tilak or even the Marathi poet Jñāneśwara have nothing to comment on it. The significance of the statement therefore, must be sought in the light of the teaching of the *Gītā* itself. It is therefore proposed to venture a speculation or two on the philosophical dimension acquired by the *Dvandva*-compound in the context of the philosophy of the *Gītā*.

The lexical meaning of the expression *Dvandva* as given in the *Amarakośa* is *yugma* or a pair. This concept of a "pair" can be traced throughout the philosophy of the *Gītā*. Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa while dealing with the problem of Arjuna, whether he should fight or not, analyses the human experience and states that this experience consists of a "pair of opposites". These are the pairs of "happiness and unhappiness", "heat and cold", "love and hatred", "life and death" and etc. This *Dvandva* (pair) is at the root of human experience.

These pairs of opposites belong to *Māyā*-world and not to the highest reality. One has to put up with this duality releasing thereby one's reason from the grip of these pairs. At one stage the Lord advises Arjuna सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ। ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥ २ : ३८. Significantly enough, the compounds in this stanza such as सुखदुःखे, लाभालाभौ and जयाजयौ are *Dvandva*-compounds pointing at this duality of experience. In 2. 45 the Lord addresses Arjuna निर्द्वन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥ 'Do you free yourself from the opposites'. In second chapter the *Gītā* speaks in terms of *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga*, the path of knowledge and the path of action which again form a "pair", though not of opposites. The *Sāṁkhya* philosophy introduced by *Gītā* has two fundamental concepts, *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* which again is a pair (*Dvandva*). Even *Vedānta* philosophy propounded by *Gītā* is based on two concepts of *Brahman* and *Māyā*, though their interpretations offered by Ācāryas may be widely different. The terms such as *Kṣara* and *Akṣara*, *Kṣetra* and

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Kṣetrañja employed by the Lord throughout the discourse are again the pointers to the same concept of a pair or *Dvandva*. Bearing in mind this uncommon position occupied by *Dvandva* in the philosophy of *Gītā*, will it not be legitimate and justified to assert that the *Dvandva* compound has been raised to the level of philosophy in *Gītā*? This supposition seems to be quite inevitable. If this *Dvandva* is deeply rooted in the philosophy of *Gītā* or for that matter in the philosophy of *Sāṁkhya* and *Vedānta*, there is no wonder that it should be raised to the position of excellent manifestation of the Lord in the tenth chapter. This chapter of *Gītā* is solely devoted to the description of the Lord's glories. In this description, we come to know that in each and every field the Lord is identifying himself with the most excellent object available therein. These excellent manifestations of the Lord serve a purpose of an aid to the contemplation. According to the statement of the *Gītā*, *Dvandvu* among all the compounds, is the best and prominent expression of the Lord on account of the reason stated above. *Dvandva* is seen to be reaching the very root of philosophical ideas enunciated by *Gītā* and hence it has been chosen by the Lord as his excellent manifestation among the compounds. Thus in the light of the teachings of *Gītā* the statement of the Lord "द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ॥" becomes relevant and significant as well.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायीरचनाप्रणाल्याः स्थूलस्वरूपविवेचनम्

लेखक : के. ए. कृष्णमाचार्युलु

अष्टाध्याय्यां प्रधानतया द्वौ भागौ वर्तेते — (१) विधिशेषप्रकरणं (२) विधिप्रकरणं चेति। एतादृशो विभागः कैश्चिद् व्याकरण संप्रदायज्ञैरुदाह्रियते, भारतीयाधिशासनसंरक्षकतायां मुद्रिते (Published under the auspices of Govt. of India) महाभाष्य-ग्रन्थे मुद्रितशब्दकौस्तुभग्रन्थे च दृश्यते। आद्यौ द्वौ अध्यायौ विधिशेषप्रकरणस्थौ। अन्तिमाः षडध्यायाः विधिप्रकरणस्थाः।

प्रत्ययादेशागमादीनि सर्वाणि व्याकरणकार्याणि विधिप्रकरणे विहितानि। विधिशेषप्रकरणं च तस्य शेषभूतं, अङ्गभूतं भवति। तत्र विधिप्रकरणस्थसंज्ञापदानामर्थाः सूत्राणामर्थकल्पने अनुसर्तव्या परिभाषानियमाः स्वशास्त्रप्रवृत्त्यर्थं परिकल्पितमतिदेशविधानं इत्येवमादयो विषयाः परामृष्टाः दृश्यन्ते। अतस्तत् प्रकरणं विधिशेषप्रकरणमिति कथ्यते।

विधिप्रकरणं पुनः द्विधा विभक्तुं शक्यते। तत्र तृतीय-चतुर्थ-पञ्चमाध्यायाः प्राधान्येन प्रत्ययविधिप्रकरणमिति षष्ठसप्तमाष्टमाध्यायाः लोपागमादेशादिकार्यविधिप्रकरणमिति वक्तुं शक्यते।

भावप्रकाशनसमर्थः सुप्तिङन्तसमुदायः वाक्यम्। तदेव प्रधानतया भाषात्वेन व्यवह्रियते। (A sentence is a unit of language) तत्र वाक्ये क्रियापदं प्रधानम्। सर्वेषां कारकाणां क्रियान्वयित्वात्। क्रियापदं च धातुभिर्निष्पाद्यं भवति। धातुभ्यः पदत्वसम्पादकाः तिङः, प्रातिपदिकत्वसम्पादकाः, कृतः, अन्ये विकरणादयश्च तृतीयाध्याये विहिताः। अनन्तरं प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः पदत्वसम्पादकाः सुपः, अन्ये स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः तद्धिताश्च चतुर्थपञ्चमाध्याययोः विहिताः। (केचित् तद्धिताः, सुबन्तेभ्यः, केचन प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्च विहिताः, पाणिनीये)।

विधिशेषप्रकरणे प्रथमाध्याये एवानेकानि संज्ञासूत्राणि सन्ति। अत एव हेतोः प्रथमाध्यायः पतञ्जलिना संज्ञाधिकार इति व्यवहृतः। [संज्ञाधिकारश्चायमिति (1. 1. 1); (1. 1. 46); (1. 1. 56); (1. 4. 1); (1. 4. 23)] तथैव नागेशेनापि व्यवहृतः [तस्मात् संज्ञाप्रकरणे प्रथमाध्याये पाठोऽनेकसंज्ञालाभाय इति (उद्योत under 5. 2. 23)]। प्रथमाध्याये संज्ञासूत्रैः साकं परिभाषासूत्रादीनां सत्त्वेपि तस्य संज्ञाधिकारव्यपदेशस्य हेतुः सूचितः कैयटेन अपूक्तसूत्रप्रदीपे "पारार्थ्यसामान्यात्परिभाषा संज्ञात्वेन व्यवह्रियते" इति। प्रथमाध्याये (65) पञ्चषष्टिः संज्ञाः, द्वितीयाध्याये (8) अष्ट संज्ञाः, इत्याहत्य विधिशेषप्रकरणे त्रयस्सप्ततिः (73) संज्ञाः निरुक्ताः। विधिप्रकरणेऽपि (14) चतुर्दश संज्ञा विहिताः सन्ति। शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् सर्वत्रापि प्रवर्तमानाः संज्ञा एव विधिशेषप्रकरणे विहिताः; किन्तु नियतविषयाः काश्चन संज्ञाः विधिप्रकरणे तत्र तत्र विहिता इति विज्ञेयम्। यथा तृतीय-चतुर्थ-पञ्चमाध्यायेषु विहितानामेव प्रत्ययसम्बन्ध इति कृत्वा तत्प्रारम्भे एव प्रत्ययसंज्ञा विहिता। तथैव अभ्याससंज्ञा षष्ठाध्याये विहिता षाष्ठद्वित्वसम्बन्धिनीति कृत्वा।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

आम्रेडितसंज्ञा अष्टमाध्यांये विहिता आष्टमिकद्वित्वसम्बन्धिनीति कृत्वा। एवमेव परिभाषादीनां विषयेऽप्यूह्यम्। एतादृशं विषयविभागं पुरस्कृत्यैवाष्टाध्यायी विरचिता भवति।

विधिशेषप्रकरणस्थानां केषांचिद्विषयाणां सामञ्जस्यमधुना परामृश्यते।

1. प्रथमाध्याये द्वितीयभागे "ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य" (1.2.47) इति सूत्रेण ह्रस्वो विधीयते। ह्रस्वस्यादेशरूपकार्यत्वात् कथमस्य विधिशेषत्वमिति संदेहो जायते। तत्रेयं समाधिः धातोस्तिङ्प्रत्ययस्य कृत्प्रत्ययस्य वा विधानं कृत्वा अथवा प्रातिपदिकात् सुप्प्रत्ययस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य तद्धितप्रत्ययस्य वा विधानं कृत्वा तत्प्रयुक्ततया प्रसक्तानि कार्याण्यपि विधिप्रकरणे विधीयन्ते। अयं तु ह्रस्वः नपुंसकलिङ्गे प्रातिपदिकस्वरूपपरिष्कार एव केवलं विहितः। नात्र सुपः अन्यस्य वा प्रत्ययस्य प्रसक्तिः। नपुंसकलिङ्गे दीर्घान्तं प्रातिपदिकं न वर्तते, किन्तु ह्रस्वान्तमेव, यदि (प्रक्रियावशात्) समासादिवशात् दीर्घान्तं प्रातिपदिकं सम्पद्यते तदा तस्यानेन ह्रस्वं कृत्वा ह्रस्वान्तमेव प्रातिपदिकं सुपः प्रकृतितया स्वीकर्तव्यं भवतीतीममभिप्रायं सूचयतोऽस्यं सूत्रस्य विधिशेषत्वं युज्यते।

2. प्रथमाध्याये तृतीये पादे "अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्" (1.3.12) शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् (1.3.78) इत्यादिभिः आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदप्रत्ययाः विहिता दृश्यन्ते। तेषां तिङन्तरूपसिद्ध्यर्थत्वात् कथं विधिशेषत्वम्? इति चेदत्रोच्यते।

अत्रापि वस्तुतः तिप्तस्झीत्यादि तृतीयाध्यायस्थ (3.4.78) सूत्रमेव तिङ्प्रत्ययविधायकं भवति। तेषु तिङ्षु नवानाम् परस्मैपदसंज्ञां नवानामात्मनेपदसंज्ञां च विधाय सर्वेषां समप्राप्तौ सत्यां कुत्र परस्मैपदप्रत्ययाः कार्याः कुत्रात्मनेपदप्रत्ययाः कार्या इतीमं विषयनियमम् एतानि सूत्राणि बोधयन्ति, न तु साक्षात् प्रत्यया एतैः सूत्रै विधेयाः। अतस्तेषां न साक्षाद् विधित्वम्, अपि तु विधिशेषत्वमेव।

3. एवमेव "तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः (1.4.101) इत्यनेन प्रथममध्यमोत्तम संज्ञाः प्राप्तानां पुरुषत्रयाणां मध्ये कस्य पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धी प्रत्ययः कुत्र कार्यः इत्याकाङ्क्षायां "युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः (1.4.105) प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च (1.4.106) अस्मद्युत्तमः (1.4.107) शेषे प्रथमः (1.4.103) इत्यादिभिः सूत्रैः विषयनियमः क्रियते इति कृत्वा तेषां विधिशेषत्वम्। प्रत्ययविधायकं तु "तिप्तस्झी" इत्यादि सूत्रमेव।

4. तथैव "बहुषु बहुवचनम्" (1.4.21), "द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने (1.4.22) इति सूत्राभ्यां तत्तद्वचनविधानमपि न साक्षात्प्रत्ययविधायकम्। किन्तु तिङ्षु सुप्सु च केषांचिदेकवचनसंज्ञा, केषांचिद् द्विवचनसंज्ञा केषांचिद्बहुवचनसंज्ञा च विहिताः, तत्र कस्यैकवचनप्रत्ययो विधेयः, कस्य द्विवचनप्रत्ययो विधेयः, कस्य बहुवचनप्रत्ययो विधेयः इत्याकाङ्क्षायामेताभ्यां सूत्राभ्यां विषयनियमः क्रियते इति कृत्वा एतयोरपि विधिशेषत्वमेव। न साक्षात् प्रत्ययविधायकत्वम्। तत्र प्रत्ययविधानं स्वौजसमौट्, तिप्तस्झि इत्येताभ्यामेव भवति।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

5. प्रथमाध्याये प्रथमद्वितीयपादयोः समासाः विहिताः दृश्यन्ते। तेषां कथं विधिशेषत्वमिति चेदुच्यते। तत्रत्यैः सूत्रैः समाससंज्ञा एव विधीयन्ते न तु समसनकार्यम्। यथा कृष्णं श्रितः इति समुदायस्य (अथवा कृष्ण+अम् श्रित+सुं इति समुदायस्य) "द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः इति सूत्रेण समाससंज्ञा सिद्ध्यति। समाससंज्ञावत्त्वात् तस्य "कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च" इति सूत्रेण प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा सिद्ध्यति। ततश्च सुपो धातु प्रातिपदिकयोः इति सूत्रेण तत्रस्थसुपोः लोपो भवति। तदा "कृष्णश्रित" इति प्रातिपदिकमवशिष्यते। ततः स्वौजसमौडिति सुप्प्रत्यये कृष्णश्रितः इति रूपं भवति। तत्र सुप्प्रत्ययप्रकृतितया कृष्णश्रित इति प्रातिपदिकसिद्ध्यर्थं, प्रथमतः समाससंज्ञा ततः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा ततश्चसुपोर्लोपश्च विहिताः। तेषां प्रातिपदिकत्वसिद्ध्यर्थत्वात् सुप्प्रत्ययनिमित्तकत्वाभावात् विधिशेषत्वं युज्यते।

9. अत एव सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः (2. 4. 71) इति द्वितीयाध्यायविहितलोपस्य लोपरूपकार्यविधायकत्वेऽपि कृष्णश्रित इत्यादि प्रातिपदिकरूपसिध्यर्थत्वात्, पुत्रकाम्य इत्यादि सनाद्यन्तधातुरूपसिद्ध्यर्थत्वाच्च पदत्वसम्पादनार्थत्वाभावाच्च विधिशेषत्वं वक्तुं शक्यते।

7. किञ्च "कर्मणि द्वितीया" इत्यादिभिः सूत्रैः द्वितीयाध्याये द्वितीयादिविभक्तयो विहिताः दृश्यन्ते तेषां कथं विधिशेषत्वमिति अत्र विविच्यते। कस्मिन्नर्थेकः सुप्प्रत्ययो विधेय इत्याकाङ्क्षायां कर्मणि द्वितीयाप्रत्ययो विधेयः इत्येवं रीत्या तैर्विषयनियमः क्रियते इति कृत्वा तेषां विधिशेषत्वं वक्तुं शक्यते। साक्षात् प्रत्यय विधायकं तु स्वौजसमौडित्यादि सूत्रमेव। तत्र कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म इत्यादिभिः कर्मादिसंज्ञासु विहितासु कर्मणि द्वितीया इत्यादिभिः द्वितीयादयः विधेयाः इति विविच्यमाने सति विषये, तत्रापि द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने इत्यादिना तत्तत्प्रत्ययो विधेय इति विविच्यमाने सति स्वौजसमौडिति सूत्रेणैव तत्तत्प्रत्ययाः कार्याः। अतः सुप्प्रत्ययविधायकस्य स्वौजसमौडित्थादिसूत्रस्य विधित्वं, तदन्येषां पूर्वोक्तानां विधिशेषत्वं च युज्यत एव।

8. किं च आर्धधातुके इत्यधिकारे "अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति" "अस्तेर्भूः" इत्यादिभिः सूत्रैस्तत्तद्धात्वादेशा विहिताः। तानि सूत्राणि द्वितीयाध्याये चतुर्थपादे निबद्धानि सन्ति। तेषां कथं विधिशेषत्वमिति शंका जायते। परन्तु आर्धधातुके इत्यत्र विषयसप्तम्याश्रयणेन आर्धधातुके विषये, आर्धधातुके विविक्षिते इत्यर्थः स्वीकृतः। तथा च आर्धधातुके विविक्षिते अस्धातोः तिङ्प्रत्ययाः न कार्याः, तत्र अस्धातोः प्रयोगस्य अभावात्। किन्तु तत्स्थाने तदर्थे भूधातुरेव प्रयुज्यते। अतः भूधातोरेवार्धधातुकाः प्रत्ययाः कार्या इत्येवं रीत्या भाषास्थितिं बोधयतां तेषां सूत्राणां विधिशेषत्वकल्पनं युज्यत एवेति भाति। लुकरविधानात् पूर्वमेव प्रकृतिपरिष्कारतया ते धात्वादेशाः कार्याः, तदनन्तरमेव लकाराः, लकारादेशाश्च कार्या इति हेतोर्न तेषां विधिप्रकरणे स्थानं कल्पितम् इति वक्तुं शक्यते। अतस्तेषां विधिशेषप्रकरणे स्थानं युज्यते।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

9. अन्ततः महतां पुरतो मया निवेद्यते इदम् —

द्वितीयाध्याये चतुर्थपादे "ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणियोः" इत्यादीनि तद्धितलुग्विधायकसूत्राणि, "अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः" इत्यादीनि विकरणप्रत्ययलुग्विधायकसूत्राणि, "अव्ययादाप्सुपः" इत्यादि सुप्प्रत्ययलुग्विधायकसूत्राणि अन्ततः "लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः" इति लुटः प्रथमपुरुषस्यादेशभूतानां तिप्तस्झि इति त्रयाणां डारौरस इत्यादेशानां विधायकं सूत्रं च विद्यन्ते। तेषां कथं विधिशेषत्वं युज्यते इति मया अल्पधिया अवगन्तुं न पार्यते। किन्तु तेषां तद्धितान्तरूपसिध्यर्थत्वात्, सुबन्तरूपसिध्यर्थत्वाच्च विधित्वमेव युक्तमिति प्रतिभाति। एतानि विधिसूत्राण्येवेत्यङ्गीकारे ततः पूर्वमेव द्वितीयाध्याय-परिसमापनकरणाभावस्य, तदन्तरं तत्करणस्य च को वा हेतुर्भवेदिति जिज्ञासा मां बाधते। अतस्तद्विषये तत्रभवन्तो महान्तः प्रमाणीभूय, मामवबोध्य अनुगृह्णन्तु च यथावकाशम् इति सप्रश्रयं प्रार्थये।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

THE INDEFINITE PRONOUN IN OLD AND NEW INDO-ARYAN

[with special reference to Early Brajabhāṣā]

By

GILBERT POLLET

0.1 Introduction

The Brajabhāṣā authors of the 16th and the 17th centuries were using a number of pronominal forms which can to a degree be linked with Middle Indo-Aryan and with Old Indo-Aryan (OIA). The various forms of the indefinite pronoun have been collected from the works of ten authors. More or less arranged in the chronological order, they are : Sūradāsa and Hita Harivaṁśa in the early 16th century A. D.; Nandadāsa in the second half of the 16th century; Tulasidāsa, Indrajit of Orchā, Keśavadāsa and Nābhādāsa around 1600 A. D.; Janagopāla, a disciple of Dīnadayāḷa Dādū, in the early 17th century; Rasakhāna and Bihārīlāla later in the 17th century.

Four among these ten authors are more systematically dealt with here, viz. Sūradāsa, Indrajit of Orchā, Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. The remaining six are rather occasionally referred to.

1. Direct case

The direct case of the indefinite pronoun, meaning 'someone' or adjectivelly 'some' is rendered in Early Brajabhāṣā by various forms, such as *koū*, *kou*, *kauū*, *kauu*, *koī*, *koi*, *koya*, *keū*, and *keu*.

1.1 Origin. The first syllable *ko-* or *kau-*, represents the direct case of the Brajabhāṣā interrogative pronoun. It can be derived either directly from the OIA nominative singular *kaḥ*, which is rendered as *ko* already in Pali and Prakrit, or — as Suniti Kumar Chatterji suggested — from the pleonastic OIA form *kakaḥ*, through *kago*, *kao*, *kaü* and *kau*. In much the same way the Early Brajabhāṣā demonstrative-correlative *so* can go back to OIA *saḥ* or to its extended form *sakaḥ*, and the Brajabhāṣā relative *jo* can be derived from OIA *yaḥ* or *yakaḥ*.

In the forms *keū* and *keu*, the initial syllable *ke-* is not regular Brajabhāṣā but rather Eastern Hindi, e.g. Avadhī. It should hence be derived from Māgadhī *kē-* which in its turn represents either the OIA nominative singular *kaḥ* or the pleonastic OIA form *kakaḥ*, through *kage* and *kăe*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The final syllable, Brajabhāṣā *-ū* or *-u*, could be explained as derived from OIA *api*, Prakrit *-vi*. This *-vi* or *-bi*, as found in Prakrit *kovi* or *kobi*, would then have developed into *-va* or *-ba* respectively, not in a regular way but on the analogy of the nominative singular of nouns in *-u*.

An other explanation for final *-ū* and *-u* would be that it represents more directly, i. e. not analogously, the OIA emphatic enclitic *uta* which means "and; also; even" in Sanskrit, and which evolved to *ua*, *va* and *u*.

A third possibility of explanation is that final *-ū* and *-u* are variants of the Early Brajabhāṣā emphatic enclitic *-hū* which represents OIA *khalu*. In that case, *koū* and *kou* would be fully comparable to Brajabhāṣā *soū*, *sou* or *sova*, which occur e. g. with Sūradāsa and Nābhādāsa and which are clearly emphatic nominative case forms of the demonstrative-correlative pronoun.

Final *-ī* and *-i*, as found in Brajabhāṣā *koī*, *koi* and *koya*, are not restricted to Western Hindi but they occur equally in Early Avadhi. Several modern grammarians of Hindi or of neighbouring languages have linked this final syllable *-ī* or *-i* with OIA *api*. And indeed, OIA *kaḥ + api*, Sanskrit *ko'pi*, finds its equivalent in Prakrit *kōvi* or *kōbi*. The step-over from Prakrit *kōvi* to Early New Indo-Aryan *koi* or *koī* is seemingly small, so that one might be easily tempted to link Early Brajabhāṣā *koi* and *koī* with Sanskrit *ko'pi*. As if to add to the confusion, Prakrit also has the form *kōi* which might be wrongly interpreted as a variant of the same origin as *kōvi*. It is perhaps safer to link Early Brajabhāṣā *koi* or *koī* with Prakrit *kōi* and with the OIA nominative singular masculine *kaścid*. The latter form, *kaśctd* or *kaḥ + cid*, has been more recognizably rendered as *kōci* in Pali and in some Ashokan rock inscriptions.

1.2 Frequency in Brajabhāṣā literature

As a rule, the Early Brajabhāṣā literary works have far more often final *-ū* or *-u* than final *-ī* or *-i*. *koū* is the preferred form in Sūr, Hita Harivaṃśa, Nandadāsa, Indrajit, Nābhādāsa and most other authors. *kou* also occurs, though less frequently, with most authors. At times, as in Sūradāsa, Nābhādāsa and Rasakhāna, the shorter form *kou* may be due to metrical reasons. E. g. : *jaga koū* (*kou* 2 MSS) *nahi tā samāna*, 'Nobody on earth is his (viz. Giridhar's) equal' (Nābhā, *Bhaktamāl*, stanza 131. 6). By way of exception, the Brajabhāṣā works of Tulasīdāsa tend to prefer the short form *kou* to the less frequent variant *koū*. But this may be due to the influence of Early Avadhi, which has mostly the short form *kou*, beside the long form *koī*.

The variant spellings *kauū* and *kauŭ* are only rarely found, e. g. in some manuscripts of Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. *koi* occurs in a minority of cases in Sūradāsa, Nābhādāsa, Tulasīdāsa, Janagopāla and Bihārīlāla. E. g. *tilaka*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

dāma dharai koi, 'If someone wears the frontal mark and the chaplet' (Nābhādāsa : *Bhaktamāl*, stanza 56. 2). Here as in a few other stanzas, *koi* has also the variant spelling *koya* in some of the 18th century manuscripts. *koī* is met in a minority of cases in Nandadāsa and Tulasīdāsa, and as a rare variant in Nābhādāsa. In Janagopāla, however, *koī* is the majority. E. g. : *aisau sādha na āyau koī*, 'No such saint (as Dādū Dayāla) has come (here in the past)' (*Dādū-janma-līlā*, 5. 20).

The less usual forms *keū* and *keu* occur as variant readings in Nābhādāsa, stanza 200. 2 : *koū kahai*, 'Someone (=one) says (that...)'. Here, *koū* has the variant reading *keū* in one manuscript, dated A. D. 1716, and the variant *keu* in an other manuscript, dated A. D. 1721.

2. Oblique case, Sentence-object, Agentive

2. 1 The Brajabhāṣā oblique forms with the meaning 'someone; some', are *kāhū*, *kāhu* and exceptionally *kāhuṃ*. The first syllable is the oblique form *kā-* of the Brajabhāṣā interrogative pronoun *ko*, and it represents the OIA genitive singular *kasya*, through Prakrit *kassa* and Apabhraṃśa *kāha*. The final syllable *-hū*, *-hu* or *-huṃ* many represent OIA *khalu*. It can however also be interpreted as an equivalent of the final syllable of Brajabhāṣā *koū* or *kou*, both of which may be derived from OIA *api* or *uta*.

kāhū is most regularly attested in Sūradāsa, Indrajit and Nābhādāsa, whereas it occurs as a variant in Tulasīdāsa. *kāhu* is most frequent in Tulasīdāsa, but it is also found in Hita-Harivaṃśa and – as a variant – in Nābhādāsa. *kāhuṃ* figures only once as a variant in Nābhādāsa.

The oblique form can be used with or without a postposition, e. g. : *kāhū kai bala joga jajña*, 'Someone's strength (may consist) in penance and sacrifice' (Nābhādāsa : *Bhaktamāla*, stanza 214. 1). Here the oblique pronoun *kāhū* is followed by the possessiue postposition *kai*.

2. 2 The sentence-object is expressed by means of the three oblique forms mentioned above. Both the direct and the indirect object can be rendered with or without a postposition. Here, as in the oblique case, *kāhū* is preferred by most Brajabhāṣā authors, including Sūradāsa, Indrajit, Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. *kāhu* is the best attested in Tulasīdāsa and, to an extent, in Sūradāsa. *kāhuṃ* is moderately, well attested in Sūradāsa and even less in Nābhādāsa, whereas *kāhūṃ* (which has the variant *kāūṃ*) is more frequent with Janagopāla and less with Sūradāsa. E. g. : *hama nahīṃ karaiṃ na barajaiṃ kāhū*, 'I (viz. Dādū) neither allow nor forbid anyone to marry' (Janagopāla : *Dādū janma-līlā*, 10. 19). In this example, *kāhū* is clearly used pronominally and it has as variants *kāhūṃ* and *kāūṃ*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. 3 The agentive forms are virtually the same as the oblique ones. *kāhū* occurs regularly in Sūradāsa, Indrajit, Keśavadāsa, Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. Sūradāsa and Janagopāla have also *kāhūṃ*, whereas *kāhu* is only exceptionally found in Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. E. g.: *kāhū* (*kāhu* 1 MS) *nahi pāe*, 'Nobody found them (viz. the vanished ancestors) (Nābhādāsa, *Bhaktamāla*, stanza 33. 5).

3. Invariable kachu

The indefinite pronoun which has the meaning 'something' or, if used as an adjective, 'some' can take various Early Brajabhāṣā forms such as *kachu*, *kac(c)hū*, *kacha*, *kiṃcita*, *kichu*, *kachuva*, *kachua*, *kachuka*, *kachuvai* and *kucha*.

Among these, *kiṃcit* is apparently closest to the OIA neuter indefinite pronoun *kiṃcid*. The form *kichu*, which occurs in Brajabhāṣā and regularly in the eastern languages derived from Māgadhī, could represent OIA *kiṃcid* + *khalu*, which developed into *kichihu* and *kichu* under the influence of *kaścid*.

Brajabhāṣā *kachu* could represent the OIA combination of a neuter singular **kiṃ* + *cid* + *khalu*. *Kachuka* should be a suffixed form of *kachu* in which final *-ka* stands for the numeral *eka* ('one').

kachu and *kachū* are attested in Sūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa, Nābhādāsa and Janagopāla. *kachū* is moreover found with Nandadāsa and Indrajit. The latter has also *kacchū*. *kacha* is a variant in the manuscripts of Nābhādāsa. *kiṃcita* and *kichu* are attested in Sūradāsa as well as in Tulasīdāsa.

The suffixed form *kachuka* (meaning 'few; little; some') occurs in Sūradāsa. Hitaharivaṃśa and Tulasīdāsa, whereas *kachū ika* is the spelling in Janagopāla. Sūradāsa has the form *kachuva*. Both Sūradāsa and Tulasīdāsa have *kachua* as well as *kachuvai* in the sense of modern Hindi *kucha bhī*. E. e.: ... *na kahaiṃ kachuvai*, 'They do not say anything at all' (Tulasīdāsa, *Kavitāvalī*, 7. 40).

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES

A CULTURAL STUDY IN AARE FOLK SONGS

By

PERVARAM JAGANNADHAM

In Andhra Pradesh we find a section of people called 'Aare' living here for the last few centuries. They are also known as 'Aare Kapu' or 'Aare Marathies' in some of the regions. Scholars opine that the word 'Aare' is derived from 'Arya'. As these people are originally 'Kṣatriyas' from Maharashtra, they are also considered 'Arya Kṣatriyas'. The mother-tongue of these people is 'Aare' language which is a dialect variation of Marathi in Andhra Pradesh. It is belived that they had emigrated from Maharashtra centuries back for various reasons and settled here permanently to become one with the Telugu people. Their cultural heritage has become a part and parcel of Telugu culture. Even today they talk chaste Telugu outside their homes, although they speak 'Aare' at home and thus offer a harmonious integration of the dual cultures of Andhra and Maharashtra. This is one of the best examples of unity in diversity acting as a cohesive force of national integration.

Agriculture is the chief occupation of 'Aares'. It has been their family tradition to be valiant soldiers at the time of war and farmers during peace. This is the reason why we find Kṣatriya weapons in their houses. In marriage ceremonies, we find programmes related to their Kṣatra Valour and agricultural tradition. Mother Bhavānī is their Goddess. Generally they are all Śaivites. Many of them in Telangana also wear Lingas. There is also Kṛṣṇa cult in the line of Chakradhara Swamy in the border districts of Adilabad and Nizamabad. In places like Warangal and Karimnagar Vaiṣṇavism could also be traced among them. The unique feature of the Telanganite Aares is their vegitarianism. Yet they don't wear *Yajñopavītam* 'the sacred thread'. There are many villages thickly populated with Aare race in the Andhra Pradesh. They are termed 'Aare Pallelu' in Telangana and 'Marathi Pallelu' in Andhra region.

Palkurki Somanadha is the first Telugu poet to refer to the word 'Aare' in verse. He has written a whole poem in Aare entitled 'Vrishadhipa Satakam'. Some couplets in Aare are also found in 'Panditaradhya-Charitram'. Somanadha is again the first to invest the word 'Aare' with linguistic, regional, and racial

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

connotations. Since Somanadha is said to belong to 13th century, it can be inferred that the Aare exodus from Maharashtra to Telugu region had begun much before the times of Somanadha. Besides historians also assert that the emigration had commenced from the times of Kākatīyas themselves. This accounts for the fact that the present Aare language has many ancient linguistic subtleties not to be found in the modern Marathi. After Somanadha, Korevi Goparaju of 15th century and Ponnakanti Telaganarya of 16th century used the word 'Aare' as an index of a race and a language. Nudurupati Venkanarya of 18th century in his *Andhra Bhasharnam* explained the meaning of 'Aare' as Maharashtra. Later the word has crept in to all the dictionaries starting from 'A'. All the lexicographers explain the word 'Aare' to mean Maharashtra.

There is no script for Aare language. Yet these people sing Aare Folk songs melodious on all their auspicious occasions — be it marriage, cradle ceremoney or the occasion of brother's arrival at the sister's house to escort her to maternal home. There is also another sect called 'Gondhalies' who depend on Aares for their survival. These 'Gondhalies', a wandering sect, visit the Aare houses on all auspicious occasions, narrate the fantastic stories of adventure in Aare and render performances reflecting Aare Folklore. Thus Aare Folklore has survived even today in the oral tradition. They mirror the cultural and social milieu of Aares. Let me now throw light on the cultural nuances of Aare Folk songs.

Tying 'Devak' is one of the marital customs of Aares. It is performed separately in both the houses of bride and bridegroom. One day prior to the marriage the maternal sister of the family with 'Brahmamudi' — a holy knot at the fringes of her saree, visits the marital pandal, accompanied by her husband, and ties 'Devak' to the pandal. As the auspicious music is played the sister ties to the pandal an axe, a pestle, a 'Jammi' twig, and a 'Chaddi Moota' — the cooked rice with curd. This custom is known as 'Devak'. The same woman who tied it would untie it along with her husband, on an auspicious day after the marriage, before 16th day ceremony. During the course of 'Devak' ceremony, the matrons sing the following song :

(1) *Every line should be repeated twice :

Sonacha kuradi — rupiyacha danda
Dhayi bhathacha sidori — devuka dadacha padari
Soniyacha gada — rupiyacha nada
Dhawle Powle baila — baila nahva basvadeva
Chethuru chalale dongara — thyani thodeele mogara

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Asthori purusa — bàrma ghantu ghalunu
Ghetho nareecha he navu — sandadi ghavoji ghathila
Sandadeecha phanta — sonacha thalathu
Vajathu gajathu — bajara mirvathu chow bajara mirvathu
Ale mandavache dari — agasi mandāva
Dharthali bowla — sandadeecha phanta
Resamasa dori — baisa baisaku devaku
Baisaku devaku — jaya jaya khambala
Phirtheemiche raje — devakalà ale
Rama Sithacha varadu — Sitha Ramacha varadu

The song may be translated thus : " Our brother carrying a golden axe with a silver supporting staff, has come to tie ' Devak ' with curd-rice tied to the edge of his towel. He went to the forest on a golden cart with wheels of silver axles, drawn by the royal oxen of the highest pedigree. And as a Kṣatriya he cut the trees. Singing and dancing cheerfully the couple joined in " Brahmamudi " have come to the marriage-pandal with a ' Jmmi ' twig on a golden plate. They have come like Sita and Rama to tie ' Devak ' to the pillar with a silken thread.

This song glorifies both the agrarian qualities of cutting wood with an axe and the Kṣātra Dharma of worshipping ' Jammi '. The Aare tradition also informs us that after emigration to the Telugu land, long back, they had cut forests, constructed villages and became village officers. Either due to war or famine, the historians say, Marathas emigrated to the Telugu land on a large scale.

There is another custom called ' Gondhalai ' conducted seperately at both the houses of bride and bridegroom, before the marriage. According to the custom, the new garments bought for the couple, are taken to the Anjaneya Temple, shown to the God with incense and light and brought back home. The relatives take the new garments to the temple in a procession in the evening with music. It offers a delightful sight. With flamed torches in their hands, the people go in a procession dancing and often chanting the name of Anjaneya and singing the following song :

(2) Lagadilo thuja gondadilo
Achadilo thuja pichadilo
Veera Hanuman thacha he gondale
Navva narsingacha he gondale

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Dava jetiyasa he gondale
Dayitha veeracha he gondale
Lagadilo thuja gondadilo
Ayi Bhavani ayi gondala yavo
Thuljapuri Thukobai gondala yavo
Sathiyasara gondala yavo
Lagadilo thuja gondadilo
Ayi Gavoo devi gondala yavo

That is : the people invoke various Gods by their individual names, and implore them to accept 'Gondhalai' offered them. In the series of Gods worshipped, the village Goddess Pochamma also comes. Although various Gods are invoked, the main intent of the custom is to offer prayers to Lord Anjaneya and Tuljapuri Tukobai. The word 'Gondhalai' is used here to mean the worship (KOLUPU) offered to Gods. In Maharashtra it is regarded as a distinct 'Bhajan'. The Telugu Dictionaries explain the word 'Gondili' as a variety of circular dance. The story-tellers who depend on Aares are also called 'Gondhalis'. There is a traditional story that these people were appointed only to worship Mother Bhavani with dancing, singing and chanting. Hence it is evident that all these words are derived from the same root or derivative. 'Gondhalai' must have acquired greater prominence, as the Bhakti cult has been predominent in Maharashtra from the begining.

In the Aare marriages 'Nakabali' after 'Lagnam' is performed solely by ladies. There is no custom of Brahmins performing this with Mantra. Ladies sing the folk-songs for hours together in 'Aare' and fulfil the 'Nokabali' ritual. Soon after this, the bridegroom with the reins and 'Beredu Jollu' : (a leather belt tied round the neck of the yoked bullock) on his back goes to the installed Mother Bhavani accompanied by the bride and scattering the maize-seeds along the path, to bow to the Goddess. The song sung by the women then is as follows :

(3) Acha divasu sonacha bai sonacha
Pavusu padathe mothacha
Guju guju pankare mahereecha vata
Ambiyacha banu savuleela basatha
Mayila sangeetha acha divasu sonacha bai sonacha
Marathanthu jalmunu pude sambaru bayila
Kale regadicha vatu karunu jodu sapthasa kansra

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Dhavore done dane bee kasthu karunu
Modala lavuthavu dolala joju
Pikala amravathi hajjaru khandacha

That is " Today is the golden day. We should take leave of Mother Bhavāni and go along this way happily while the birds sing in a mango-grove and pearls rain. Born as Marathas, we drive the hundred bullocks ahead with beautiful 'Beredu Jollu' (A leather belt tied round the neck of the bullock yoked) in our hands through this black soil. We sow these twelve grains and reap a harvest of thousand tons ".

This song delineates the agricultural activity which is the chief occupation of Aares. It is to be noted that much of the land in Maharashtra is black soil.

There are also many lullabies in vouge in Aare language. It has been customary to sing them at cradle ceremonies. They are called " Jogglacha Geetu " in Aare tongue. One the songs is as follows :

Jo–jo–jo–jo–jo bala — jo chimna krusna
Vasudevacha puthra jhompi javavo jo–jo
Jo–jo manunu halavithe Yasodá
Balare Govinda deestu jhalaya thula — jo–jo
Angi topi thulachu bala
Toplla pimpalu panaya bala jo–jo
Dandacha danda — bavata bala
Hathala yela lavunu thula — jo–jo
Majala gopi kardola bala
Payala payinjana thula jo–jo
Chanda Suryacha kala sirala bala
Haththu sudamu chakkaru thula — jo–jo
Bombila bara heeraya bala
Pati mage panchu bana thula jo–jo
Jo–jo bala jo chimni krusna
Vasudevacha puthra thompi javavo — jo–jo
Jo–jo mânunu halâvithe Yasoda
Balare Govinda deestu jhalaya thula jo–jo
Kare kare bala jhompi nahi thula
Kavulasa savuli paddaya thula — jo–jo

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

It can be translated thus : " Sleep O little Krishna ! Son of Vasudeva ! Yashoda is swinging your cradle. Have the evil looks of others made you sleepless ? You are dressed in a shirt and head-cap with a peepul-leaf adorning it like a feather. Your hands have silver bangles. Your waist has a silken thread (as Mola Thadu). Your feet have jingling anklets. You outshine the Sun and the Moon O Krishna ! Go to sleep with ' Chakram ' in your hand and five weapons on your back. Why don't you sleep even when Yashoda swings your cradle ? Why do you cry ? Has the evil crow cast it's shadow on you ? Will you stop crying and sleep ? ". Thus sing Aare women comparing their children with Lord Krishna.

The ceremonies of marriage and other auspicious activities are followed by " Mangalaratis " sung by the sisters of the family. These ' Mangalaratis ' are panegyrics on Mother Bhavani. They are called " Bhavanicha Aarati " in Aare language. The following is one such song :

Arathi mayi Amba Bhavani pavani
Bharula arathi nivali thulachu
Anasutu phula thula pujala
Arathi ghevavo thuja amala daya phavavo
Dharani mathacha rani Amba Bhavani
Haladi kunkuthu avutharu vuchulunu
Parasuramala kadala ghevunu
Jalajalatu jalakuna rahileesu
Marathi vamsu vuthupathi karayichi
Vukshalavani Amba Bhavani
Thuljapurathu avutharu vuchulunu
Dharani upendarla pavantha jhalisu

That is : " O Mother Bhavānī ! Accept our *Harati* and the fresh blossoms and protect us in your magnanimity. You are the daughter of Mother Earth incarnate in vermilion and turmeric. Paraśurāma was in your lap. Bless the Maratha community with prosperity. O Bhavānī of Tuljapur ! Protect your devotee Upender ! " Thus all auspicious occasions end with a *Maṅgala-rathi*. They invariably praise Mother Bhavānī and seek her Grace. It is a uniqe feature of Aare culture.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

There are quite a few folk-songs which reflect the social life of Aare. However, only songs concerning marriages, families and relation are more in vogue. The agricultural and labour songs are not popular although agriculture is their chief occupation. Only a few grinding songs reflecting their domestic life are available. The disappearance of agriculture and labour songs may be due to the compnlsive necessity, of using Telugu, in all their transactions outside homes.

Thus the folk-songs in Aare language reveal a harmonious interaction of Telugu-Maharastra cultures and cultural assimilation involved in them. They protect the unity in diversity of India and project emotional integration of India to the world. As ripples in the main stream of national life the Aare songs and customs invest us with a whole integral approach.

Inspite of alround illiteracy and backwardness this community has been the torch-bearer of integrated social life. This could be possible only because of innert culture nurtured by this community.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND *BRAHMASŪTRA* : A CRITIQUE

By

UMA DESHPANDE

This paper is a natural sequel to my earlier one " Smṛti in the Brahmasūtra " read at the Vth World Sanskrit Conference held at Banaras, 1981 and published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, June 1982.

It is discussed and proved there in that paper that :

1) The Word *Smṛti* occurring in the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyana invariably denotes the *BG.* (*Bhagavadgītā*) and no other text.

2) Since the Brahmasūtras are throughout based on the Śruti, the Sūtrakāra finds it necessary to set aside some of the new concepts like Yoga, Puruṣa, Śuklakṛṣṇagatī etc. taught by the *BG.* but not found in the Śruti or to explain the concept like the Prakṛti of the *BG.* in the light of the Śruti and the *Brahmasūtra.*

3) Thus the Sūtrakāra has not only systematised the Upaniṣadic texts by writing the *Brahmasūtra* but has also tried to interpret and explain the text of the *BG.* on the lines of the Śruti.

In the present paper* I have fully discussed the comparative views of the GItākāra and the Sūtrakāra regarding :

1) The material world (Jagat).

2) The Individual Self (Jīvātman) and The Supreme Reality (Brahman).

3) The means of attaining *mokṣa* or Supreme Reality.

It is found that both the GItākāra and the Sūtrakāra differ widely on these points and it is Bādarāyaṇa, the Sūtrakāra who explains these points being genuinely based on the Śruti.

---

* I have followed the text of the *Brahmasūtra* and *Śāṁkarabhāṣya* published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Several savants like Lokamanya Tilak, V. S. Ghate, Gurudeva Ranade and others have elaborately discussed these points as dealt with by Gītākāra or the Sūtrakāra individually and not comparatively in their learned, comprehensive and celebrated books. I shall therefore, take up only those pertinent views which are expressed by the Gītākāra and the Sūtrakāra differently and disparately their works. The complete, comparative and critlcal study of the two texts with all their minute aspects will be presented in the form of a monograph in future. *The problem of the material world* (Jagat) : Both Gītākāra and Sūtrakāra are of the opinion that the world is created, sustained and dissolved by the God (*BG.* VI. 31, VII–7, 8, IX–4, X–42, XV–13 etc. and *Brahmasūtra* I. 1. 2, I. 2. 18, I. 3. 1 etc.).

The Prakṛiti which is said in the *BG.* to create and dissolve the universe under his guidance is identified with the Brahman by the Sūtrakāra (*BG.* IX. 7, 8, 10, XIII. 19, 20, XIV–3, 4, 27 etc. and *Brahmasūtra* I. 4. 23–27). The Sūtrakāra has thereby removed the apparent contradiction and duality found in the *BG.* The Sūtrakāra maintains that the Brahman alone with its intrinsic creative power is the material and instrumental cause of the Universe. Even as milk turns into curds without any extraneous help so the Brahman transforms itself into manifold effects in the world (I–1. 2, I. 2–18, II. 1. 6, II. 1–9, II–1.-24). The Universe thus created by him having transcendental reality is empirically real and not illusory or false like the one seen in a dream according to the Sūtrakāra (II–2. 28, 29). The Sūtrakāra thus implicitly repudiates the doctrine of Māyā found in the *Gītā* which holds that the objects in the world are illusory or non-existent (VII. 14, 15, 25, II. 16 etc.).

While according to *BG.* there is a definite purpose when the God takes birth on the earth (IV. 7, 8 XI. 18, 32) there is no such *prayojana* of Him in creating or manitaining the world according to the Sūtrakāra (II. 1. 33). His joy overflows into existence. This spontaneous outflow as in a sport is symbolised by the theory of *līlā* upheld by the Sūtrakāra as against that of Avatāra taught by *BG. The Problem of Self* : while according to *BG.* the Self is not the doer since all kinds of work are done by the modes of nature (III. 27, 33, XIII–29, XIV. 19) suggesting the perpetual omnipotence and dominance of nature over the Self, the Sūtrakāra quoting the 'Śruti' maintains that the Self is an agent, knower and the *kartā* as he is ordained by the scriptures to do action as performing sacrifices etc. (II–1. 22, II–3. 18, 33). The Sūtra II–3. 39 adduces another reason for the agency of the Self. If the Self were not the agent, he would be incapable of the activities like 'hearing, reflecting and meditating' which lead to *Samādhī* or Self-realisation. Then there would be no liberation for the Self. It is therefore evidently clear that according to the Sūtrakāra the Self alone

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

is the free agent as the Śruti urges and not the Prakṛti alongwith its *guṇas* (modes) taught by the Sāṁkhya system which is rejected and criticised by the Vedāntins due to its heterodox nature and contradictory, confusing views and statements (II. 1. 10, 29, II. 2. 10 etc.). Instead of viewing the Self as *akartā*- 'non-doer', Bādarāyaṇa holds that he is the architect of himself, he can either make or mar his destiny. God being an inspirer (II. 3–41, 42) is dependent on actual cause, namely, effort of the soul. God is not the author of the evil but is dependent upon the actions of man. He does not interfere with man's freedom and assign to him fruit according to the quality of his actions (II. 1. 34). This theory of Divine Self-determinating put forth by Bādarāyaṇa is far better than that of the dominance and overpowering of Prakṛti and its guṇas on the Self-postulated by *BG*. *The Problem of God* : on the whole there is no difference of opinions regarding the nature of the Brahman in the texts of *BG*. and *Brahmasūtra*. Accoroing to both God is immanent and transcendental Reality which is the source of creation, preservation as well as dissolution of the universe and attaining which there is no return to this mortal world (*BG*. IV. 9, V. 17, VIII. 15, 16, IX. 31, XV. 76, XVIII. 62 etc., *Brahmasūtra* asserts that God being pre-eminently impersonal, is the great unmanifest to be described in negative terms (III. 2. 14, 23 etc.) The seer can enjoy His bliss in silence, in intuitive perception (III. 2. 24, IV. 7. 8 etc.) without characterising Him by so many words as is done in the *BG*. (III. 19, IV. 5–8, V. 29, VI. 30, VII. 5–15, VIII. 21, 22, IX. 4, 11, X. 2, 8, 12, 15, XI. 8, 32, 37, XII. 7, XIII. 2, 22, 31, XIV. 27, XV. 15, 18 etc.). Differing from the Gītākāra (V. 14) the Sūtrakāra says that God gives the fruits of man's actions as the scriptures have declared so (III. 2, 38). God seated behind *karman* and having regard for actions of the Self gives him the reward accordingly (II. 1. 34).

The means of attaining *mokṣa* (Final Beatitude) : In the *BG*. *Mokṣa* is styled in several different ways like *anāmayaṁ padam* (II. 51), Yoga (II. 53), *Parapuruṣaḥ* (III. 19, VIII. 8), *Sanātana Brahma* (IV. 31, XIV. 26, XVIII. 53), *Parā śāntiḥ* (II. 71, IV. 39, XII. 12, XVIII. 62), *Apunarāvṛttiḥ* (V. 17, XIII. 23), *Nirvāṇa* (VI. 15), attaining His state of being (IV. 9, 10, VII. 23, VIII. 5, 7, IX. 25, 28, 34, XIII. 18, XVIII. 65, 68), *Paramāgatiḥ* (VIII. 13, XVI. 22), *Vimokṣa* (XVI. 5), *śāśvataṁ padam* (XVIII. 56) etc. As the names so are the means of *mokṣa* divergent and multifarious as taught by the *BG*. It may be the giving up of Karmaphala (II. 51, XII. 12) or doing work without attachment (III. 19, IV. 21) or wisdom (IV. 39, XIII. 23) or eating the sacred food that remains after a sacrifice (IV. 31), or divine endow ments (XVI. 5) or the most repeated and glorified way of being constantly devoted to Him, remembering Him, or taking refuge in Him (IV. 9, 10, V. 17, VI. 15, VII. 23, VIII. 5, 7, 13, 15, 16, IX. 25, 28, 31, 34, X. 3, XI. 54, 55,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

XII. 7, XIII. 18, XIV. 26, XVIII. 55, 56, 58, 62, 65, 66). But this way of teaching, feels Bādarāyaṇa, is neither useful nor desirable because a *mumukṣu* may get confused and perplexed by these diverse and multiple teaching of *mokṣa* found in the *BG*. Rightly therefore the Sūtrakāra says that *mokṣa* or final Beatitude means " Yoga with that " (I. 1. 19) i. e. union of the Individual Self with the Supreme Brahman which culminates into cessation of the sufferings of *Saṁsāra*, in other words non-return to this mortal world (IV. 4. 22). Only the twice-born people endowed with the Saṁskāras (purificatory ceremonies) are qualified here and not the people of the fourth caste (Śūdra) who are forbidden from the study of the scriptures (I. 3, 36, 37, 38). Obviously therefore the Sūtrakāra does not subscribe to the view of the Gītākāra that even the Śūdras can attain the highest goal (IX. 32) – the view not supported by the Śruti. The realm of *mokṣa* accordidg to the Sūtrakāra pointing to the authority of Śruti is open to some selected, qualified and well disciplined people and not to each and every person on the earth (I. 1–7, III. 4–12, III. 4–27, IV. 1–1). Through repeated, constant efforts of practising deep meditation, contemplation and concentration on Him, it is possible to attain Him (III. 2. 24, III. 4–12, IV, 1. 8, 12). There are no fixed rules regarding the place, surroundings and posture envisaged by the *BG*. According to the Sūtrakāra, one can meditats at any time, in any place where one can with ease concentrate his mind (IV. 1. 7, 11). The highest type of meditation recommended by Bādarāyaṇa is that in which the God and not the symbol is looked upon as the self. It is only those who practise the unitive meditation, says Bādarāyaṇa, that will be finally liberated (IV. 1. 4, IV. 3. 15). Moreover rejecting the view of *BG*. (VIII. 23–26), he says that it is immaterial whether the Vidvān dies during day or night time or Dakṣiṇāyana, as these limitations apply only to Yogins mentioned in the *Smṛti BG*. and not to those who pursue the path of knowledge described in the Śruti texts (IV. 2. 19–21), on the other hand the departed soul of the Vidvān proceeds on the path of light as it is widely known in the texts of the Śruti (IV. 3–1). Here again as in some other points the Sūtrakāra snubs the *BG*. and establishes the authority of the Śruti.

Resume : Bādarāyaṇa has written the *Brahmasūtra* with a view to systematise the phiiosophical thoughts and discussions scattered in the principal Upaniṣads. Naturally therefore he gives the highest importance to the Śruti or Śabdapramāṇa and follows faithfully Jaimini's advice viz.

विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् । *Jaiminīyasūtra* 1. 3. 3

" When the Smṛti text runs counter to an existing Śruti text, the Smṛti text has to be discarded etc ". Hence Bādarāyaṇa neglects and discards some of the views and concepts of the *BG*. (e. g. Puruṣa, Prakṛti and its *guṇas*, Yoga, Śuklakṛṣṇagatī etc.) not found in the Śruti texts.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

There are othor equally important reasons why Bādarāyaṇa is so critical, protestant and harsh about some of the teachings of tne *BG*. Firstly the text of the *BG*. forms a part of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. It is not an independent treatise on Metaphysics not an esoteric work like the texts of the most of the Upaniṣads and the *Brahmasūtra* dealing mainly with the metaphysical and spiritual problems of the human beings. It is a popular poem giving solace to the man suffering from tremendous stress and strain of the *saṁsāra*. Lokamanya Tilak has rightly said : " Karmayoga based on scriptural knowledge In which the highest place is given to Devotion, is the subject matter dealt with in the *Gītā* (*Gītārahasya*, p. 657).

Secondly as we have discussed above the *BG*. contains some of the contradictory and confusing statements particularly regardidg the final beatitude and the means of attaining the same. Instead of getting proper and precise advice, a *mumukṣu* is likely to get perplexed by reading these lines in *BG*.

Thirdly the way in which *BG*. has repeatedly scorned, subordinated and stigmatised the Śruti as causing bewilderment instead of Beatitude (II. 42, 43, 45, 46, 53, VI. 44, IX-21, XI. 48, 53, XV. 15 etc.) might have irked and enraged the Sūtrakāra who holds the Śruti in the highest esteem.

In fine, taking into account all the above mentioned definite reasons, the Sūtrakāra quotes the *BG*. only when it faithfully follows the Śruti (I. 2, 6, I. 2. 25, II. 3. 45, III. 2-1. 14, IV. 2, 14 etc.), othewise he either reconciles or straightway discards the concepts and views of the *BG*. not found in the Śruti (I. 2. 12, I. 4. 23. 27, II. 1. 3, IV. 2. 20, 21). Thus the Sūtrakāra has not only systematised the Upaniṣadic texts by writing the *Brahmasūtra* but has also tried to interpret and explain the text of the *BG*. on the lines of the Śruti. Thereby he has tried to remove and dispel the contradiction and disparity and to bring about complete harmony, synthesis and consistency among all the three treatises – the source-books of Indian Philosophy – The Upaniṣads, the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ON OCCURENCE - EXACTING RELATIONS

By

V. N. JHA

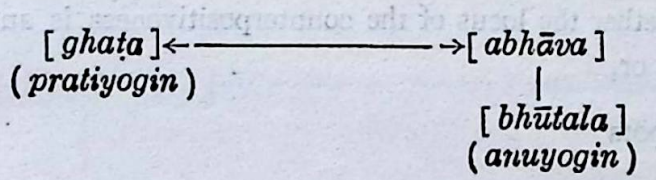
The Navyanaiyāyikas use the term *pratiyogin* normally in three situations :

(1) In the situation of an absence,

(2) In the situation of similarity, and

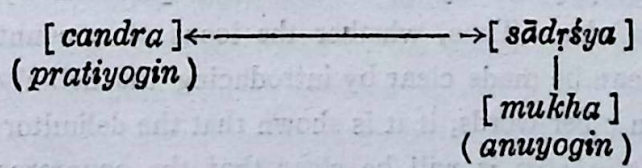
(3) In the situation of a relation.

To illustrate, when we say *bhūtale ghaṭo nāsti*, 'there is no pot on the ground' or to be precise when we say *bhūtale ghaṭābhāvaḥ asti*, 'there is absence of pot on the ground', the pot is said to be the *pratiyogin* or counter-positive of the absence of pot and the ground is said to be the *anuyogin*.



This absence has a *pratiyogin* and an *anuyogin*.

Similarlarly, when we say that *candra iva mukham* 'the face is like the moon', or to be precise, when we say *candra-nirūpita-sādṛśyavat mukham*, 'the face possesses the similarity described in terms of the moon', the Navya-naiyāyikas call the moon as the *pratiyogin* of the similarity and the face or the locus of similarity as the *anuyogin*.

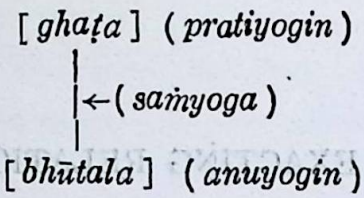


Thus, similarity has a *pratiyogin* and an *anuyogin*.

Likewise, when we say *ghataḥ bhūtalena saṁyuktaḥ*, 'the pot is connected with the ground' or to be precise, when we say, *ghaṭasya saṁyogaḥ bhūtale asti* 'the ground possesses the contact of the pot', the pot is said to be the *paatiyogin* of the contact and the ground is said to be the *anuyogin*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.



Thus, a relation has a *pratiyogin* and an *anuyogin*.

In this paper, however, I want to discuss the first situation only, namely, that of an absense. Absense has a *pratiyogin*. What does it mean ? It means that what obstructs the knowledge of ān absense is the *pratiyogin* of that absence The presence of *ghaṭa* obstructs the knowledge of the absence of *ghaṭa* and so *ghaṭa* is said to be the *pratiyogin* of the absence of pot. A *pratiyogin* of an absence is, as it were, the *virodhin* of the knowledge of its absence.

Once it is accepted that *ghaṭa* in the absence of *ghaṭa* is a *pratiyogin*, we must accept that there comes to reside a property called *pratiyogitva* or *pratiyogitā* (counterpositiveness) in *ghaṭa*. To be more precise, *ghàṭa* becomes the locus of *pratiyogitā*.

When someone says that *bhūtale ghaṭo nāsti* the following questions arise in our mind :

(1) Whether the locus of the counterpositiveness is any one individual pot, or,

(2) all pots

(3) Whether the counterpositiveness exists only in the pots and not in anything other than pot, namely in cloth etc.

(4) Whether this absence of pot is with regard to the absence of pot in the *kapālas* (two halves) i. e. in the parts

(5) Or it is the denial of the relation of the pot with ground.

The Navyanaiyāyikas try to answer these questions by the help of the concept of *avacchedaka*. Thus, whether the locus of a counterpositiveness is one pot or all pots can be made clear by introducing the delimitor of that counterpositiveness. In other words, if it is shown that the delimitor of that counterpositiveness is *tadghaṭatva* it will be clear that the counterpositiveness exists only in that particular *ghaṭa* and so it is an absence of only one pot. But if the delimitor is simply *ghaṭatva* it implies that it is an absence of all pots and the counterpositiveness exists in all pots because its delimitor exists in all pots.

It can be further observed that one can say *tatra nīlaghaṭo nāsti* even if blue, red and white pots exist there. But one cannot say *tatra ghaṭo nāsti* in

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the same situation. This clearly demonstrates that since in the first case the delimitor of the counterpositiveness is *nīlaghaṭatva* one could say *nīlaghaṭo nāsti* and since in the second case it is simply *ghaṭatva* that delimits the counterpositiveness, one could not say *ghaṭo nāstt*. In other words, the presence of the *pratiyogin* or *virodhin* obstructed the knowledge of the absence.

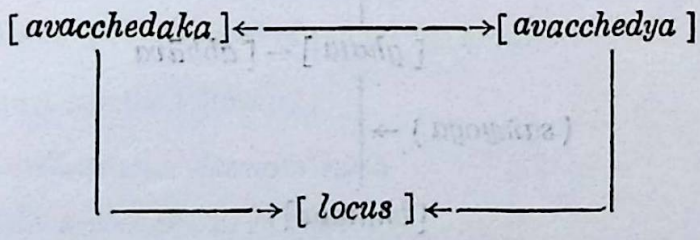
On this ground the Navyanaiyāyikas made the following generalisation :

pratiyogitā-avacchedaka-avacchinna-adhikaraṇatayā sākam abhāvasya virodhaḥ.

An absence is oontradicted by the *adhikaraṇatā* of that which possesses the delimitor of the counterpositiveness of that absence.

Thus, the delimitor of the counterpositiveness decides whether a particular absence is of an individual or of all individuals of that class. By this we have replied to questions (1) and (2).

The same concept of delimitor of a counterpositiveness also replies to question (3) because once it is known that *ghaṭatva* is the delimitor of the counterpositiveness, the locus of the counterpositiveness cannot be anything but the pots because a delimitor and that which is delimited by that delimitor must have one and the same locus.

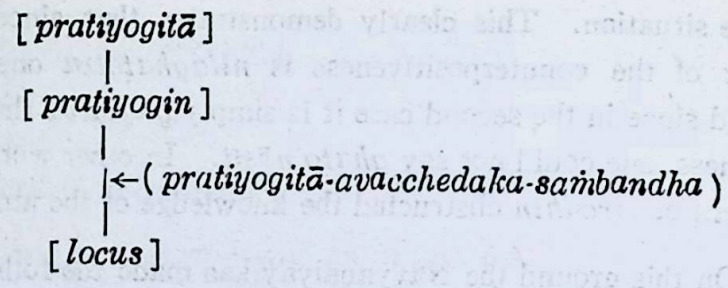


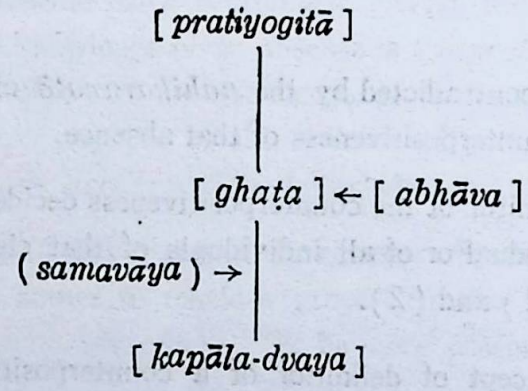
Thus, the locus of counterpositiveness of the absence of pot must be pot only and cannot be anything other than pot.

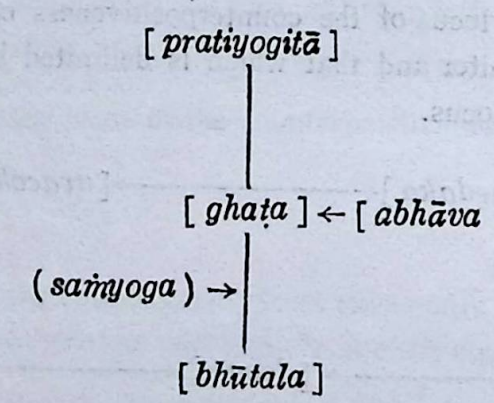
As regards the questions (4) and (5) the Navyanaiyāyikas have utilised the concept of a relational delimitorness. Here, such a delimitor will be a relation. Whether an absence of pot refers to the absence of pot on the ground or in the *kapālas* can be made clear by introducing a relation that delimits the *pratiyogitā*. The relation by which the counterpositive exists somewhere is called the delimiting relation of the *pratiyogitā*. Thus, if the *pratiyogitā* of the absence of pot is delimited by inherence, it is clear that we are talking about the absence of pot in its parts because only in its parts the pot can exist by the relation of inherence. Similarly, if the relation which delimits the counterpositiveness of the absence of pot is contact it is obvious that it is the case of an absence of pot on ground or the like since the pot can exist on the ground by contact only.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.







Thus, by introducing the concept of a delimiting relation the Neo-logicians have answered the questions (4) and (5).

In short, by introducing a delimiting property and a delimiting relation of the counterpositiveness the Neo-logicians have tried to make the following statement specific and unambiguous : *bhūtale ghaṭo nāsti*.

One cannot argue that the mention of *bhūtale* in the statement itself can make the expression unambiguous and specific since the pot can exist on the ground by the *kālika-saṁbandha*. Thus, it is necessary to indicate the delimiting relation.

Now, by definition a delimiting relation of a counterpositiveness is that relation by which the counterpositive *exists* somewhere. In other words, the relation that generates the notion of *ādhārādheyabhāva* can be a delimiting

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

relation. For this reason I think, the Navyas say that the delimiting relation of a counterpositiveness has to be an occurrence-exacting relation, (*vṛttiniyāmaka-saṁbandha*). But does it imply that this dictum is to be universally applied? If so, then it will pose a problem. We can use negation only where one can have the knowledge of *ādhārādheyabhāva* and not in any other case where such a notion does not arise, Thus, although we can say the following :

bhūtale ghaṭo nāsti

'There is no pot on the ground'.

tantuṣu paṭo nāsti

'There is no cloth in the threads'.

śaśe sṛṅgaṁ nāsti

'There is no horn on the hare'.

khe puṣpaṁ nāsti

'There is no flower in the sky'.

ghaṭe viṣayatā nāsti

'There is no viṣayatā in the pot'.

bhūtale ghaṭābhāvaḥ nāsti

'There is no absence of pot on the ground'.

We cannot say the following :

Caitrasya dhanaṁ nāsti

'Caitra does not have wealth'.

Because there is no notion of *ādhārādheyabhāva* either between Caitra and *dhana* or between the meaning of the genitive suffix and *dhana*, if *svāmitva* is the meaning of the genitive suffix. The relation that exists between *svāmitva* and *dhana* is *nirūpya-nirūpaka-bhāva* which is obviously not a *vṛttiniyāmaka* relation since nobody has notion that *svāmitva* exists in *dhana* by this relation. *Svāmitva* exists in *svāmin* and not in *dhana*. Therefore, if we mean that there is no *svamitva* in *dhana* by *nirūpya-nirūpaka-bhāva* relation, then this relation has to be accepted as the delimitor of the counterpositiveness of the absence of *svāmitva* in *dhana*. This will violate the dictum that occurrence-exacting relation alone can be the delimitor of a counterpositiveness.

In order to avoid this Raghunātha proposes that the meaning of the genitive suffix here should be *svatva* and not *svāmitva*. Now of course, the earlier difficulty is over because there is *ādhārādheyabhāva* between *svatva* and

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

dhana because *svatva* exists in the *sva*, namely, *dhana* by *svarūpa-saṁbandha* which is a *vṛttiniyāmaka-saṁbandha*.

But what about the case of mutual absence? What is the relation there to delimit the counterpositiveness? Let us examine the case of *ghaṭaḥ paṭo na*. 'The pot is not cloth.' Here, the locus of the counterpositiveness can be either the pot or the cloth depending upon the intention of the speaker. But whatever may be the locus of the counterpositiveness, the delimiting relation of this counterpositiveness is the identity-relation because by this relation a pot exists in a pot and does not exist in cloth or a cloth exists in cloth but does not exist in pot.

Now the question arises: whether the identity relation is an occurrence-exacting relation or not.

Before we settle this problem let us, first, look at the actual definition of the mutual absence as put forward by the Navyanaiyāyikas.

Navya Nyāya defines *anyonyābhāva* as *tādātmya-saṁbandha-avacchinna-pratiyogitāka-abhāvaḥ* i. e. an absence, the counterpositiveness of which is delimited by the relation of identity.

Now, if the earlier dictum that the delimiting relation of a counterpositiveness has to be an occurrence-exacting relation which is to be universally applied and if the delimiting relation of the counterpositiveness of a mutual absence is the identity-relation as it is so in the above definition, then automatically the identity relation has to be declared as an occurrence-exacting relation.

Let us examine one more case. While clarifying the statement of *siddhānta-vyāpti* of Gaṅgeśa, Raghunāthaśiromaṇi presents someone's view that the word *atyantābhāva* should be understood in the sense of *saṁsargābhāva* in the *siddhānta-vyāpti*, namely, *pratiyogi-asamānādhikaraṇa-yatsamāñādhikaraṇa-atyantābhāvapratiyogitāvacchedakāvacchinnaṁ yan na bhavati tena samaṁ tasya sāmānādhikaraṇyaṁ vyāptiḥ*.

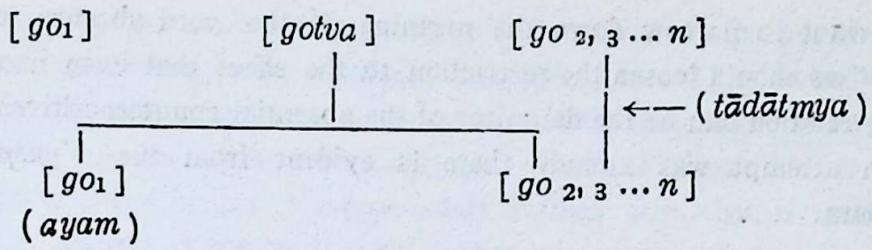
Raghunātha points out that no purpose will be served by this interpretation. Not only that, it will invite narrow-application of the definition in a case where the *sādhya* is intended by the relation of identity. Let us analyse the following case:

Ayaṁ tādātmyena gomān.
Gotva-vattvāt.

'This possesses cow by the relation of identity.
Because it has cowness.'

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.



This is a true case of inference because wherever there is cowness there is cow by the relation of identity. But if in the Gaṅgeśa's definition of *vyāpti*, the word *atyantābhāva* is understood as *saṁsargābhāva*, the definition will not be applicable to the present case of inference because as per the requiremect the absence sharing the locus of *hetu* should be the absence whose counter-positiveness is delimited by the relation which delimits the *sādhyatā*. Here such a relation is the identity relation. And there is no *saṁsargābhāva* the counter-positiveness of which is delimited by the identity-relation. Hence, the narrow-application of the definition of *vyāpti* in the abovementioned case.

The point that I want to make here is : can we talk of *tādātmyasaṁbandh-āvacchinnapratiyogitā* at all ? Obviously this *pratiyogitā* cannot be the *saṁsargābhāvīyapratiyogitā* as it is clearly denied above.

Then can this *pratiyogitā* be *anyonyābhāvīyapratiyogitā* ? The answer must be an emphatic ' yes ' because we have already seen that mutual absence is defined as *tādātmyasaṁbandhāvacchinnapratiyogitāka-abhāva*. If this is true then one must accept that *tādātmya* or identity-relation is the delimitor of the *anyonyābhāvīya-pratiyogitā*. And if we want to maintain that the relation which delimits the counterpositiveness has to be an occurrence-exacting relation, then the identity-relation should also be treated as an occurrence-exacting relation.

But looking at the literature on Navyanyāya I find that opinions are divided among the logicinas on this issue. While some want to treat it as a non-occurrence-exacting relation, others are prepared to accept it to be so. That the opinions were divided on this issue is clearly reflected in Gadādhara's *Vyutpatti-vāda*.

Let us examine the consequences of both the stands. If identity relation is not treated as the occurrence-exacting relation then how to understand the expression *tādātmya-saṁbandhāvacchinna-pratiyogitā* in the definition of mutual absence will be a problem, since by corollary an occurrence-exacting relation alone can be the delimitor of the counterpositiveness of an absence. To get rid of this difficulty one will have to specify the meaning of the word absence as relational absence so that the above restriction will be applicable to relational absence only and not to mutual absence also as some Naiyāyikas have done. Or if we

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

do not want to narrow down the meaning of the word absence to 'relational absence' we should loosen the restriction to the effect that even non-occurrence-exacting relation can be the delimitor of the absential counterpositiveness and that such an attempt was already there is evident from the *Vyutpattivāda* of Gadādhara.

Or we can take the other stand that the identity-relation is also an occurrence-exacting relation in which case the universality of the restricting statement mentioned above is maintained. But can we take such stand? Suppose, we do, what would be the consequences? To my mind, the immediate consequence will be an objection that no one has such an experience that x possesses x by the relation of identity and since there is no such experience, there can be no such linguistic expression as *ghaṭaḥ ghaṭavān.*

As regards the question of non-experience of x on or in x by the relation of identity, one may argue that it is not a necessary condition that for each and every logical postulation there must be corroboration by direct experience. Because inspite of our non-experience as the logic demands that at least for a moment a substrance is without quality and action, similarly, even if there is no direct experience one should accept on logical grounds that the identity-relation is an occurrence-exacting relation because it is conceived as the delimitor of the absential counterpositiveness.

With regard to the second point, one does find that the logicians use such sentences as follows :

tādātmyasaṁbadhena ghaṭaḥ svasminn eva vartate

(*Kiraṇāvli* on the *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī*, p. 60).

Here the expression *vartate* clearly states that *ghaṭa* is in *ghaṭa* by the relation of indentity.

If someone argues that such expressions as quoted above are the expressions of analysts and not of the common observer, then we should try to understand the expression of *pratiyogita* in the definition of the mutual absence. Now, if we understand the evpression *pratiyogitā* as *saṁbandhitā* then although the above difficulty of identity, being the delimitor of the *pratigogitā*, will be over, still it will create another problem namely, it will allow any non-occurrence exacting relation to be the delimitor of the *pratiyogitā*. Thus the statement that the delimiting relation of a counterpositiveness must be an occurrence exacting relation will not remain valid. Accordingly, the non-occurrence-exacting relation like *nirūpakatva* etc. will also become the delimitor of the counterpositiveness in the case of : *na idaṁ caitrasya dhanam.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

And so *svāmitva* can be easily taken as the meaning of the genitive case-ending. But Raghunātha in his *Naňvāda* has clearly stated that if *svāmitva* is accepted as the meaning of the genitive case-ending, here then, even if the wealth belongs to Caitra cne can say *nedam Caitrasya*, whjch is absured. Gadādhara while interpreting this in his *Vyutpattivāda* further says that if *svāmitva* is accepted as the meaning of the genitive suffix then one cannot say that Caitra does not possess the wealth even lf the wealth does not belong to him since an absence whose counterpositiveness is delimited by the non-occurrence-exacting relation is not known to us. Moreover, if it is argued that in that situation the absence, whose counterpositiveness is delimited by *āśrayatā*-relation, will be understood then it will lead to the situation that even if the wealth actually belongs to Caitra one can say that *nedam caitrasya*, because it is a fact that *svāmitva* does not exit in the wealth by the relation of *āśrayatā*.

This implies that we cannot allow the non-occurrence-exacting relation to be the delimitor of the counterpositiveness and thereby we cannot interpret the *pratiyogitā* in the sense of *saṁbandhitā* also.

But we find that later on Gadādhara argues in favour of a non-occurrence-exacting relation being the delimitor of an absential counterpositiveness in his *Vyutpattivāda*. He asks :

> *Vṛttyaniyāmakasaṁbandhasya abhāvapratiyogitāvacchedakatve doṣaḥ kaḥ ?*

To this the opponent points out that it will involve *gaurava*, to which Gadādhara says he does not care for such *gaurava*. He says :

> *astu etad gauravam. upadarśita-bahuvidha-lāghavena īdṛśa-gauravasya akiñcitkaratvāt.*

Thus a non-occurrence-exacting relation can also be the delimitor of the absential counterpositiveness. Nevertheless the relations like *nirūpakatva* etc. remain non-occurrence-exacting relations.

In the background of these facts we can draw the the following conclusions :

(I) Either we should delimit the scope of the generalisation that the delimitting relation of the counterpositiveness must be an occurrence-exacting relation saying that it is true only with reference to the counterpositiveness relating to the relational absence.

(II) Or we should allow a non-occurrence-exacting relation also to be the delimitor of the counterpositiveness as Gadādhara has preferred. But this does not solve the problem raised in connection with *nedam caitrasya dhanam*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(III) So far as the identity relation is concerned, we should accept that it is an occurrence-exacting relation so that the said generalisation that only occurrence-exacting relation can be the delimitor of the absential counterpositiveness, remains intact.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

A NEW PLAUSIBLE EXPOSITION OF SĀṄKHYA-KĀRIKĀ

By

YASHODHARA WADHWANI – SHAH

0. The cosmogony of Sāṅkhya (= San.) thought, as is well-known, involves the postulation of two basic principles : one, called the Puruṣa, the essence of consciousness, which serves as an inspiring force through mere onlooking; the other, called *triguṇātmikā prakṛti*, the primordial material cause of the Universe, consisting of three *guṇas* (: inter-twined substances) : Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. It is from *prakṛti* that both the snbtle psychic and the gross physical aspects of the universe evolve gradually. These evolutes are, according to Sāṅkhya, not absolutely new creations; their so-called creation or production actually involves mere ' manifestation ' of what had already been present in the cause in an unmanifest (and hence, unrecognizable) form. This belief in the existence / subsistence of the product / effect even before its ' production ' is called *Satkāryavāda*.

Various reasons are put forth for proving this Sāṅkhya theory of causality by Īśvarakṛṣṇa (= IK), the author of the celebrated text Sāṅkhya-Kārikā (= SK) in its verse No. 9[1] which thus becomes very important. Unfortunately, as regards the exact meaning of each of the reasons, differences prevail among the traditional commentators as well as the modern interpretators. Hence the need for this paper.

1. 0. We begin with Keith, the great Western savant among writers on Sanskrit literature, who, (1975–83) paraphreses the five reasons (*a-b-c-d-e*) of SK 9 as follows (numbering mine) :

(1) The non-existent cannot be the subject of an activity.

(2) The product is really noteing else than the material of which it is composed.

(3) The product exists, before its coming into being, in the shape of its material.

(4) Only a definite product can be produced from each material.

---

1. *asad-akaraṇād upādāna-grahaṇāt sarva-saṁbhavābhāvāt /*
śaktasya śakya-karaṇāt kāraṇabhāvāc ca satkāryam //

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(5) Only a specific material can yield a specific result.

N. B. (i) While No. 1, 3 and 5 of these clearly correlate with reasons *a*, *e* and *d* respectively, 2 and 4 can only be guessed as rewordings of *b* and *c* respectively.

(ii) That Keith intended to group *e* with *b*, and *c* with *d*, is clear from his following remark (*ibid.*, 83–84) : "The last four arguments, which are in effect but two, rest on the perception that in the product, the original material is contained though under a change of appearance, [*e–b*], and that definite materials give definite and distinct results [*c–d*]."

1.1. Surprisingly, Garbe, Dasgupta, Hiriyanna and other writers on Sān. have not made any significant comments on the intpr. of this SK. It is a recent scholar, Larson (1969 : 78) who takes it up once more : "As Keith has suggested, these reasons can be reduced to three". However, it is only L's first group, a paraphrase of reason *a*, that agrees with point (1) in Keith. Reason *b* is translated by L. as : "because of the need for an (appropriate) material cause". Due to the addition of 'appropriate', *b* must belong, along with *c* and *d*, to L.'s third group, viz. "a specific cause is able to produce only a specific effect", as against the second which says : "The effect is made up of the same material as the cause" (cf. reason *e* of 9).

Thus the grouping of reasons in SK 9, as implied by L. (into *a*; *b-c-d*; *e* :), differs slightly from the one by Keith (: into *a*; *b-e*; *c-d*).

1.1.1. L. has perheps failed to notice (–in any case, to note–) that this sort of grouping was already made centuries ago by Vācaspati Miśra whose STK on SK 9 gives, only for reasons *b* and *e*, an introductory remark saying : "For this reason also (*itaś ca*), the effect should indeed be regarded as existent (even before the operation of the cause(s)". It explains reasons *c* and *d* as mere answers to possible doubts against *b*.[2]

Nevertheless, similar grouping does not necessarily imply similar intpr. also. Especially as regards reasons *a* and *b*, L. differs considerably from VM,[3] as will be shown presently.

---

2. Unfortunately, the transl. of STK by Jha (Poona 1965 : 42–53) gives numbers 1 to 5 to the reasons, thus creating the misguiding impression that VM had regarded all. 5 reason in SK 9 as independent.

3. May be, that is why he makes no mention of his concurrence with VM on the three-way grouping.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

2. 1–2. L. (*op. cit.*), in his paraphrase of *a* : "Non-being obviously can produce nothing", evidentely consideres *asat* as referring to the (material) cause. (So also Keith in 1.). Contrarily, VM sees here a reference to the Effect / Result, and explains : "If the Effect were non-existent before the operation of the Cause, it would never be brought into existence by anybody; for, 'blue' can never be made 'yellow' even by a thousand artists ... in fact, what is not existent is never found to be either manifested or produced."[4]

2. 3. All other Skt. comm's also concur with VM on this point. Only GBh explains rather vaguely; but the exemple given thereafter is clearly for *asat* as the Effect : *asato'karaṇaṁ, tasmāt sat kāryam. iha loke asat-karaṇaṁ nāsti. Yathā sikatābhyas tailotpattiḥ* ... Paramārtha and Māṭhara also give the same example, whereas Jayam cites *'the hare's horn', a total non-entity, as the impossible Effect; and SKC sites *'a man's horn', following SPS 1. 114.

2. 4. From the above, it will be clear that the main difference as regards reason *a* is about taking *asat* as referring to the Cause (as per L.) or to the Effect (following VM and other commentators). Our opinion on this point will have to be deferred until 3. 7. 2. 1.

3. 1–2. Turning now to reason *b* (*upādāna-grahaṇāt*), we find that Keith saw it as almost the same as *e* (vide his reasons 2 and 3 in 1. 0, *supra*. L's transl. is : "because of the need for an (appropriate) material cause." The addition 'appropriate' is tantamount to saying specific or competent / efficient and hence, makes *b* almost the same as *d*, which, on L.'s own reckoning, says : "because something can only produce what it is capable of producing". Is IK, then, guilty of giving the same arguments repetitively in a single verse ? Before accusing him of this fault, let us first look into the intpr. of *b* by others :

3. 3. We begin with VM who, like L., had grouped *b* with *c-d*. But he differs from the latter radically in its intpr. which goes thus : "Upādāna-s are causes, and their *grahaṇa* means (their) relation (!) to the Effect. So, (in its totality, *b* means) : "becauss there is a [definite] relation of the Effect with its Causes".[5] VM then clarifies this further : "The Cause becomes productive of the Effect [only] if [it is] related with that Effect. And, a relation [to the cause] is not possible in the case of a non-existent effect. Therefore [*Sat-kāryavāda* must be accepted]".[6]

4. *asac cet kāraṇa-vyāpārāt pūrvaṁ kāryam ... kvacid asad dṛṣṭam*

5. STK 9 b : *Upādānāni kāraṇāni, teṣāṁ grahaṇaṁ kāryeṇa saṁbhandhaḥ, upādānaiḥ [saha] kāryasya saṁbandhād iti yāvat.* Strangely, Jha's tr. renders Upādāna here as in singular number and even interchanges the Cases : "because there is a definite relation of the *cause with* the effect".

6. Ibid. : *kāryeṇa saṁbaddhaṁ ... kāryasyāsato na saṁbhavati tasmād iti.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

3. 3. 1. While the argument given here by VM is quite convincing, his rendering of *grahaṇa* (= lit. the act of holding or of kncwing) as *saṁbandha* (a relation) is neither apparent nor very convincing.

3. 3. 2. Besides, S. S. S. Sastri (1948 : 23, fn. 1) finds one more fault with it, viz., that " The idea he (= VM) propounds [here] is incidental to, and included in, the ground *sarva-saṁbhavābhāvāt* (i. e. *c*) " ..... Perhaps some-one may try and defend VM here by pointing out that he had already seen the possible connection, and hence interpreted *c*, not as a separate argument, but as an answer to a possible querry (against *b*) viz., : " Why should the Effect not be [regarded as being] produced by its causes without being related to them ? ".[7] The answer as per VM's intpr. of *c*, would be : " In that case, every Effect would arise from every cause [without restriction], because all Effects would be equally related [to the cause]. But such is not the case ".[8]

Against the above, an opponent might aver that a Cause produces only that Effect for which it is efficient (*śakta*); and hence, the observed restriction of production of Effects can be justified even when they are regarded as unrelated to their causes. It is as a refutation of this argument against *b c* that *d* is understood by VM, who says : " That efficiency of the cause, if [operative] with regard to all Effects, will lead to the same anarchy as pointed out in *c*; if, however, it is regarded as operative with regard to only the possible (*śakya*) Effect, then, some relation must be admitted [between the Effect and the efficient cause]. And, to be so related, the Effect must exist even before production..."[9]

The above ingenious linking of *c-d* with *b*, however, remains questionable due to VM's queer intpr. of *grahaṇa* in *b*.

3. 3. 3. Moreover, VM's expl. of *b* has the further drawback of being virtually included in reason *e* : *kāraṇabhāvāc ca*, which as per VM himself, says : " because the Effect is [almost] identical with the cause ". He proves this on the basis of the following points intended to serve as probans in Negative (*avīta/vyatireki*) inferences : (i) The effect subsists in the Cause just as a characteristic quality subsists in a substance (: *tad-dharma-tvāt*); (ii) The Cause and Effect are related to each-other as the material cause (*Upādāna*) and its effect (*Upādeya*); (iii) No separation or conjunction (*aprāpti* or *saṁyoga*) accrues between the two; (iv) The Effect [-including the wasts products, if any-] weighs exactly the same as the material cause. (VM then indulges in some wrangling -*jalpa*- which we need not go into here).

7. STK 9 *c* : *syād etat : asaṁbaddham eva ... kasmān na janyate (janyeta).*
8. Ibid : *asaṁbaddhasya janyatve...sarvaṁ sarvasmād bhavet. na caitad asti*
9. STK 9 *d* : *syād etat : asaṁbaddham api sat ... śakya-karaṇāt " iti.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

What is important to note is that, among the four points adduced by VM for justifying reason *e*, (ii) is practically a repetition of his paraphrase for *b* (vide fn. 5). Hence, approval of the latter will also amount to attributing SK, 9 (and its composer IK) with the fault of unnecessary repetition.

3. 4. Ought we, then, to join, S. S. S. Sastri (*op. cit.*) in translating *b* as: "since there is recourse to the (appropriate) material cause"? (N. B.: recourse to is closer to *grahaṇa* than L's 'need for' vide : 3. 1–2, *supra*.).

In the fn., Sastri tells us that this intpr. is implied in GBh (: The term appropriate, though not used therein, is suggested esp. by the example given: "In this world, a man selects the material cause of that what he desires to have: one desirous of curds selects milk and not water. Therefore the Effect exists".[10]

Sastri finds this "the most obvious intpr. [of *b*]", being "simpler or more apparent" than that given by VM. He, however, admits its disadvantages also, viz., that "apparently the same idea is repeated in *śaktasya śakya-karaṇāt*" (cp. here our objection in 3. 1–2, *supra*).

Nevertheless, Sastri instantaneously tries to save the above situation by pointing out a minor difference between the two, viz, that *b* "emphasizes the adequacy of the cause to the effect", while *d* "looks to [i. e. stresses ?] the adequacy of the effect to the cause".

Viewed closely, however, this is more a matter of difference in words than in actuality (: cf. here No. 4 and 5 under 1. 0, *supra*); and hence, the disadvantage of this intpr. indicated above remains virtually the same.

Let us, therefore, scan other (minor) commentaries in the hope of finding something useful, per chance:

3. 5. Unfortunately for us, most of them give nothing beyond a re-wording of GBh on *b*; go over to 3–6. Of these, *Māṭhara-vṛtti*[11] and *Suvarṇasaptati-śāstra*[12] paraphrase *upādāna* rather loosely as *nimitta*; but SKC[13] correctly renders it as the inherent (material) cause... JayaM.[14] tries to derive that

10. GBh 9 *b* : *iha loke yo yenārthī sa tad-upādāna-grahaṇaṁ ... karoti; dadhy-arthī kṣīrasya, na tu jalasya. tasmāt sat kāryam* ... The transl. given here is from TGM ('1972 : 62); in his Notes on p. 63, however, he paraphrases *b* thus : "[since] there is a recourse to *appropriate* or *specific* material causes".

11. (Māṭhara) : same as the first sentence in 10. Then : *tannimittam upādatte tad yathā ...tadā dadhyarthī udakasyopādānaṁ kuryāt.*

12. (Suvarṇa.) : *yadi kaścit kāryaṁ prārthayate ... mahān astīti.*

13. (SKC) : *upādānaṁ samavāyi-kāraṇam ... na ca kurute.*

14. (JayaM.) : *iha yadarthaṁ yad upādīyate ... grahaṇaṁ syāt.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

meaning etymologically: "Whatever [substance] is taken for what [particular Effect], that is its *upādāna* (= material) cause; e. g. sesamum for oil, milk for curds. If oil and curds were not present here (= in the respective cause), then how is it that selection (*grahaṇa*) of that particular material cause of either is made by people desirous of these [products]? ..."

Evidently, this expl. by JayaM. is in consonance with the one by GBh. One wonders, therefore, how TGM (1972 : 64) states just the opposite: "Jaya[!] and V. (=VM) understand *grahaṇa* as *saṁbandha* because of the relatedness[!] to the material cause"! ... Actually, it is the YD that seems to agree with VM when it says: "By *upādāna*, we refer to the *kāraṇa* (= material or inherent cause), such as yarn ... and the Effect is non-different from it ... This *kāraṇa* becomes connected with *kāraka*-s (= incidental i. e. efficient and non-inherent causes of that product) ... Hance it can be said that there obtains a relation, with the Effect itself, of [all] the *kārakas*- which (-or rather, because they-) are connected with its *karaṇa*."[15]

From this, it can be seen that YD, which must be earlier that VM's STK (cf. YD : 1967 : xv), had in mind a more comprehensive argument, as an explanation of *b*. It held that the Effect is related, directly to its inherent cause, and also (related) indirectly to its non-inherent cause. Hence, even before its production through the joint operation of all these, it must be existent in some form ... However, *grahaṇa* is here taken as *saṁbandha* just as in STK. Hence, the faults pointed out in 3. 3. 1 *supra* accrue to YD's expl. also.

3. 6. Having surveyed all available commenteries on SK 9, let us now view the corresponding San. SPS.s aphorisms traditionally attributed to Kapils: (i) SPS 1. 114 (*nāsad-utpādo, nṛśṛṅga-vat*): "There is no production of the non-existent, as is the case with *a man's horns". This obviously conforms with the traditional interpretation of *asat* as the non-existent Effect (vide *supra*, sec. 2). (ii) SPS 1. 115 (: *upādānaniyamāt* instead of-*grahaṇāt* in SK 9b): "On account of the restriction of the material cause." SPB[16] sees in this a reason for 1, 114: "There prevails a restriction of Effects in regard to the material cause, viz., that a pot is produced only in [the place of i. e. from] clay, and a cloth only in yarn. This will not obtain in case of the view that non-existent Effects are newly produced [from material causes] ... (iii) A proof for 1. 115 in turn by SPBh in 1. 116.[17] The proponent gives a reason for

15. YD (1969 52) : *Upādānam iti kāraṇaṁ tantvādy ācakṣmahe. tad dhi tasya kārakaira gṛhyate, abhisambadhyata ity arthaḥ. tasmāc ca nārthāntaraṁ kāryam ity ataḥ kāraṇenābhisaṁbaddhānāṁ kārakaṇāṁ saṁbandho bhavatity adoṣaḥ...*

16. SPBh 1. 115 : *atra hetum āha...sa ca na saṁbhaveti.*

17. SPBh 1. 116 : *upādāna-niyame pramāṇam āha...ity āśayaḥ.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

[believing in] the restriction with regard to the material cause... If no such restriction pravailed, then the Effect would be possible [from all causes] at all times and places" (cf. SK 9 *c*). (iv) SPS. 1. 117 (= SK 9 *d*) is believed[18] to give an independent (second) reason for rejecting the production of a non-existent Effect: the main characteristic of a material cause, from the view-point of brevity etc., may be said to be its being possessed of the capacity to produce the [possible] Effect" and this 'capacity' is none other than the future state imminent (*anāgata-avasthā*) of the Effect [which must, therefore, be existent in that state]. This also proves that production is possible only of what exists already [in an unmanifest form], and not of something totally non-existent. (v) SPS 1. 118 (= Sk 9 *e*) is again regarded as an independent (third) reason for (*a*) by SPBh[19]: *kāaṇabhāva* is here taken to mean non-difference of the Effect from the Cause even before production. This relation cannot obtain if the Effect is non-existent at that time, when the Cause is definitply known to be existent... As proof of the said non-difference, SPBh adduces mere scriptural testimony;[20] it does not indulge in any logical proofs as is done by STK (vide *supra*, 3. 3. 3).

3. 6. 1. A quick review of SPS and SPBh 1. 115–18 noted above reveals a grouping of the five reasons of SK 9 into *a-b-c*; *a d*; *a-e*. The linking together of *c* as a reason for *b*, and *b* for a, has become possible mainly on occount of the replacemant of *grahaṇa* in SK 9*b* by *niyama* here. No MS of the SK is reported to provide the latter reading; and *niyama* cannot be taken as a direct meaning of *grahaṇa*; therefore, the relevant SPB and SPBh cannot be utilized for arriving at a correct interprtation of SK 9 (— esp. 9 *b*), as it stands. Aniruddha's Vṛtti on SPS does not help either. It curiously renders *niyamāt* as *saṁbandhāt* and then follows VM's interpretation of SK 9 *b*!

3. 7. The only way left to us, then, is to try an independent interpretation, keeping in view all those noted earlier but not being prejudiced by, or against, any of teem... As a right approach towards the correct appraisal of SK 9. let us begin by taking note of its textual context, esp. its link with what precedes it.

3. 7. 1. In SK 8, we were told that *Avyakta* (= unmanifest) Prakṛti is imperceptible to us, not because of its non-existence, but owing to its extreme subtleness. For, although not perceived directly, it can certainly be comprehended (*kāryataḥ* =) through [inference based on] its products, viz., Mahat etc., which have characteristics either similar to Prakṛti or dissimilar ... ...

18. SPBh 1. 117 : *itaś ca nāsadutpāda ity āha···nāsata utpāda ity arthaḥ.*

19. SPBh. 1. 118 : *itaś ca* [*nāsadutpādaḥ*] *kāraṇabhāvāc ca... abhedānupapattir iti.*

20: *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Up.* 1.4.7 and 5.5.1; *Chāndogya Up.* 6.2.1; and *Maitrāyaṇi Āraṇyaka* 5. 2.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

To this, an opponent might object, pointing out that a product/effect can at best indicate the existence of a cause from which it originated; it cannot indicate the qualities of the Cause also ... The San. may dispute this point, saying: The world is found to consist of things characterized by sound etc., which are but modifications (*vikāra-s*) [of subtler entities] possessing as their nature [the quality to arouse] diverse degrees of pleasure, pain and stupor / delusion. It follows, then, that the ultimate material cause of all these must also contain the essence of pleasure etc.; and that primal cause is, verily, what we call Prakṛti consisting of three *guṇas*.[21]

However, the idea of identical nature of the Cause and Effect might not be agreeable to opponents of San. Some Buddhists, e. g., hold that a positive entity like a sprout is the outcome of the destruction of a seed; and destruction (= *pradhvaṁsa*) is a negative thing, a non-entity ... The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-s, being empirical realists, hold that the Effect is something which was not perceived and hence, non-existent before production, when the Cause was, no doubt, existent. This fact, also, goes against the postulation of identity (— and hence, of an identical nature —) of the Cause and the Effect ... The Kevalādvaitin, again, postulates a difference of yet another sort : What appear as Effects are but illusory super-impositions (upon an existent Cause), they being neither actually existent, nor entirely non-existent ...

These three views, it may be noted, have given rise to three different theories of causality, viz., the *Abhāva-kāraṇavāda*, if we may so call it, of the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika Buddhists, *Asat-kāryavāda* of the NyV. and the *Vivarta/Māyā-vāda* of Śāṁkara Vedāntins (= Śaṁkarites) ... None of these is acceptable to the San. thought-system, which propounds, instead, a fourth doctrine called *Satkāryavāda* (vide *supra*, 0). It is to prove or justify this San. theory that SK 9 is required to be introduced by IK. (= Īśvarakṛṣṇa).

3. 7. 2. Now, as is well-known, a systematic and full-proof establishment of a particular theory, esp. in Philosophy, involves not only the evidence propounding one's own view, but also some valid arguments refuting other contrary views in order to show the superiority of one's cherished views. As such, both these may well be expected in SK 9 ... None of the interpretations available so far can boast of bringing out both *khaṇḍana* and *maṇḍana* from this SK. Although VM has tried to incorporate a refutation of alien views in his STK, he has appended it piecemeal : Once, before quoting SK 9, and again, immediately after quoting it. The former of these is faulty in that it rejects opponent views on grounds that they

21. Cf. STK portion before quoting SK 9 : *sukha-duḥkha-moha-bhedavat-svarūpa-pariṇāma-śabdādy-ātmakam ... avagamayati.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

cannot prove the Pradhāna (= Prakṛti) postulated by the Sāṁkhya-s, as though it is binding on all to accept this San-postulate ! The refutations given later do provide better arguments, but these are *not* derived from wordings in SK 9 itself (except in case of the NyV-view). Hence they create an impression that IK had not attempted to refute other opponent views, and that, his SK 9 is faulty in this respect ... Our interpretation of SK 9, however, may demonstrate that this is an undue imputation *on*/against IK (= Īśvara-kṛṣṇa).

3. 7. 2. 1 Reason *a* : *asad-akaraṇāt* can yield two meanings :

a (*i*) *Asat-kāraṇa-akaraṇāt* (= *ajananāt*) : because a non-existent Cause cannot be credited with doing (i. e. producing) anything (: cf. *supra*. 1. 0, 1. 1); e. g., one cannot expect anything to ensue from a sky-flower which is an entirely hypothetical thing, a non-entity. So also the ' absence ' or ' destruction ' (*abhāva* or *nāśa*) of anything is a non-entity according to all Indian thought-systems except the NyV., but that system does not matter here ; for, the view being refuted by interpretation (i) of *a* is not that of NyV., but the one held by some Buddhists, who insist that a sprout arises from the destruction of seed, and so do other products arise from destruction of their causes. Against this, reason *a* (*i*) avers that the real Cause of a sprout is verily a positive entity : the seed : whose components, when subjected to constant contact with water, moist soil, etc. become active resulting in the swelling of the whole seed, development the germ, and the consequent change in the shape, structure, etc. of the seed as a whole,[22] which (change) we perceive and call a transformation (= *pariṇāma*/*vikāra*) of the cause into the Effect. Similar is the case for all other products also.

a (*ii*) *Asat-kārya-akaraṇāt* (= *ajananāt*) : Thie second rendering of reason *a* counters the *Asat-kāryavāda* of Ny-V. Cf. here the one and only interpretation given for *a* by all the Skt. comms. (vide *supra*, 2).

3. 7. 2. 2. Coming to reason *b*, we propose to avoid all complications and see *grahaṇa* in its well-known senses of ' taking ' and ' knowing ' and add merely a colourless word : ' existent ' ; *b* would then mean : " because an ' existent ' material cause is indeed ' taken ' (in cases of volitional production) or ' knawn ' (in cases of natural involuntary production) ".

3. 7. 2. 3–4. The above may be taken to imply thet any *existant* Cause gives rise to *any* Effect at all. This alleged fault can be countered by *c* and *d* if explained as follows :

22. Cf. Sārabodhinī on SK and STK (' 1940 : 228) : *Bījāvayavā eva iti bījāvayavasyaiva kāraṇatvaṁ nābhāvasyaty arthaḥ.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(*c*) "because there is no production or possibility (*saṁbhava*) of all (i. e. any Effect at all) [from any existent material cause]"; and (d) "because a material cause having the potency (*śakta*) [to produce a particular product] actually brings about only that [product] which is probable (*śakya*)". Since this implies some relation with the Effect prior to its production and that presupposes its existence we can say that *c*, clarified further by *d*, precludes the undesirable contingency suspected above; this pair of negative-positive arguments thus serves as complemantary to *b* (vide 3. 7. 2. 2), allowing the retention of the prevalent meaning(s) of *grahaṇa* therein, and rendering unnecessary its far-fetched interpretation as *saṁbandha* or an addition of the qualifier 'appropriate' before *upādāna* (vide *supra*. 3. 3 and 3. 4–5 resp.).

Further, *c-d* can also be taken to provide further refutation of opponent-views in the following manner: (c) If productian of a positive entity were possible from a mere absence / negation (*abhāva*) of itself or of the material cause (: following the Ny-V. and Buddhist views resp. :), then, since the negation of many things available at each place, all these should have the possibility of production at all places; but facts prove to the contrary ...

(*d*): Moreover, a competent cause produces only a possible Effect for which it has a potency. Hence, it is wiser to accept the *satkāryavāda* of San. rather than take to the Ny. V. or the Buddhist stand which leads to the absurd contingency implied by *c*. This is the suggestion. ...

3. 7. 2. 5. Reason *e* in SK 9 independently offers a further argument, invalidating the Ny V. view on basis of *Kāraṇabhāva* of the *Kārya*. Following GBh, most comms. see in it an implication that the Effect has the same nature or characteristics as the Cause. L (1969 : 178), however, takes a clue from STK and gives it a clearer wording: "The Effect is made up of the same [constituent] material as the Cause, there being a difference only with respect to the appearance or modification of the material." While this paraphrase by L. is tolerably good and clear, not so his actual translation of *e*: "because of the nature of the cause (or, because the effect is non-different from the cause)!"

Can we not, then, find a translation closer to the original wording of *e*? We could even coin one thus: "because of [the effect] being or existing [before production] in the form of the cause". The implication is that, although undeveloped at that stage, the Effect must certainly exist even then. Thus, this rendering of *e*, besides being closely literal, provides a clear rejection of the Ny-V. stand. (However, this *kāraṇabhāva* must not be taken to mean the *tādātmya* (= total identity)-relation postulated by Ny-V., as, that would leave no room for the different *saṁsthāna* (= shape or form of appearance)

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

vyapadeśa (= nomenclature) and *arthakriyā* (= useful purpose) of the Cause vs. its Effect. Hence, *kāraṇabhāva* can imply only the sameness of the constitutent material and non-separability with reference to the Cause).

Again, if the added clause in the above interpretation is omitted, then *e* will imply that even after production, the Effect is but a [developed] stage of the [existent] Cause; and as such, it too must be acknowledged to be a real existent entity, just like the Cause. ... This will counter the Kevalādvaitin's view that while the ultimate Cause of the Universe is a real existent entity (viz., *nirguṇa brahman*, all its so-called products have a merely illusory (= *māyika* or *prātibhāsika*) existence verging on non-existence.

3. 7. 3. Résumé :

A rapid review of the interpretation proposed above for SK 9 will reveal the following plus-points :

(i) It provides the clearest exposition so far for each of the five reasons, esp. *e* and *d*, the latter having proved most difficult for all interpreters hitherto.

(ii) It facilitates smooth linking and progression of thought, through subsequent reasons, towards the establishment of the *satkāryavāda* doctrine of Causation upheld by the San. system.

(iii) Our explanations of the five reasons further have the merit of revealing a symmetrical pattern in SK 9 : Negative arguments *a* and *c*, paired with their positive counterparts in *b* and *d* resp., and a very close link among all the four of them. The fifth reason does not remain hanging either; for, it is viewed as providing a further refutation of the Ny-V. view already countered in *a-b-c-d*. Thus our interpretations, as a whole, vouch for full justification of the author's separate mention of all the five arguments, simultaneously using their given order with advantage, for organizing them into significant interrelated groups. No other inierpretation so far has achieved all this so very satisfactorily.

(iv) Last but not the least, the proposed interpretation very convincingly credites the Kārikā-wordings themselves with accomplishing both *khaṇḍana* and *maṇḍana* towards the establishment of *satkāryavāda*. No other available interpretation can boast of this quality (vide *supra*, 3. 7. 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dasgupta, S. N. 1922. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, Cambridge.
2. Garbe, Richard. 1917. *Die Sāṁkhya Philosophie*. Leipzig.
3. Hiriyanna, M. 1932. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*. London.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

4. *Jayamaṅgalā* (= *Sāṁkhya-saptati-ṭīkā*) by Śrī Śaṁkarācārya. 1926. (Ed. by H. Sharma). Calcutta.

5. Keith, A. B. 1975. (1st Indian Reprint). *A History of the Saṁkhya Philosophy* (= The Sāṁkhya System). Delhi.

6. Larson, G. J. 1969. *Classical Sāṁkhya*. Delhi.

7. Mainkar, T. G. 1972 (2nd Ed.). *The Sāṁkhya-Kārikā of Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa with Gauḍapādabhāṣya* (Tr. and Notes). Poona.

8. SK with *Sāṁkhyacandrikā* of Nārāyaṇa-tīrtha. 1953. Benares.

9. *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (with STK and *Sārabodhinī* of Śivanārāyaṇa Shastri thereon). 1940. Bombay (Nirṇaya-Sāgara).

10. Sastri, S. S. 1948. Sūryanārāyaṇa. The SK of IK (Ed. and tr.) Univ of Madras.

11. *Suvarṇa-saptati-śāstra* (Comm. of Paramārtha of SK). 1944. Ed. By N. Aiyaswami Sastri. Tirupati.

12. Jha, G. N. 1965. *The Tattva-Kaumudī*: VM's Comm. on the SK (Eng. Tr.) Poona.

13. *Yukti-dīpikā* (of unknown authorship, on SK). 1969, ed. by Ramchandra Pandeya. Delhi.

14. *Vijñānabhikṣu-bhāṣyānvitaṁ Sāṁkhya-sūtram*. 1965. ed by D. Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, Benares.

Abbreviations

Comm. = Commentary;
expl. = explanation;
fn. = foot-note;
GBh = Gauḍapāda-bhāṣyam;
GP = Gauḍapāda;
ĪK = Īśvara-kṛṣṇa;
intpr. = interpretation;
JayaM = Jaya-Maṅgalā-ṭīkā;
L. = Larson,
Ny-V. = Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika;
resp. = respectively;
San. = Sāṅkhya;
Sec. = Section;
SK = San.-Kārikā;
SKC = SK-Candrikā;
SPBh = San. Pravacana-Bhāṣyam;
SPS = SP-Sūtram;
STK = San.-Tattva-Kaumudī;
Suvarṇa = °Saptati-śāstra;
TGM = T. G. Mainkar;
VM = Vācaspati Miśra;
YD = Yukti-Dīpikā.

Note: [ ] indicate words supplied in the transl. of Skt. quotations.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

ON THE NINE CATEGORIES OF YOGIN

[mentioned by commentaries on Yogasūtras I. 21–22]

By

SHRIKANT S. BAHULKAR

The Yogasūtra (= Y. S.) ascribed to Patañjali is the oldest text-book of the Hindu system of Yoga and holds a special place of *Yoga-darśana* in Indian Philosophy. The Yogasūtra has received much attention of traditional commentators as well as modern scholars of Indian Philosophy, Mysticism and modern Psychology. A few scholars have dealt with the textual problems connected with The Yogasūtra. Among those scholars, a special mention should be made of J. H. Woods,[2] J. W. Hauer[3] and Georg Feuerstein[4] who have discussed the problems to a certain length and tried to solve them. In this connection, J. H. Woods observes : " Even after a dozen readings the import of some paragraphs is not quite clear...Still more intractable are the single technical terms, even if the general significance of the word, superficially analysed, is clear. "[5] Although the Yougasūtra has been commented upon by a number of exegets like Vyāsa,[6] Śaṅkara,[7] Vācaspati Miśra,[6] Vijñānabhikṣu,[6] Nāgeśa[8] and others, it has been observed by modern scholars that, at many places, most of the commentators

1. The date of the Yogasūtra is a controversial problem. According to Max Müller (*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, reprinted by Chowkhambha, 1919, p. 314), the text was composed in the second century B. C. J. H. Woods (*The Yoga System of Patañjali*, HOS, 1914, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1966, p. XVII) suggests a period between 300 A. D. to 500 A. D. S. N. Dasgupta (*History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I*, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi 1975, p. 212) opines that it was composed not later than 147 B. C.

2. J. H. Woods : *The Yoga System of Patañjali*, HOS. 1914, reprinted by Motila Banarsidass, 1966.

3. J. W. Hauer; *Der Yoga*, Stuttgart. 1958.

4. George Feuerstein : *The Yogasūtra*, Arnold-Heinemann, New Delhi, 1979.

5. *op. cit.* p. ix.

6. *Yogadarśana of Patañjali* with the commentaries of Vyāsa, Vācaspati Miśra, Vijñānabhikṣu, and others, Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 110, Benaras, 1935.

7. *Pātañjalayogasūtrabhāṣyavivāraṇam* of Śaṅkara-Bhagatvatpāda, ed. by Polkam Śri Rama Sastri and S. R. Krishnamūrthi Śāstri, Madras Govt. Oriental Series, 1952.

8. *Yogasūtra* by Patañjali, with six commentaries, Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 83, Benaras, 1930.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

follow Vyāsa,[9] the oldest commentator, who was perhaps influenced by some other systems of philosophy.[10] It can be understood on the basis of the chronological evidence that the oldest commentary, i. e. Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya*, was composed at least four centuries after the composition of the Yogasūtra. It seems that the real purport of some *sūtras* probably became unintelligible to the commentators. It is necessary, therefore, to make a critical assessment of the commentaries before we use them for understanding the sūtra.[11]

In this paper, the *sūtras* 21 and 22 of the *Samādhipāda* are taken for discussion and an attempt is made to show how the commentators offer an interpretation that was not probably intended by Patañjali.

Before we begin the discussion, it would be proper to explain in brief the context of the relevant *sūtras*. In the *sūtras* 17–23 of the *Samādhipāda*, Patañjali mentions two types *samādhi* 'concentration'. The first type is *saṁprajñāta samādhi* 'concentration conscious of an object' and the other, *asaṁprajñāta* 'concentration not conscious of an object'. The latter type of *samādhi* is again of two kinds. It is attained either by the spiritual means (*bhavapratyaya*, Y. S. I. 19) or by the worldly means (*upāyapratyaya*).[12] The *samādhi* of the first kind, viz, *bhavapratyaya* is attained by the discernate, i. e., the gods, and by those whose bodies are resolved into primary matter (*prakṛtilaya*)[13]. The other kind of *asaṁprajñāta samādhi*, viz., *upāya-pratyaya*, is attained by yogins with efforts consisting in belief (*śraddhā*), energy (*vīrya*), mindfulness (*smṛti*), concentration (*samādhi*) and insight (*prajñā*) (Y. S. I. 20). For the yogins, who have keen intensity (*tīvra saṁvega*), the concentration is imminent (*āsanna*). Again, the yogins are also of three kinds : mild (*mṛdu*), avarage or middling (*madhya*) and superior (*adhimātra*) (Y. S. I. 22). Therefore, there is a further difference in attaining the *samādhi* according to the capacities of the yogins. Patañjali further says that the *samādhi* can also be attained by devotion to Īśvara (Y. S. I. 23).

9. "In a way Vyāsa, a brilliant scholiast, has kept previous scholars off a critical and sufficiently independent analysis of the *Yoga-sūtra*, just as he has exerted a strong influence on all subsequent native commentators." Feuerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

10. Hauer thinks that Vyāsa and other commentators subsequent to him instead of presenting a genuine philosophy of Yoga, interpret the sūtras under the influence of the Sāṁkhya System of Philosophy. *op. cit.*, p. 265.

11. cf. Feuerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.

12. It should be noted that the word *bhavapratyaya* occurs in Y. S. I. 19; however the word *upāyapratyaya* is supplied by Vyāsa, in his commentary on Y. S. I. 19.

13. The description is based on Wood's translation of the Yogasūtra and Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya*, *op. cit.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In this connection, I would like to invite attention of readers to two *sūtras*. They are : *tīvrasaṁvegānām āsannaḥ* (Y. S. I. 21) and *mṛdu-madh yādhimātratvāt tato'pi viśeṣaḥ* (Y. S. I. 22). Let us first see how the commentators elucidate these *sūtras*.

While commenting upon the *sūtra* : *tīvrasaṁvegānām āsannaḥ*, Vyāsa says : *te khalu nava yogino bhavanti / mṛdumadhyādhimātropāyā bhavanti / tad yathā-mṛdūpāyo madhyopāyo'dhimātropāya iti / tatra mṛdūpāyas trividhaḥ / mṛdusaṁvego madhyasaṁvegas tīvrasaṁvega iti / tathā madhyōpāyas tathā 'dhimātropāyā iti / tatrā 'dhimātropāyānāṁ tīvrasaṁvegānām āsannas samādhilābhas samādhiphalaṁ ca bhavatīti /*

" Now these yogins are of nine kinds, as being respectively followers of the gentle, the moderate and the vehement method, that is to the say, the follower of the gentle method, the follower of the moderate method, and the follower of the vehement method. Among these, the follower of the gentle method is also of three kinds : with gentle intensity, with moderate intensity and with keen intensity — likewise the follower of the moderate method is found with the three intensities; likewise the follower of the vehement method (is found with the three intensities). Now, among those who follow the vehment method and have keen intensity, (the concentration) is imminent. For them, there is gaining of concentration and the result of concentration ".[14] Vācaspati, Bhoja, Rāmānanda and others follow Vyāsa, and mention the same nine categories of yogin.

If we carefully read Vyāsa's comment, we find that he seems to take the words *mṛdu*, *madhya* and *adhimātra* in the sense of the types of *upāya*, and mentions three kinds of yogin on that basis. Further, he assumes that the word *tīvra* is synonymous with *adhimātra*, then supposes three types of *saṁvega*, viz., *mṛdu*, *madhya* and *tīvra* and further mentions three types of yogin on that basis. Thus. he mentions nine categories of yogin. The categories will be as mentioned below :

(1) *mṛdūpāya — mṛdusaṁvega*

(2) *mṛdūpāya — madhyasaṁvega*

(3) *mṛdūpāya — tīvrasaṁvega*

(4) *madhyopāya — mṛdusaṁvega*

(5) *madhyopāya — madhyasaṁvega*

(6) *madhyopāya — tīvrasaṁvega*

14. Wood's translation with a slight change.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(7) *adhimātropāya — mṛdusaṁvega*

(8) *adhimātropāya — madhyasaṁvega*

(9) *adhimātropāya — tīvrasaṁvega*

Further, while commenting upon the next *sūtra — mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt tato 'pi viśeṣaḥ* (Y. S. I. 22), Vyāsa explains the three categories being the varieties of *tīvra saṁvega*, viz., *mṛdutīvra madhyatīvra* and *adhimātratīvra*. Thus the yogins having vehemant method and keen intensity (i. e., *adhimātropāya-tīvra saṁvega*) are again of three kinds. Thus the categories of yogins will be eleven in all including the three subvarieties of the last category. Vyāsa says that the concentration is most imminent to the yogins following vehment method and having vehmently keen intensity[15] (*tīvrādhimātra-saṁvega*).

It seems that Vyāsa connects the *sūtra* : *mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt*...with the preceding *sūtra* in two ways, i. e., preceding and following the *sūtra*. The *sūtra* when preceded *tīvrasaṁvegānām* ... is to be connected with the *sūtra śraddhā-vīrya-smṛti-samādhi-prajñā-pūrvaka itareṣām* (I. 20). Then it would denote the three varieties of the methods (*upāya*) characterized as *śraddhā* etc. For the second time, the *sūtra* is to be read as it stands i. e. after the *sūtra-tīvrasaṁvegānām āsannaḥ*; then it would denote the three varieties of the

15. Commentators differ on the meaning of the word *saṁvega*. Vyāsa does not explain the word. Vācaspatimiśra, and following him, Rāmānandayati, Sadāśivendrayati Baladevamiśra and Nārāyaṇatīrtha paraphrase — *saṁvega* as *vairāgya* 'detachment'. Vijñānabhikṣu refutes this opinion without mentioning the authority (*kaścit tu saṁvego vairāgyam iti vyācaṣte tan na*). He further says : "because the nine types of Yogins (then) cannot stand to reason. Since the effect comes through the means, giving up the littleness, & c., of the means of *vairāgya*, it is not possible to have littleness & c., (of *vairāgya*) independently" (*yogino navadhātvā'nupapatteḥ / upakāryatayā vairāgyopāya-mṛdutvādikaṁ vihāya svātantryeṇa mṛdutvādy asambhavād /*). He means to say that one cannot call *vairāgya* as *mṛdu, madhya* and *tīvra*, but only the means which lead to *vairāgya* can be described as such. He further points out that the word *saṁvega* has nowhere the meaning of *vairāgya* : *saṁvegaśabdasya vairāgyavācakatvābhāvāc ca* / According to Vijñāna-bhikṣu, *saṁvega* means *upāyānuṣṭhāne śaighryaṁ*, "the speed in the practice of the means". Bhāvāgaṇeśa an Nāgeśa follow him. Bhoja and Anantadevapaṇḍita explain the word still differently. According to them, *saṁvega* means *kriyāhetur dṛḍhataraḥ saṁskāraḥ* 'rigorous training of the mind, which leads to action'. Hariharānanda in his *Bhāsvatī* explains it as *śighralābhāya nirantarā'nuṣṭhāna icchāprābalyam* 'intense desire for continuous practice aiming at immediate obtainment (of the goal)'. It is true that the word *saṁvega* does not mean *vairāgya*. The reasonis simple. The word *Vairāgya* occurs at many places in the Yogasūtra (II. 12; I. 15 and III. 50.) And Patañjali will not use a different word for such an important technical term.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

keen intensity (*tīvrasaṁvega*). The word *tīvra*, according to Vyāsa, presupposes the other two varieties of *saṁvega* i. e. *mṛdu* and *madhya* and thus we get nine varieties of the yogin, the last of which again has three sub-varieties.

If we accept Vyāsa's interpretation as the genuine one, we have to assume that the original readings and the arrangement of the *sūtras* was possibly different from what we find at present. The *sūtras* could be as follows :

śraddhā-vīrya-smṛti-samādhi-prajñā-pūrvaka itareṣām / (I. 20).

[*mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt tadviśeṣaḥ* /]

[*mṛdu-madhya- tīvra-saṁvegānām āsannaḥ* / (I, 21)]

mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt tato'pi viśeṣaḥ / (I. 22)

Thus we may assume a possibility of distortion of the original text of the *Yogasūtra*, which formed the basis of Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya*. However, there is no convincing evidence to support such assumption.

If the text is not distorted, we have to think of another possibility and assume that Vyāsa has imposed his own interpretation upon the *sūtras* and the original meaning of the *sūtras* has been distorted. Since we get no better interpretation from other commentaries, we have to search for a clue merely from the *sūtras*. Let us try.

The word *tīvrasaṁvega* in the *sūtra* I. 21 is obviously a *bahuvrīhi* compound that qualifies the pronoun *itareṣāam* in the preceding *sūtra*. The word means 'those having keen intensity'. It denotes the qualities of the yogins referred to by the pronoun *itareṣām*. The following *sūtra* has the word *mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt*. It does not denote the categories of the *tīvrasaṁvega* but the three categories of the yogins which are suggested by the word *itareṣām* and qualified by the word *tīvrasaṁvegānām*. These three categories of yogins occur elsewhere. Especially, the Buddhists frequently refer to the three types of ascetic or disciple, viz., *mṛdvindriya*, *madhyendriya* and *adhimātrendriya* or *tīkṣṇendriya*.[16] In the present context also, the words *mṛdu*, *madhya* and *adhimātra* should be taken in the sense of the categeries of the yogin. Thus, the *sūtras* may be rendered as follows :

16. *Abhidharmakośa* VI. 28, *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* I. 23 mention *mṛdvindriya* and *tīkṣṇendriya*. For the three categories see, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, XVII. 21 and the later Buddhist Tantric works, especially, *Tattvaratnāvalī* in *Advayavajrasaṅgraha*, *GOS*, *XL*, Baroda, 1927, p. 14; *Jñānasiddhi*, in *Two Vajrayāna works*, *GOS XLIV*, Baroda, 1929, *paricchedas* 18, 19 and 20.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

tīvrasaṁvegānām āsannaḥ :

" Of those having keen intensity, the concentration is imminent ".

mṛdumadhyādhimātratvāt tato 'pi viśeṣaḥ : " Because of (the different capacities of the yogins, characterised as) the mild, the middling and the superior, there is the difference (in attaining the concentration) ".

It should be taken into consideration here, that the word *tīvra* should not be taken in the sense of *adhimātra*, as Vyāsa has done. The words *mṛdu*, *madhya* and *adhimātra* occur elsewhere in the Yogasūtra (II. 34). Patañjali uses the same words to denote the three categories. The word *tīvra* does not necessarily mean 'superior' and would not further denote three categories. One may argue that the word *tīvra* is used to denote the highest category of *saṁvega* while the word *adhimātra* denotes the highest category of *upāya*. It does not however seem probable. Moreover, Patañjali would not use the word *tīvra* alone instead of using all the three terms *mṛdu*, *madhya* and *tīvra*, to denote the three categories. There is not a single instance of this kind in the Yogasūtra. Thus, Vyāsa's interpretation seems to be farfetched, probably due to the influence of similar categorization found in other system of philosophy.

The tendency of categorization and emumeration is not uncommon in Indian Philosophy. Patañjali seems to have borrowed it from the *Sāṁkhya* and the Buddhist as well. Max Müller has already pointed out this fact regarding the Sāṁkhya and Yoga.[17] Regarding the relation between the Buddhist doctrine and the Yoga-system Stcherbatsky says :

" The points of similarity between the Buddhist system and the Sāṁkhya-Yoga, especially as presented in the Yogasūtra and Bhāṣya, are so overwhelmingly numerous that they call attention of the students of the Abhidharma ".[18] Also, Frauwallner observes : " The Yoga-school borrowed its important new ideas on which the doctrine of deliverence is built and elaborated from a different source which was no other than Buddhism ".[19]

17. Max Müller describes these nine categories of Yogin in the Yogasūtra and remarks : " Such divisions and subdivisions which fully justify the name of Sāṁkhya, enumeration, make both the Sāṁkhya and Yoga-philosophies tedious, and I shall in future dispense with them, though they may contain now and then some interesting observations ". *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

18. T. Stcherbatsky : *The Central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word 'dharma'*, London, 1923, p. 47.

19. E. Frauwallner : *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, English translation by V. M. Bedekar, New Delhi, 1973, p. 323.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The influence of Buddhist system upon the Yogasūtra has been pointed out by some other scholars also.[20] As stated by Stcherbatsky, not only the Yogasūtra, but Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* also seems to have been influenced, at least at some places, by the Buddhist system represented by the Abhidharma. Vyāsa's interpretation under discussion may also be a case for study in this connection. In Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya*, we find a similar categorization into nine, in a defierent context. A *kārikā* in the *Abhidharmakośa* reads :

navaprakārā doṣā hi bhūmau bhūmau tathā guṇāḥ /
mṛdumadhyādhimātrāṇāṁ punar mṛdvādibhedataḥ // VI. 33.

On this *kārikā*, Vasubandhu comments :

mṛdu-madhyādhimātrā hi trayaḥ prakārāḥ | teṣāṁ punaḥ pratyekaṁ mṛdumadhyādhimāmtratvena trividhatvāt nava vyavasthāpyante | tad yathā | mṛdumṛduḥ prakāro mṛdumadhyo mṛdvadhimātro madhyamṛdur madhyamadhyo madhyādhimātro' dhimātramṛdur adhimātramadhyo 'dhimātrādhimātraś céti | tatra mṛdumṛdunā mārgeṇādhimātrādhimātrasya kleśasya prahāṇam | evaṁ yāvad adhimātrādhimātreṇa mṛdu-mṛdoḥ //

Thus Vasubandhu mentions nine types of *kleśa* and nine ways to remove them. A similar description of nine types of *kleśa* is found in the *madhyāntavibhāga* of Maitreya (II. 1–2) on which also Vasubandhu has written a Bhāṣya.

We need not go into the details of this categorization of *kleśa* etc. into nine and also need not challange the validity of difference between *mṛdumadhya* and *madhyamṛdu* or *mṛdvadhimātra* and *adhimāiramṛdu*. This or a similar categorization was probably known to Vyāsa. Hence he rushed to interpret the *sūtras* as discussed above.

Now, one may raise a question of relative chronological position of Vasubandhu and Vyāsa. Though the date of Vasubandhu still remains unsettled, it is generally admitted that he flourished in the fourth century A. D., while Vyāsa lived in the sixth centnry A. D., Feuerstein opines in this connection : " Since the teacher Vārṣagaṇya is quoted in the *Yoga-Bhāṣya* (III. 53; IV. 13), who was in all likelihood a contemporary of Vasubandou (probably A. D. 270–350), Vyāsa cannot have lived before A. D. 320 ".[21]

20. Louis De La Valleé Poussin : *Le bouddhisme et la Yoga de Patañjali*, *Melanges chinois et bouddhiques* (Bruxelles), Vol. V (1936–37), pp. 223–242; T. Kimura : " On the influence of Buddhism on the Yogasūtra of Patañjali (particularly of Sarvāstivādin). " M. Anesaki Comm. Vol., Tokyo, 1934, pp. 304–7.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

It should be clear from the discussion held above, that the *Yogasūtras* (I. 21–22) were misunderstood by Vyāsa. It was due to the influence of the Buddhist system, especially that of the Abhidharma represented by the *Abhidharmakośa*. The later commentators of the Yogasūtra blindly followed Vasubandhu and interpreted the *sūtra* in a similar way. In the words of Bhoja, the author of the commentary *Rājamārtaṇḍa* on the *Yogasūtra*, all these commentators seem to be *vastuviplavakṛtaḥ* 'distorters of the real meaning'.[22]

22. Introductory verse 6 of the work.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

NĀGĀRJUNA - A MAHĀYĀNIST

By

Y. S. SHASTRI

It is a well-known fact that Nāgārjuna is one of the most outstanding philosophical personalities in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There is no second opinion among the scholars that in matephysical profoundity, logical acumen and spiritual insight, he has few equals, among Indian thinkers barring perhaps Śaṁkara.[1] It is quite interesting to note that some of the modern scholars doubt the very existence or historicity of Nāgārjuna. According to these scholars a person known as philosopher Nāgārjuna might not have existed on this earth. M. Walleser states that the systematic development of the thought of voidness laid down in the prajñāpāramitāsūtras is brought into junction with the name of a man of whom we cannot even positively say that he has really existed, still less that he is the author of the works ascribed to him : this name is Nāgārjuna.[2] Another scholar of Buddhism of our present day, Dr. A. K. Warder, accepts his historical personality but questioned the authenticity of Nāgārjuna being a Mahāyānist. He thinks that Nāgārjuna is not a Mahāyānist.[3]

No doubt it is true that no authentic biographical data, no reliable historical account of Nāgārjuna is existent. Not only this, it is almost impossible to form a satisfactory picture of Nāgārjuna because his figure is also obviously overlaid by mnay legends and myths, many of which had nothing to do with him.[4] But only on this basis, it would be absured to conclude that Nāgārjuna did not exist. The followers of Buddism of China, Tibet, and Japan, in fact actually did consider him to be the second Buddha[5] who had once again set in motion the wheel of Dharma (i. e. truth and righteousness). His influence on the eastern world is un-paralleled. The writing through which he made an

1. *Nāgārjuna's Part I,* K. Satchidananda Murti, Pub. : National Books Trust of India, New Delhi, 1971, p. 1.

2. *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources,* M. Walleser, Nag Publishers, New Delhi, 1979, p. 1.

3. *Is Nāgārjuna's Muhāyānist.* A. K. Warder, Published in Two Truths in Buddhism and Vedanta ed. M. Sprung, Holland, 1973. pp. 78–88.

4. *Nāgārjuna,* K. Satchidananda Murti, p. 2.

5. *Ibid.* p. 1.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

extraordinary impact on the development of Buddhism and religious thought in the east and the images of him formed by the generations of Asians constitute his historical personality.[6] Again, there is no reason to doubt Nāgārjuna's historicity, because, the great minds of Buddhism like an Āryadeva (Nāgārjua's direct disciple), a Kumārajīva, Hü-yuan, a Candrakīrti and others hold him in high easteem in their writings. A thorough study of many important works ascribed to Nāgārjuna reveals that in the integration of Mahāyāna and in providing it with a sound philosophical basis, he played such an important role that scriptures like the Laṅkāvatāra spoke of him as the glorious and greatly renowned monk who expanded in this world Buddhist teachings as that of the Great path higher than which there is none.[7] So, Nāgārjuna's historicity is undeniable and he represented a movement and a school as much as a personality.[8]

Dr. A. K. Warder, questioning the authenticity of Nāgārjuna being Mahāyānist, in his paper ' Is Nāgārjuna Mahāyānist ', opened the new arena of research in the field of Indian Philosophy in general and Buddhism in particular. Only on the basis of one work of Nāgārjuna, viz. *Mādhyamaka-Śāstra* or *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā*, Dr. Warder tries to prove that he was not Mahāyānist. The main arguments in favour of his thesis are that, Nāgārjuna neither mentions nor quotes any Mahāyānasūtra in his *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* (M. K.). There is no evidence that Nāgārjuna had ever seen any Prajñāpāramitā. There are no terms peculiar to Mahāyāna and nowhere in M. K. the term ' Mahāyāna ' is used by the author. Instead of quoting Mahāyānasūtra he quotes many early Buddhist Piṭakas, without naming the Sūtras and mentions ' Kātyāyanāvavāda ' Sūtra by name, which again belongs to early Buddhism. So, sources of his work are Tripiṭakas but not Mahāyānasūtras. He criticises not early Buddhism but Sarvāstivāda – Buddhism which is developed from Abhidharma. His faithfulness to early Buddhism clearly shows that he was not a Mahāyānist and, it is also assumed that Mahāyāna literature is posterior to Nāgārjuna.[9]

This thought-provoking issue raised by the learned author must be re-examined in a critical and analytical perspective. It is easy to say from particular angle that Nāgārjuna is not Mahāyānist. But it is a very difficult task indeed to prove that he is Mahāyānist because we have to consider this issue not only from one angle but from different angles. We have to keep in

6. *Ibid.* p. 3.
7. *Ibid.* p. 2.
8. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Sir Charles Eliot, London, 1957.
9. *Is Nāgārjuna Mahāyānist*, A. K. Warder, pp. 78–88.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

mind that before passing any judgement on Nāgārjuna either as Mahāyānist or non-Mahāyānist, we have to consider early Buddhist works which were prior to Nāgārjuna, Nāgārjuna's own works, works of his predecessors, biograhers and points of view of historians.

First of all the learned author taking advantage of the atmosphere of chronological uncertainty of early Mahāyāna literature and not finding any quotation from them in M. K. presumes that, Nāgārjuna is not Mahāyānist and the entire Mahāyāna literature is posterior to Nāgārjuna. This is logically untenable. Nāgārjuna's main aim in M. K. is not to defend Mahāyāna but to establish the doctrine of Śūnya in the light of reasoning, which is propagated by Mahāyānasūtras. In this direction the learned scholar neglected the very important aspect that not quoting Mahāyānasūtra is not a criteria either for judging Nāgārjuna as non-Mahāyānist or for Mahāyāna-sūtra being posterior to him. It lies in the logical assessment of the development of the doctrine of Emptiness in the early Buddhism, in Nāgārjuna's works and in the works of his predecessers.

Nāgārjuna flourished at the end of 2nd century A. D. Mahāyāna elements were found in Mahāsāṅghikas since 3rd B. C.[10] Even Prajñāpāramitā Mahāyāna literature is an upshoot of Mahāsāṅghika's progressive movement. Some of the Prajñāpāramitās of the Mahāyāna literature were existent prior even to Nāgārjuna because some of the Mahāyānasūtras were introduced into China in the 2nd Century A. D. and *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* (Aṣṭa.) was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in 170 A. D. At this time not only Aṣṭa. but even *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā* was, it seems, known to the Chinese because on some occasions the text of Lokakṣema is nearer to that of the large Prajñāpāramitā than to the Aṣṭa.[11] These must have been known in India long before they were introduced into China. That means some of the Prajñāpāramitā Mahāyāna literature was already existent at least 150 years earlier than Nāgārjuna. Secondly, a close study of the language and style of some of the Prajñāpāramitās, especially Aṣṭa reveals that, it was composed in circa 1st century B. C. or latest beginning of the Christian era. The style, language and phraseology of Prajñāpāramitā literature is very much similar to Pali Piṭakas. It is written in a repetitious style, like Pali cannon and its language seems to be just rendering into Sanskrit of the Pali texts. Prajñā-pāramitā literature might have adopted this style because, it seems no other style

10. *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Th. Stcherbatsky, Pub. : Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Varanasi, pp. 7–15.

11. *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, Edward Conze, Ounton & C.'s Gravenhaga, London, 1960, p. 26.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

was known in that period except the cannonical style. This Prajñāpāramitā first appeared in prose form and did not enter into philosophical discussions like the Pali cannon until its ideas were systematically formulated by later writers. It lacks refined form and logical rigour. Philosophical ideas are scattered here and there and entangled with religious dogmas. While Nāgārjuna's style and language are very much refined, there are no repetitions, doctrines are systematically presented and defended with sharp logical argumentation. On this basis also, we can say that Prajñāpāramitā Mahāyāna litereture was existent prior to Nāgārjuna. Thirdly, a comparative study of the development of Śūnyavāda reveals that some of the Prajñāpāramitās were definitely existent prior to Nāgārjuna. The term 'Śūnya' is found in Buddhism since the beginning of its history, but its meaning has not been defined beyond its being identified with nothingness or emptiness in the sense of absence of content. Hīnayānists, accepted the only Pudgalanairātmaya (non-substantiality of soul). The Mahāsāṅghikas, took it in a broader sense for the first time and maintained against the Hīnayānists, not only Pudgalanairātniya, but also un-substantiality of all dharmas. According to Mahāsāṅghikas, empirical knowledge could not give to us an insight into Reality, only Śūnyatā which transcends all wordly things can give to us a vision of the Real.[12] The Prajñāpāramitā literature has concentrated on the conception of Śūnyatā of the Mahāsāṅghikas. It teaches us un-substantiality of all dhārmas. The phenomena, being dependent on conditions are devoid of Substantial reality, hence they are[13] Śūnya,[14] Nirvāṇa being transcendent to all categories of thought is Śūnya 'emptiness' itself. Both Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa, the conditioned and un-conditioned are mere thought-construction and are so devoid of reality (Śūnya). Śūnya transcends all empirical determinations and thought-construction. It is thus, equated with ultimate Reality. This Śūnya and Prajñā become synonymous. So, these Mahāyānasūtras made it (Śūnya) mean the same thing as suchness which is indescribable. But this doctrine is treated in a laconic and desultory manner. Nāgārjuna, thinking that this doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā might be misunderstood as mere nothingness, tried to defend it with logical rigour in M. K. and *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. His sharp logocal mind found that the Prajñāpāramitā literature, though profound, was wanting in logic, for they did not prove what they thought. His main aim in M. K. is not to defend Mahāyāna sect, but to establish the doctrine of Śūnyatā propounded by Prajñāpāramitā Mahāyāna literature.

12. *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Stcherbatsky, pp. 9–11.

13. *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. P. L. Vaidya Pub. : Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, pp. 20, 121, 136, 156–57, 201, 203.

14. a) *prajñāpāramitā hi subhūte śūnya*, *Aṣṭa*, p. 201.
b) *śūnyatvād duranubodheyaṁ prajñāpāramitā*, *Ibid*, p. 203.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

To defend Mahāyāna he has written many other works such as *Ratnāvalī* and *Suhṛilekhā*. This is not an unusal method in the history of Buddhism. Asaṅga, a great Vijñānavādin has written *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṁkāra* to defend Vijñānavāda, against Śūnyavāda. But he has not criticised the Mādhyanika standpoint in this work. He thought that he has already criticised the Śūnyavāda in his other work viz. *Madhyānta-Vibhāga* It is therefore not necessary to criticise it again. Similar is the case with Nāgārjuna. Fourthly, there is a close similarity of the general structure between M. K. and *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The doctrine of Śūnya, conception of Nirvāṇa, the doctrine of dependent origination and the conception of personality.[15] that found logically developed form in M. K. are certainly based on Aṣṭa and purely Mahāyānistic in nature. The similies which are peculiar to Mahāyāna in general and Aṣṭa in particular, are used in more than 11 places in M. K. by Nāgārjuna.[16] It is also not proper to say that there are no terms peculiar to Mahāyāna in M. K. In fact the term 'Śūnyatā' itself is peculiar to Mahāyāna-literature because, it stands for doctrine not for mere nothingness of the early Buddhism. Again, the conception that everything is like dream, like illusion, thought-construction and thus unreal is the special feature of Prajñāpāramitā Mahāyāna literature.[17] To explain, the doctrine of 'Śūnya, Nāgārjuna has used the same terms and simlies used by Aṣṭa. It is true that many important, peculiarly Mahāyānist's, ontological and religious terms found in Aṣṭa do not occur in the M. K. such as Prajñā, Tathatā, Advaya, Dharmadhātu, Pāramitā, etc. Even the term Bodhisattva occurs only once in the[18] M. K. But it is important to note that the choice of the author's words depends on what he is talking about and whom he is talking to. In the M. K. Nāgārjuna is not talking to Mahāyānists who are familiar with those terms which are peculiar to them but he is arguing with Hīnayānists and Tīrthikas who did not accept the Mahāyāna doctrines. He persuades them by quoting directly or indirectly early Tripiṭakas, using those terms which are familiar to Hīnayānists. And also by reasoning on solid grounds he points out that they have misunderstood the Buddha's teachings. In M. K. Nāgārjuna refutes Hīnayānists in their own terms. This is the main reason, why Nāgārjuna has not used the many term which are very peculiar to Mahāyānists in M. K. Again it is illogical to say that, Nāgārjuna is not Mahāyānist because he has not used the term Mahāyāna in M. K. The Diamond Sūtra

15. *Early Mādhyamika in India and China*, Richard H. Robinson. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1976, pp. 177–180.

16. *Mādhyamakaśāstra*, Ed. P. L. Vaidya Pub.: Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1960; VII. 8 31, 34; XIII. 5, 6, XVII. 7; 14, XXIV. 17, 15, XXV. 14, XXVII. 22.

17. *Aṣṭa* pp. 20, 121, 230, 2154, etc.

18. *Mādhyamakaśāstra*, XXIV, p. 223.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi

(before 400 A. D.) is one of the most profound, sublime and influential of all Mahāyāna Scriptures. Its main aim is to establish the doctrine of Śūnya. But the term Śūnya is not even once mentioned nevertheless the doctrine of Śūnya is estblished in an ontological, psychological and logical form.[19] In this case is it possible to say that since it dose not use the term 'Śūnya', it does not propagate Śūnyavāda and it does not belong to the Mahāyāna literature? Again, history of Indian literature reveals that, many great writers of different schools of thought did not mention in their writings the school to which they belonged, still, they propagate particular school of thought. Thus, is it possible to say that since they have not used the words such as Advaita, Dvaita, Śvetāmbara or Digambara, etc. they do not belong to that school of thought? It is as good as stating that since Kālidāsa does not uset he word Mahākāvya either in *Raghuvaṁśa Kumārasaṁbhava*, these two are not Mahākāvyas. We have to keep one thing in our mind that characteristics of the work and doctrines are important factors, rather than, particular terms.

It is also important to note that the ideas of Mahāyāna are all to be found in the Nikāyas, some as mere seeds, some-times as well-grown plants. Early Tripiṭakas are like Vedas and Upaniṣads for all the schools of Buddhism. Just as all the orthodox systems in general and the Vedānta school in particular quote Vedas and Upaniṣads to defend their view, similarly all the schools developed within the Buddhism quote early Tripiṭakas to defend their view and claim that their interpretation is the real teaching of Buddha. Nāgārjuna also quotes early Tripiṭakas, to show that his school of thought is also founded on solid foundation of the teachings of Buddha. But it does not prove that Nāgārjuna is not Mahāyānist. Nāgārjuna quoting from Tripiṭakas tries to convince the Hīnayānists that Mahāyāna is not a new teaching from Buddha's teaching, but it is the real spirit of Buddha's teaching. It is true that Nāgārjuna does not refer to any Mahāyānasūtras in M. K. by name but he has derived his ideas from Mahāyāna sūtras and Candrakīrti in his commentary on M. K. has tried to show from which Mahāyānasūtra, Nāgārjuna has drawn his ideas.

Again, it is not proper to draw a conclusion only on the basis of one work, i. e. M. K. that, Nāgārjuna is not Mahāyānist. At present substantial volume of Nāgārjuna's authentic wiriting is available and we can know something of his thought by making a careful study of it. So,we have to consider some of those authentic works of Nāgārjuna before coming to the conclusion whether he is Mahāyānist or non-Mahāyānist. Many works have been attributed to Nāgārjuna. All of them may not be his, but on the basis of style, language, subject-matter,

19. *Vacchedika Prajñāpāramitā*, Ed. Santibhikṣu Sastri and Sanghasena Sinha, Delhi University, 1978, pp. 9–25.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

systematic presentation of the doctrines, it seems that the following are the works composed by the philosopher Nāgārjuna: *Madhyamakaśāstra*, *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Śūnyatāsaptati*, *Vaidulya*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Suhṛllekeā*.[20] If we accept Nāgārjuna as the author of M. K., then there is no reason to doubt about other works mentioned above, because their content, style and language agree with that of the M. K. *Ratnāvalī*, *Catuḥstava*, *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya*, and *Bhavasaṁkrāntiśāstra* are attested by quotations in Candrakīrti and the *Suhṛllekhā* was translated into Chinese twice shortly after A. D. 430, once by Guṇavarman and once by Saṅghavarman.[21] If we accept *Ratnāvalī* and *Suhṛllekhā* as the works Nāgārjuna then there is no question about Nāgārjuna being a Mahāyānist because in these works he propagates Mahāyāna in clear terms.[22]

The Chinese and Tibetan sources clearly mention that Nāgārjuna was a great master of Tripiṭakas and Mahāyānsūtras.[23] These sources though not historically so authentic on account of their lengendary form, but they cannot be completely turned down as mere fabrication of Chinese and Tibetan minds. They show the same positive truth and indicate that Nāgārjuna was a historical person and the great Mahāyānist. There are also several predictions about Nāgārjuna in the Maḥāyānasūtras. *Laṅkāvatāra* mentions that Nāgārjuna will go to Sukhāvatīloka after preaching Mahāyāna.[24] This portion of Laṅka seems to be a later addition but it tells us that he was Mahāyānist.

Again, we cannot easily dissmiss the views of post-Nāgārjuna Buddhist writers, biographers, commentators and historians, who considered him as the great champion of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nāgārjuna's followers, Āryadeva, Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva, treat him as the great Mahāyānist. Kumārajīva who flourished in the 4th century A. D. (343–413 A. D.) and translated biography of Nāgarjuna and many other works into Chinese states that 'Nāgārjuna wrote a number of works and fostered the

20. *Early Mādhyamika in India and China*, pp. 26–28.

21. *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, T. R. V. Murti, George Allen and Unkin Ltd., London, 1960, pp. 90–91.

22. *Ratnāvali*.

23. *The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources*, M. Wallser, pp. 1–23, and 23–37, respectively.

24. *dakṣiṇāpathavedalyāṁ bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāyaśāḥ /*
nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadasatpakṣadārakaḥ //
prakāśya loke madyānaṁ mahāyānam anuttaram /
āsādya bhūmiṁ muditāṁ yāsyate'sau sukhāvatīm //
Saddharma Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra X, 165–166, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Pub.: Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1963, p. 118.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

practice of Mahāyāna.[25] Hüi-yüan, who flourished in early 5th century A. D. states that 'Nāgārjuna considered the Prajñāpāramitā to be the sublime gate to the numinous treasury, the way to the ideal unit.[26] And there was a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva named Nāgārjuna ... From his time the enterprise of the Mahāyāna flourished again.'[27] The preface to the Chinese translation of Asaṅga's *Madhyamakaśāstrānusāra* states that the master Nāgārjuna who comprehended the Dharma wrote M. K. on the basis of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā. Asaṅga's commentary says that in conformity to valid reasoning he entered the meaning of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā in order to lead living being to ...[28] Candrakirti, who flourished in 6th century A. D. is a well-known commentator on M. K. He believes that Nāgārjuna was the master of Prajñāpāramitā. He states in clear terms that Nāgārjuna knowing the correct interpretation of the class of works going under the name of Prajñāpāramitā, out of campassion in order to enlighten others composed the M. K[29] The statements of these writers and commentators clearly show that Nāgārjuna was familiar with Prajñāpāramitā literature and he was a Mahāyānist. All these statements of the great minds of the Mādhyamikas cannot be easily dismissed as false or result of blind traditional faith. Even modern writers, and Buddhist Historians, like Tārānātha, Buston D. T. Suzuki, Keith, Bagchi, Nalināksa Datta, Robinson and others consider Nāgārjuna as the great Mahāyānist in their writings, H. Kern rightly pointed ont that 'Nāgārjuna's name was not only that of the first eminent leader of philosophical school, but also became simply a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyāna in the first phase of its onward course'.[30] From all these evidences conclusion can be drawn that, some of the Prajñāpāramitās were existent prior to Nāgārjuna. In the history of Mahāyāna the Sūtra class came into existence first and Nāgārjuna and others took Prajñāpāramitā literature as their sacred sources. And there is no doubt about Nāgārjuna being a Mahāyāhist.

25. *Early Mādhyamika In India and China*, p. 22.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
29. *Mādhyamakaśāstra with Prasannapada*, p. 1.
30. *Manual of Indian Buddhism* H. Kern, Strassburg, Verlag von Karț J. Trübner, 1986, p. 123.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS SECTION

PERFUMERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

RADHA KRISHNAMURTHY

Man invented many *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* by blending the seven notes to please his ears. He invented varieties of tasty dishes from grains and vegetables to gratify his tongue. A large number of beautiful specimens of sculpture from stones and wood and lovely paintings from colours were created to delight his eyes. Nose, the seat of olfactory sense was also not forgotten and to enliven it he invented varieties of perfumes by blending natural and synthetic substances. This was not an easy task because whlle the other sense organs could be delighted with something more concrete and easily available things, he had to put effort to invent many methods to extract the subtle odoriferous elements from natural sources like roots, flowers etc., and present them through a concrete medium or vehicle so that the enchanting odour could be retained and enjoyed longer. This necessitated the practice of perfumery as an art as well as a science because the work of a perfume-maker consists in proper blending of adoriferous substances which requires artistic sensitivity as well as scientific knowledge.

From time immemorial India is well known for its scents and fragrant substances. Fragrant unguents were considered as accessories of beauty and we get several references in ancient Sanskrit texts about their use by men and women. Kalpasūtras refer to the use of perfumed substances. It is stated that friends and relatives of a *brahmacārī* used to bring fragrant substance or sandal-wood paste at the *samāvartana* ceremony which he applied to his body (*Hiraṇya-keśī G. sūtra*, I. 10. 4). He washed himself with scented water boiled with herbs of all klnds. (*Gobhila G-sūtra*, III. 4. 10), *Parāśara* (II. 14. 17) and *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (IV. 15. 8) mention that an unguent was offered to snakes at the *śravaṇa* ceremony. *Āpastamba G-sūtra* (VII. 18. 11) mentions a fragrant substance known as *sthagara* which was offered to snakes. Epics and other literary works are also replete with references to the practice of anointing the body with *anulepana* and *aṅigarāga* prepared generally from the grass *uśīra* (*andropogen muricatum*) or of *candana* (saudal) (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, V. 5, *Kumārasaṁbhava* V. 6, 8 etc.). Several other substances are also mentioned from which perfumed oils, unguents etc., are produced. *Kāleyaka* (a plant

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

producing essential oil), *aguru* (*aquilaria agalocha*) *iṅgudī* (*terminalia catappa*), *candana* (sandal), *kastūrī* (musk), *kuṁkuma* (saffron) etc., are the popular substances from which perfumes were prepared. (*Ṛtu*. IV. 5, *Ku*. VII. 9, *Raghuvaṁśa* XIV. 2 etc.). Even substances like *manaḥśilā* (realger) *haritāla* (orpiment), *māñjiṣṭhā* (madder) are referred to as sources of fragrant essences (*Ku*. VII. 2. 3). Concrete illustration of the art of toilet is found in Vātsyāyana's description of *nāgaraka* which makes it clear that use of perfumes and scents had become the daily routine of fashionable citizens of ancient India (*K. sūtra* 16). The mention of *phenaka* in the text tells us that ancient Indians knew the manufacture of fragrant soaps also. Kauṭilya in *Arthaśāstra* mentions the trade of high-priced fragrant wood like *candana* and its varieties and (*aguru* (*agallochum*, resin of *aloe*) and its varieties smelling like *navamallikā*, etc. He also mentions *tailaparṇikā* trees whose wood yield essentia oils for preparing perfumes such as *aśoka* — *grāmikā*, *jaṅgala*, *grāmeruka* etc. Kauṭilya has further described *tailaparṇikā* substances as having lasting smell, no matter whether they are made into a paste or boiled or burnt (*AS*. II. 11). From all these references it is clear that people were manufacturing scents and perfumes in a scientific manner and that perfumery was flourishing and was also encouraged as an important trade and industry. Perfumed articles of India formed an important item of export also.

The term perfume in English gains its name from the fact in its original form it was incense in the Egyptian temples (*perfumare* = to fill with smoke). But a perfume may be defined as any mixture of pleasantly odorous substances incorporated in a suitable vehicle. The earliest Sanskrit text which offers rich material related to the scientific manufacture of perfumed articles is *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. Different types, of perfumed articles, their natural sources, methods of preparations etc., have been treated in this text under the heading *Gandhayukti*, a term which stands for the art and science of cosmetics and perfumery. The words *gandhayuktijña* and *gandhayuktīvid* (*BS*. XV. 12; XVI. 17) were also prevalent in those days which proves that a specialised class of artisans had taken to the manufacture of and trade in cosmetics for their occuption. The word *gandhayukti* literally means a combination of perfumes. The chemical art of perfumery, viz., *gandhayukti* is mentioned in *Samavāya sūtra* also.[1] Vātsyāyana refers to this as one of the 64 auxiliary arts connected with *Kāmaśāstra*. The scientific art is dealt with in other texts also like *Śarṅgadhara-paddhati*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Mānasollāsa* of King Someśvara, and *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara. Keḷadi Basavarāja has included an elaborate treatment of this scientific subject in his voluminous treatise *Śivatattvaratnākara*

1. See R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 355.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

which is a veritable source of information concerning the knowledge of sciences like chemistry, metallurgy etc.

Different kinds of perfumed products and the methods of preparation thereof as given in text like *BS.* and *STR.* would be now discussed briefly based on which it will be established that the perfumery had developed as a science in ancient India and that our country has contributed nothing less to this branch of science which now has reached to a very advanced stage.

Perfumed oils :

BS. gives the method of preparing perfumed hair-oil which emits the scent of *campaka* flower. Equal quantities of the powders of *mañjiṣṭhā* (madder), *vyāghranakha*, *śukti*, cassia bark, costus and resin should be heated in the sun (LXXVI. 6).

Basavaraja in *STR.* has suggested that oils meant for bath, massage etc., should be rendered fragrant by mixing aromatic ingredients and medicinal herbs. His suggestion is that sesamum grains should first be perfumed with fragrant flowers like *campaka*, *puṁnāga*, *ketakī*, *jātī* etc., and crushed into the grinding stone to obtain fragrant oil which should be used for anointing (VI. 14. 33). This method is somewhat different from the one recommended in *BS.* According to *Agnipurāṇa* (CCXXIV. 83) also sesamum grains were first perfumed with flowers and then crushed to yield scented oils. Thus it becomes clear that two different methods were adopted in those days to prepare scented oils. It is interesting to note that the author of *STR* has also given the general method of extracting oil from sesamum-seeds and also various methods treating and processing the grains and perfuming the same. He has recommended sesamum oil as the oil-base for preparing other types of perfumes also. So it is advised that the oilseeds should be thoroughly dried in hot sunlight. Two modes of processing sesamum-grains depending on the weather are given, viz., application of heat by exposing to the rays of sun in summer, autumn and spring and heating the same on fire in rainy season and in *hemanta* season (VI. 15. 3–5).

It is also noteworthy that Basavaraja in *STR.* has described the five methods which were in vogue in ancient India for the treatment (perfuming) of sesamum grains : *Mardana* or rubbing by making use of the juice of *pañca-pallava* (leaves of the five trees *ficus racemora*, *ficus indica*, *ficus lacor*, *manjifera indica*, *ficus religiosa*); *svedana*, applying vapours of the juice of *sarvagandhā*; *lepana*, besmearing with *trijaṭā* (bark of *cinnamomum zeylanicum*, cardamum, *cinnamomum tamala*) and *triphalā* (three myrobalans); *dhūpanam* is fumigation with *aguru* (*aquilasia agalocha*), *kuṁkuma* (saffron) and *candana* (*santalam album*), and *vāsana* which consists in perfuming by

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

mixing sesamum with the powders of other aromatic substances (VI. 15. 6–9). The same work provides recipe for preparing two kinds of oils emitting the smell of flowers. Equal measures of *śrīgandha*, *aguru*, *kuṁkum*, *abja* (lotus), *tvac* (bark of cinnamum), *kuṣṭha* (*costus*), *tagara* (*tabernaemontana coronaria*), *ghanasāra* (camphor), *aṁkola* (*alangium salrifolium*) and *lākṣā* (*lac*) should be mixed with thrice the measure of rala and the oil should be extracted from them as per the method of *somayantra*. Another scented oil blended with the perfumes of *jātī*, *campaka*, *ketakī*, *maruvaka* and *kastūrī* is also mentioned (VI. 15. 59). The mention of *somayantra* here suggests that an apparatus somewhat similar to the apparatus meant for distillation was in vogue even in those days and people knew the techical art of distilling essence from natural sources. *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, an ancient treatise dealing with mercury, minerals etc., describes the method of extracting the fragrant essence from *haritāla* (orpiment) and *manaḥśilā* (realger) by making use of *koṣṭhī* apparatus and other means (III. 81, 95).

Unguents :

The author of *STR.* has described the method of preparing a special type of ointment or paste which should be applied to the body while taking bath. This involves the maxing the roots of *musta* (*cyperus rotundus*), *ela* (cardamum), *patra* (cinnamum) etc., leaves of neem, *arjuna* etc., seeds of cardamum, sesamum *sarṣapa* (*brassica campestrıt*) etc., twigs of *suradāru* (*cedrus deodara*), *lodhra* (*symploeos racemosa*) etc., and flowers of *puṁnāga* (*rottleria tinctoria*), *picumanda* (*azadirachta indica*), *karkandhu* (*zizuphus jujuba*) etc. All these substances should be ground well with rocksalt, *kola*, *sarjarasa* (extract of *vateria indica*) and *guggulu* (*commifora mukul*) and then mixed with water to form a soft paste (VI. 14. 37–43).

The same author has given ricipes for the preparation of special unguents meant to be used in different seasons. The main ingredients in all these preparations are *candana*, *karpūra*, *kastūrī* and *kuṁkum*. For a special unguent meant for the *hemanta* season civet (of *gandhamārjāra*) is prescribed as the main ingredient. *Mānasollāsa* also gives the methods of preparing these unguents.

Compound perfumes :

In these text we find formulae for the preparation of number of compound perfumes also which when mixed with oil and applied will kindle passion. The perfume obtained by mixing and blending together equal proportions of *patra*, *turuṣka*, *vala* and *tagara* (*tabernae montona coronaria*) is called *smaroddīpana*. The same with *śyāmāka* (*punicam italicum*) and fumigated with *kaṭuka* (*hibiscus abelmoschus*) and *hiṅgu* emits the aroma of *vakula* flower. That

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

with *kuṣṭha* gives the fragrance of *utpāla* flower and with sandal powder gives the scent of *campaka*. The addition of *jātipala* (nutmeg), *tvac* (cassia bark) and *kustumburu* (special coriander) yields a perfume smelling like *atimukta* (*BS*. LXXVI. 7).

The above method which is given in *STR*. also (VI. 15. 14) proves that perfume-makers in ancient India judiciously blended the synthetic and natural essences in order to enhance the natural perfume and to introduce new notes of fragrance. They succeeded in creating floral essences of such flowers which yielded no natural essences or whose essence was too expensive or too difficult to make its extraction profitable. We find some more methods of producing synthetic perfumes (as in modern times) emitting the smell of *kastūrī*, *campaka*, *ketakī* and *sahakāra* (*STR*. VI. 1552–58).

Our ancients had formulated some methods of ascertaining and selecting different proportions of various aromatic substances to get various notes of perfumes. Basavaraja has given a list of nine aromatic ingredients from which many varieties of perfumes (incenses) could be obtained by combining them in proportions indicated by multiples of 1/9 part of each of them and thus 72 perfumes could be formed to make incenes (*STR*. VI. 15–18).

In a similar manner we get a formula for obtaining eightyfour kinds of perfumes. A diagram is drawn of nine squares in which are to be entered nine aromatic substances: *lodhra*, *uśīra*, *nala*, *agaru*, *musta* (*cyperus rotundus*), *patra*, *priyaṅgu* (*panicum italicum*), *vana* and *pathya* (*terminalia chebula*) in order. Any three substances taken in any order should be mixed with one part each of sandal and *turuṣka* (*olibanūm*), half of *śukti*, quarter of *śatapuṣpa* (anethum *sowa*) and then fumigated with *kaṭuka*, *hiṅgu* and treacle. In this way, by differet combinations 84 scents are obtained (*BS*. LXXVI. 29, 30).

Similarly we get the method of preparing some all-purpose perfumes kowon as *sarvatobhadra* from 16 ingredients. This is also explained by means of a diagram. Four of these substance are blended at a time so that 18 proportions are combined to form a compound perfume. Each of these should be combined with *nakha*, *turuṣka*, *bignonia chelonoides*, nutmeg, camphor and musk and fumigated with treacle and *nakha*. From the ingredients, *rodhra*, *uśīra*, *nala*, *aguru*, *musta*, *patra*, *priyaṅgu*, *vana* and *pathya* any three taken at will and enriched with nutmeg, musk, camphor and sprinkled with juice of mango fruits and honey yield several mouth perfumes which can be made into *vaṭis* or tablets with the scent of *pārijāta* (*BS*. LXXVI. 27).

In a similar manner we find the mode of preparng diflerent types of unguents, incenses in the form of lump, powder and sticks, mouth perfumes,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

talcum powder etc., in *BS.*, *STR.* and *Mānasollāsa*. An interesting of obtaining a large number of incenses is given in *BS.* (LXXVI. 13–22) and *STR.* (V. 15). A list of sixteen substances is given like *ghana*, *vālaka*, *śaileyaka*, *uśīra*, *aguru* and so on. All imaginable combinations and permutations in 1, 2, 3, 4 parts are said to give 1820, 43680 or 174720 varieties of incenses. It is also advised that all the substances should be severally fumigated with *sarja*, *śrīvāsaka*, treacle and *nakha* and then mixed with musk and camphor.

Numerous types of mouth-perfumes are also mentioned in these texts. *AP.* (CCXXIV. 34) mentions mouth-perfumes formed by combining small cardamums, cloves, *karikola*, nutmeg, *niśākara* and *jātipatra*.

White camphor :

STR gives the process of obtaining white camphor. Bulbous root of *sigru* (*moringa pteryga-sperma*) should be washed well and should be made into fine powder and then mixed with wet black pepper, *arikola* (*alangium salvifolium*) and *phala* (*myrobalam*) each weighing half a *karṣa*. This mixture should be placed in vessel whico should be clean, soft and devoid of any smell and then heated. This will yield camphor pieces as precipitates resembling pieces of moon (VI. 15. 47, 49).

STR. gives the method of softening flower petals like that of ketaki and mallika. (*Ketakī* petals besmeared with *devadāli*, *phāla*, *agastī*, *madhuyaṣṭi*, *suṭaṅkana* and pure honey when placed in a vessel heated or held in the scorching sunlight will get softened and liquified (VI. 15. 61–62).

Conclusion :

A study of these chapters dealing with perfumery in the above texts and particularly in *STR.* and *BS.* gives us a picture of the gradual development in the process and techniques of manufacturing perfumes. The early incenses were merely mixtures of finely ground aromatic ingredients held together by myrrh, storax or jaggery (aromatic resinous substances). The next advance is also clearly seen, viz., the discovery that *if* spices and flowers were steeped in oil or fat, the fat or oil would retain a portion of the odoriferous principle. It is clearly seen from the above discussion that this method was adopted in the preparation of fragrant ointments, unguents and oils. From the recipes given for artificial imitation of natural flower scents such as the essence of *vakula*, *utpala*, *campaka* etc., in *BS.* and *STR.*, it is clear that manufacture of synthetic scents was popular even in the past. The methods given for making a large number of compound scents by arranging them in a sort of scale according to the proportions of certain basic scents reveal the fact that perfume-makers were clever and judicious in introducing a large number of notes of fragrance.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Practically all the products used in ancient Indian perfumery were of natural origin. The aromatic ingredients were in the form of leaves, flowers, fruits, barks, woods, roots, exudations from plants, and organic products like, lac and civet.

If we carefully scan the lines of the above texts which describe the preparation of various perfumed substances we come across the following chemical processes which were employed in perfume manufacture. *BS.* mentions *pakva* (decoction), *tapta* (heating), *saṁyuta* (mixing), *pradhūpa* or *dhupya* (fumigation), *sikta* (sprinkling), *bodha* (combination of powders) *vedha* (blending of one liquid with other), *dravyasaṁskāra* (purification of ingredients) and *bhāvana* (saturation of a powder with a liquid (*BS.* LXXVI. 2, 6, 12, 16, 27, 16, etc.).

Gaṅgādhara in *Gandhasāra* mentions six processes of treatment of ingredients, viz., *bhāvanam pācanam bodha, vedha, dhūpına* and *vāsana* (perfuming)[2] *AP.* (CCXXIV. 20-21) and *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (II. 64. 178) also give eight processes. *STR.* mentions five methods of treatment of oil seeds : *mardana, svedana, lepana, dhūpana* and *vāsana* (VI. 15. 6-9).

It may be noted that eventhough these text have not said anything about the scientific apparatus with which these processes were carried on, it is obvious that they were used in those days because works like *Rasaratna-samuccaya* give details of apparatus like *koṣṭhī* apparatus, *svedani yantram* and so on (ch. IX).

According to the science of perfumery the constituents of perfume are threefold, viz., the vehicle or solvent, the fixative and the odoriferous elements.[3]

Vehicle or solvent :

In the modern days the solvent for blending and holding perfumed materials is refined ethyl alcohol because it has the volatile nature which helps to project the scent it carries. In ancient texts we don't come across the mention of alcohol as the vehicle but in most perfumes sesame oil is used as the vehicle which, though not very volatile, when applied on the skin or cloth spreads and retains the perfume longer and leaves a cooling effect on the body unlike alcohol.

Fixatives :

Ancient Indians knew the importance of fixatives also though they have not specifically mentioned their purpose. Fixotives are substances which are of

2. Vide, P. Ray, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 237.

3. Cf. Norris Shreve, *The Chemical Process Industries*, p. 570.

CC-0. Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

lower volatility than the perfumed oils and which retard and even-up the rate of evoporation of the various odorous constituents. They make the scent last longer. Generally animal secretions, resinous products, essential oils and synthetic chemicals are used as fixatives. They may or may not contribute to the odour of the finished product but if they do they must blend with or compliment the main fragrance. In many of the unguents, incenses etc., mentioned in the above texts we find the use of animal secretions like musk, civet, lac etc. Resinous products like *aguru*, *hiṅgu* etc. were also used to act as fixatives. Many essential oils such as oils of *uśīra*, *candana*, *tagara* etc., were used perhaps as fixatives. Though the use of synthetic chemicals are not mentioned, the use of *samudraphena* etc., suggests that chemicals also were used but from natural sources. From the above discussion it becomes clear that our ancients were judicious in selecting and combining proper fixatives with the solvents or vehicles in perfume-manufacture.

Odoriferous elements :

The odorous substances used in perfumery are generally the essential oils. An essential oil is a volatile, odoriferous oil of vegetable origin. They are found in the buds, flowers, leaves, barks, stems, fruits, seeds, wood, roots and exudates of trees. Though any definite method of recovering essential oils is not mentioned in our texts, the methods given of softening and liquifying flower petals like those of *ketakī* and jasmine indicate that our ancients had adopted some scientific method of recovering essential oils from plants. For example the mention of *candana* suggests the use of its essential oil from its wood. Mention of *tvac* suggests the use of its essential oil of cinnamum from its bark. Thus it is proved beyond doubt that our people had given thought to all the three constituents of perfume, viz., vehicle, fixative and odoriferous element.

Flavours :

Flavours are used for cooking, for sweets, beverages, syrups, toothsticks and medicines. Of course, the basic flavours which the sense of taste can detect are only six. But the conceptjon of flavour involves combination of these basic stimuli with the concurrent odour sensations. Hence the principles of perfume—blending hold good for flavour manufacturing also. Basavaraja has devoted an interesting chapter in *STR.* in which many flavoured drinks, eatables, milk and yoghurts are described but for want of space they are not discussed here.

From the aforesaid discussion it is clear that perfumery was practised as a science in ancient India.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Abbreviations

AP. — *Agnipurāṇa*

AŚ. — *Arthaśāstra*

BS. — *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*

G.Sūtra — *Gṛhyasūtra*

KSūtra — *Kāmasūtra*

Ku. — *Kumārasaṁbhava*

Ṛtu. — *Ṛtusaṁhāra*

STR. — *Śivatattvaratnākara*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, tr. R. Shamasastry, Mysore 1960.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, Varanasi, 1959.

Śivatattva Ratnākara, Vol. II, of Keladi Basavaraja, Mysore, 1969.

Chemical Process Industries, Shreve, New York, 1956.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

COBACĪNĪ

By

N. GANGADHARAN

While compiling the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, following queer entries[1] attracted my attention : *Cocanīprakāśa*,[2] *Copacīṇī(nī) guṇa*,[3] *Covacīnī-prakāśa*[4] and *Covacīnīsevanavidhi*.[5] All these are works on medicine. Hence I got interested in knowing the identity of the drug referred to in these works and its therapeutic value in Indian medicine.

Its botanical name is Smilax China Linn or Chinensis.[6] It was known by the following names in the other languages :

Sanskrit	... ...	Dvīpāntaravacā[7] or Madhusnuhī[8]
English	... ...	China root ; Bamboo Briar root
Hindi	... ...	Copcīnī, Topcīnī or Covcīnī
Bengali	... ...	Topcīnī or Kumārikā
Marathi Gujarathi	...	Copcīnī
Tamil	... ...	Paraṅgiccakkai ; Paraṅgippaṭṭai
Telugu	... ...	Piraṅgichekka ; Gali-chella
Malayalam	... ...	Chinapaivu or °pairu
Chinese Japanese	... ...	Too-fup
Arabic	... ...	Kasbussini ; Kosheb-chinae
Persian	... ...	Chobachinae

1. *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. VII, pp. 85b, 86b.
2. By Madhusūdana Śarman, son of Vrajarāja Gosvāmin Alwar, 1630.
3. Bikaner, 4044.
4. Radh. 31.
5. Radh. 31.
6. Nadkarni, *Indian Materia Medica*, Vol. II, pp. 1143–44.
7. Printed wrongly in Nadkarni's work as Dvipautra : Wacha. Cf. *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Pūrvakhaṇḍa, p. 226 (Kashi Skt. Series, 130).
8. I could not trace the reference for this term.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Sinhalese ... ... China alla

Greek ... ... Smilax Macrophylla

The earliest reference to this root occurs in the *Rasapradīpa* (16th century) and in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (1550 A. D.)[9] of *Bhāvamiśra*. The latter refers to it as *dvīpāntaravacā*. Later Bhāvamiśra refers to it as *copacīnī*[10] as a remedy for *phiraṅgaroga* or *°āmaya* (identified as syphilis), while he is dealing with boils and small-pox.[11] Sanskrit medical treatises from Caraka and Suśruta downwards and ending with Śārṅgadhara do not speak about the malady though they give fairly accurate description of the diseases of the genital organs (*upadaṁśa*).[12] The arguments advanced by Bloomfield identifying syphilis with Vedic names or Dutt and others with *liṅgavarti* have been rejected by Jolly.[13]

By the beginning of the 16th century the Portuguese had fairly established themselves at Goa and some other parts of India and as a result of intercourse with them, the syphilis had made its appearance. "Jan Huyghen Van Linchosten, a Dutch traveller of the sixteenth century, sailed from Spain to Goa and was there for sometime in 1580s. In 1596 he published his book, *The Itinerario of Sea Voyage of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the East of Portuguese Indies*. In this work, he described the diseases prevalent in India, in particular at Goa. He referred to the venereal diseases and to the use of china root to heal them."[14] It may incidentally be mentioned that the syphilis is caused by a virus called spirochete Treponama Pallidum. It is not known how it was first developed. But it is believed that it was brought to Europe by the crew of Columbus on their return from the New world, and some have thought that it was developed among the Carib Indians.[15] According to Flückiger

9. द्वीपान्तरवचा किञ्चित्तिक्तोष्णा वह्निदीप्तिकृत् ।
विबन्धाध्मानशूलघ्नी शकृन्मूत्रविशोधिनी ॥ २०७ ... ...
वातव्याधीनपस्मारमुन्मादं तनुवेदनाम् ।
व्यपोहति विशेषेण फिरङ्गामयनाशिनी ॥ २०८ ... ...
Pūrvakhaṇḍa, p. 226. ...

10. तोपचीनीभवं चूर्णं शाणमानं समाक्षिकम् ।
फिरङ्गव्याधिनाशाय भक्षयेल्लवणं त्यजेत् ॥
लवणं यदि वा त्यक्तुं न शक्नोति तदा जनः ।
सैन्धवं स हि भुञ्जीत मधुरोपरसं हि तत् ॥
See *Śaldakalpadruma*, p. 385.

11. J. Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, p. 156.
12. P. C. Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. II, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.
13. See p. 155.
14. O. P. Jaggi, *Epidemics and other Tropical Diseases* p. 264.
15. See. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia*, Vol. IX, pp. 742c–743a.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

and Hanbery the use of china root as a remedy for syphilis was made known to the Portuguese at Goa by Chinese traders about 1535 A. D.[16]

The *Rasapradīpa*,[17] following the Tantric method, prescribes calomel and *cobacīnī* for this disease. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*[18] also describes the treatment using calomel and *cobcīnī*. But it states, in addition, that the *saindhava* (rock-salt) may be used if common salt could not be avoided while using this remedy. The *Yogacintāmaṇivaidyakasārasaṁgraha*[19] composed between 1535 and 1668 A. D. by Harṣakīrti, a Jaina medical writer, mentions *phiraṅgaroga* and *copacīnī* as a remedy for the same. The description of the use of the drug here is the same as in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. The *Yogaratnākara*[20] composed before 1746 A. D. (on the evidence of the Ānandāśrama manuscript dated Śaka 1668),

16. P. C. Ray, *Ibid.*, p. lxxvii; J. Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, p. 3.

17. चोपचीनीभवं चूर्णं शाणमानं समाक्षिकम् ।
फिरङ्गव्याधिनाशाय भक्षयेत् लवणं त्यजेत् ॥
See Atridev Vidyalankar, *Āyurved kā Bṛhat Itihāsa*, p. 417.

18. See 10 above.

19. Bombay, 1869. p. 268. See Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, p. 4.

20. अथ चोपचिन्याश्चूर्णम् —
कुडवं चोपचिन्याश्च शर्करायाः पलं तथा ।
पिप्पली पिप्पलीमूलं मरिचं देवपुष्पकम् ॥ २
आकल्लं क्षुरकं (सुरकं) शुण्ठी जन्तुघ्नं च वराङ्गकम् ।
पृथक्कोलमितं ग्राह्यमेतच्चूर्णीकृतं शुभम् ॥ २
सर्वमेकत्र संयोज्यं कर्षार्धं प्रतिवासरम् ।
भक्षयेन्मधुसर्पिभ्यां युक्तं पथ्यं समाचरेत् ॥ ३
शाल्योदनं तथा सूपस्तुवरीणां घृतं मधु ।
गोधूमः सैन्धवं शिग्रुनिम्बी कोशातकीफलम् ॥ ४
आर्द्रकं जलमन्दोष्णं हितमत्र प्रकीर्तितम् ।
पञ्चोपदंशरोगाणां प्रमेहाणां तथैव च ॥
व्रणानां वातरोगाणां कुष्ठानां च विनाशनम् ॥ ५
अथ चोपचीनीपाकः —
चोपचिन्युद्भवं चूर्णं पलद्वादशमेव च ।
पिप्पली पिप्पलीमूलं मरिचं तगरं त्वचम् ॥ २
आकल्लकं लवङ्गं च प्रत्येकं कर्षसंमितम् ।
शर्करासमचूर्णं च पाचयेत्सर्वमेकतः ॥ २
मोदकं कारयेत्तत्तु कर्षं कर्षं प्रमाणतः ।
सायं प्रातर्निषेव्यस्तु पथ्यं पूर्वोक्तचूर्णवत् ॥ ३
उपदंशे व्रणे कुष्ठे वातरोगे भगंदरे ।
धातुक्षयकृते कासे प्रतिश्याये च यक्ष्मणि ।
सर्वान्रोगान्निहन्त्याशु ततः पुष्टिकरो भवेत् ॥ ४
Ānandāśrama Series 4, p. 394.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

refers to more recipes made of *copacīnī* such as *Copacīnīpāka* and *Copacīnī-cūrṇa* under the treatment of *upadaṁśa* than given in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. We do not find here reference to the *phiraṅgaroganidāna* although *liṅgārśis* and *liṅgavarti* are referred to. Both the above recipes are prepared mixing *Copacīnī* with other herbs.

King Śarabhoji of Tanjore (1799–1832) is known to have employed physicians well-versed in Indian native medicines as well as the Allopathic medicines in a hospital established by him at Tanjore and had some of the selected Indian medicines tested for their efficacy in curing diseases. Later these observations were written in the form of Tamil couplets in easy style in several volumes for the benefit of the common man. Many of these volumes have been published under the title *Śarabhendrar Vaidya Muraigaḷ* by the Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library. The volume[21] dealing with wounds etc, gives the following prescription for the wounds termed as *paraṅgi*: The *paraṅgippaṭṭai* with suitable proportions of dried ginger, a variety of *omam*, clove, pepper and long pepper should be dried and ground well. Specified quantity of this fine powder should be taken in for twenty days together with honey. One of the manuscripts of the work states that salt and tamarind should be avoided for forty days.

Besides the works mentioned above, numerous works were written during the 17th centuries and many of them have been published. As I could not get copies of these printed works, I am not able to add more references to the use of *copacīnī* based on these works. An independent treatise called *Copacīnī-prakāśa*, dealing with the *copacīnī*, was however compiled under the patronage of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh[22] (1780–1839 A. D.). Perhaps the *Cocanī-prakāśa*, ascribed to Madhusūdana Sarma Gosvāmin, referred to at the outset, is same as this work.

We find[23] that the *copacīnī* is useful as an internal medicine in activating digestion, rheumatism, gout, epilepsy, kidney and bladder diseases, chronic nervous diseases, seminal weakness and especially syphilis. It is used in the *unani* medicine as demulcent, to expel viscious matter, against diseases like syphilis and leprosy, kidney and bladder diseases, paralysis, headache and convulsions etc. As the name itself suggests, the *copacīnī* is an indigenous plant of China. It is one of the varieties of *vacā* known as the *dvīpāntaravacā* in Sanskrit apparently because of its foreign origin. It is stated[24] that this was

21. *Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series* 42, (1953), p. 40.
22. J. Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, pp. 1–2.
23. Nadkarni, *Indian Materia Medica*, Vol. I, p. 1144 and *Bhāvaprakāśa*, pp. 226–27.
24. See *Ibid*, botanical notes.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

first brought to Calcutta in 1188 A. D. and grown there and now it is grown in the warm regions of the Himalayas, eastern part of the Kumaun, mountains of Sylhet region, Assam, Bengal, Chattegaon, Madhyapradesh, Konkan and the forests of Siwalik ranges.

This creeper herb grows extensively. Its stem is very sturdy and sometimes its roundness (diameter) is more than an inch. The leaves of this plant are big and round or a little oval-shaped, 6 to 8 inches long and broad. The fruits are one-third inch to 1½ inches round. The fruits contain one or two seeds. Only the root-stalk of this plant is known as *copacīnī*. The *copacīnī* (root) is 8 to 10 inches long, half to one inch thick, knotty, glossy and the root is like a firm wood. It is white in colour with shades of yellow, rose and black. If it is very old, we find woodworm in them and hence we find holes in them. Such roots should not be used.[25]

The manuscripts of the titles that attracted my attention could not yet be examined by me as I could not procure copies of them.

25. *Ibid.*

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

WEST-ASIAN STUDIES SECTION

DEVELOPMENT OF SHORT STORY IN ARABIC

By

FAYYAZUL HAQQ

Men and women have always taken a keen interest in story-telling, one may say from time immemorial. Even religious literature has some of the finest stories as we find in the Old Testament. The Arabs whether Medieval or Modern, are no exception to this general rule. Nay, they have been one of the finest story-tellers and writers of the world. The famous collection of fairy tales and the 'Arabian Nights' is their immortal gift to the world. One may object here that 'Arabian Nights' is of Persian origin. The objection is conceded, but the book in its present shape owes its origin to the Arabs, for instance the story of 'Sindabad, the Sailor', according to best authorities, is based on some real adventure of exploration of trade in the Indian Ocean. Certainly some supernatural elements have been added to adorn the story, for example the story of 'the bird Roc and its egg' as well s the story of 'Giants' who used to feed on roasted human flesh. Besides the 'Arabian Nights' there are other collections of stories in Arabic with literary and love stories, for instance "Masāri'u'l-'Ushshāq" (Death of lovers). The celebrated "Kitabu'l-Aghānī" is full of all sorts of stories relating to the lives of poets and musicians. It is from this book that the famous love stories of Qays 'Āmirī, commonly called 'Majnun and Laylah' as well as the story of 'Qays and Lubna' are derived. Although the author himself holds Qays 'Āmirī to have been an imaginary personality, but the verses which are ascribed to as al-'Āmirī, are full of pathos and go deep into the heart. Another well known story-book 'Nafḥatu'l-Yaman' may be mentioned here which had formed the basis of the curriculum of literature for more than a century in Arabic Madrasas. The book as a matter of fact is divided into three parts bu here the part dealing with stories is meant.

The Arabs had been quite content with what they had produced during the Middle Ages in this field, and as for the other literary genres developed in Europe, ancient and modern, they were completely ignorant of. Even when the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

movement of translations from Greek into Arabic had reached its zenith, translations of Greek dramas were never attempted. The Arabs of the Medieval Ages were thoroughly convinced of the superiority of not only their religion but also of their language and literature and method of warfare, considering themselves as invincible. In these circumstasces it was but natural that they treated all things foreign with contempt and hardly worth learning. But their pride soon witnessed a fall inspite of all their belief in their superiority. Napolean Bonaparte who wanted to destroy the British power in India which was the main source of their strength and wealth, with this object in view, decided to occupy Egypt which was at that time under a junta of Turkish slaves called 'Mamlukes' — a body of rude and unlettered soldiers without any interest in culture as such, who were content to rob their subjects. Their only interest of a cultural nature was in buildings. They built forts, palaces and mosques which are the only cultural monuments which can be ascribed to them. Napolean wanted to use Egypt not only as a base for his military operations against the British in India and to help his allies in the East, but he wanted to turn Egypt into a permanent French colony, and with this purpose he brought a large number of scientists, scholars etc. to explore the resources of the country. Napolean wanted not only to conquer Egypt militarily but also culturally and spiritually i. e. to change the minds of the people and to gain their confidence and love. It was with this purpose that he proclaimed the Frenchmen and himself as good Muslims.

He easily defeated the Mamlukes with their primitive methods of warfare and weapons. This defeat proved a rude shock to the Muslim Egyptian people who considered themselves as invincible and awakened them out of their long torper. They thought now that they could learn from these foreigners. Having smashed the Mamlukes' power he thought of consolidating his own position and winning the sympathy of the Egyptian people. He set up a committee for administering the country efficiently and associated respectable local people with it. Besides to impress upon the natives the might of the French, he would have experiments in Chemistry, Physics and other sciences in the presence of the Egyptian Shaykhs who were astonished at these experiments. The learned Shaykhs took them in the first instance for magic, but were soon convinced that it was not magic but science. Napolean stayed for three years in Egypt a period long enough to awaken the interest of the Egyptians in modern science.

As Egypt was nominally under the Turkish suzerainty the Sultan was greatly enraged at the seizure of Egypt by the French, and decided to drive them out. The English who were inveterate enemies of the French hastened to offer him their help. Consequently a joint Anglo-Turkish force was sent to accomplish this task and the French were driven out. Among the members of this force was

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

a young Albanian officer called 'Muhammad Ali', an ambitious and pushing young man who soon came to the conclusion that he could seize Egypt for himself and his descendants. After the Anglo-Turkish forces had withdrawn he endeared himself to the native Egyptians by his wise administration and consequently the leading 'Ulamā' and the Shaykhs addressed a petition to the Turkish government requesting for the appointment of Muhammad Ali as governor of Egypt. He was a shrewed observer who clearly saw that Egyptians were sick of Turkish tyranny and it would be quite easy to seize Egypt by winning their sympathy. He, therefore, proclaimed that he had come to free the Arabs from the Turkish oppression. He understood that the secret of European supremacy lay in modern science and technology. He, therefore, made up his mind to introduce modern science into his realm, and with this object in view he invited mostly French scientists, engineers and doctors to help him to found his state on a modern basis. Nor did he content himself with inviting European men of science to Egypt but sent yonng Egyptians to France and to a lesser extent to England to study modern sciences. This provided young Egyptians an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of some European languages particularly French, which opened the treasures of European literature to the Egyptians, who not only translated European works on science into Arabic, but also came to be acquainted with masterpieces of European literature and translated them into Arabic. It was just like our own case, the Indians who were taught English by their British rulers to provide themselves with cheap clerks but the knowledge of English gave us an access to the revolutionary ideas of freedom, democracy, parliamentary institutions as well as new models and new genres of literature introduced into Urdu, Hindi etc. All this, as we know, gave birth to a mighty revolution which changed the very face of the country and its culture, finally culminating in the independence of the land. To be brief, we know what our languages and literature owe to English.

Another great revolutionary force was that of different European nationalities — French, English, German and Russian. Among these nationalities the French played a dominant role. These Christian missionaries opened schools there where the languages of these nations were taught with a particular emphasis on the language of the nation to which the missionaries belonged. As a matter of fact the aim of these missionaries was more political than religious. Their purpose being to influence the young minds in favour of the nations which were responsible for opening these schools and to weaken the national aspiration of the native people. To substantiate my statement I reproduce below a quotation from Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti which accurately depicts the inclination of the youngmen toward the nations at whose schools they had studied.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

أما اولاده فأدخلهم مدارس مختلفة تعلموا فيها لغات مختلفة . الانكليزية والفرنسية و الالمانية ، ثم تخرجوا ، هذا انكليزى بفظاظته وخشونته ، وهذا فرنسى بخلاعته واستهتاره و ذاك المانى بخيلائه وكبريائه ، وجميعهم متفرنجون مشربا و مذهبا و مطعما و ملبسا و مسكنا ، وما فيهم من تفرنج همة و عملا -

(النظرات ، ج ٣ بيروت - أمس واليوم ص ١٧٢)

فكنت ترى منزل الرجل كأنما هو مجمع من مجامع السفراء تركى متمسك بتركيته ، وإنكليزى يهتف ليله و نهاره بأن الدولة الانكليزية سيدة البحار ، وأن الشمس لا تغيب عن املاكها ، و فرنسى يعبد فرنسا و يسبح بحمدها ، و يصفها بأنها أمة العدل والرحمة ، وأن أسعد المستعمرات مستعمراتها ، وألمانى يستظهر خطب الامبراطور ، و يتكهن أن المستقبل لألمانيا يوم يمحى اسم انكلترا و فرنسا من مصورات الجغرافيا ، وكثيرا ما يقع بين المتفرنس والمتألمن النزاع الطويل فى شأن الالزاس واللورين ، وبين المتألمن و المتكلنز الشقاق العظيم فى واقعه واترلو ، و أى القائدين كان له الفضل فيها بلوخن أو النجتون ؟ ولا يتفقون الا فى الساعة التى يذكرون فيها أمتهم ، فإنهم يمثلونها لأنفسهم - - - - - (ايضا ص ١٧٣)

A knowledge of these languages provided a direct access to various European literatures with which the educated youngmen were acquainted. This prepared them for initiating the European models and introducing them into their own language, Arabic.

Americans were active missionaries in these days and with this purpose they opened mission in the Levante. At first their centre of activity was Malta, but they transferred their press in 1834 to Beyrut which they now made their centre of activity in the Levante. To propagate the doctrine of Protestantism they transferred the Bible into Arabic with the help of native scholars, wrote books and treatises to explain the teachings of Christianity, and opened schools to influence young minds. As against Christian missionaries, French, English or Russian the Americans had no political ambitions. Some of them were more interested in spreading education than Christianity itself, for instance, Cornelius Vant Dyke and Danihl Bliss etc. As their educational activities advanced they established a college which afterwards became the American University of Beyrut.

Catholic University of Beyrut, the centre of French culture and its radiation in the Middle-East had French for its medium of instruction and although it taught Arabic compulsorily along with French, however the later language had the upper hand. Hence its students, the majority of whom were

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Christians had a better knowledge and command of French than of Arabic, their mother-tongue. The allumni served as the channel of interpreting the European culture through Arabic translations among their countrymen. Among the translators name of Farah Anton deserves a particular mention as he made a large number of translations from French into Arabic. It was these translations which provided Arab writers unacquainted with French with the best writings of French, men of letters. Among such writers we shall particularly mention Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti who rewrote the material supplied by Farah Antun in his own language and style. We shall shortly speak of him.

Translations were mainly done from French and English. Russian short stories were popular but were not done directly from Russian but through English or French, although the French were the first to exercise their cultural influence and inspite of the fact the French cultural influence continued even after and during the British occupation, ultimately the British cultural influence dominated, as the British domination lasted something like seventy years and thee the American influence replaced the political influence of England but the cultural pattern did not change, as the culture of the British and the American is the same, the language is common which can be referred to under the common term "Anglosaxon" as opposed to the Latin, represented by the French, the Italians the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The Anglosaxons and the Latins have their racial characteristic and ways of thinking. Influence of English and American writers particularly that of Hemingway, Edger Poe, the first great American writer who exerted a great influence on the future generations of American story-writers. His works are universally known and were certainly studied by Arab writers in such Arab lands where the Anglosaxon culture dominated such as in Iraq and Egypt.

We have spoken just now of the impetus received by the movement of translation from French or other European languages into Arabic on works of science but contrary to the translation-works under the Abbasids literature was not neglected. The Syrians and particularly the Lebanese evinced and unbounded interests in translation work unlike their forefathers who transferred almost all the Greek scientific literature into Syriac, were either to translate all that came to their hands in European languages into their present-day language, Arabic. It was indeed an age of intense literary activity which included both original and translated works, of course the source from which they drew inspiration and on which they modelled their own works, was French. We can have an idea of the vast amount of the translation-works done by the Arabic speaking peoples during this period from what Prof. Nicholson says in his work *A Literary History of the Arabs* (p. 469) : "Besides these aphemeral sheets, books of all sorts, old

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

and new have been multiplied by the native and European presses of Cairo, Bulaq and Beyrut. The science and culture of Europe have been rendered accessible in translations and adoptatoins of which the complete list would fill a volume in itself. Thus, an Arab may read in his own language the tragedies of Racine, the comedies of Mollere, the fables of La Foutaine, 'Paul and Virginie', the 'Talisman', 'Monte Cristo' (not to mention scores of minor romances), and even the Iliad of Homer".

Prof. Nicholson has spoken above that the complete list of translated works would fill a volume in itself. It is indeed true, for Edward Van Dyke the son of the famous American educationist who did a lot to advance the cause of education in Lebanon and Syria, wrote a book entitled الاكتفاء بما هو المطبوع which mostly gives names and titles of works translated from European languages into Arabic.

As is natural first European or to be more exact that European or French novels and short stories were translated into Arabic, and then independent works were attempted. Story-writers have appeared everywhere in the Arab world but out of consideration of time and space at my disposal I have been constrained to confine myself to story-writing in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, the centre of Arab culture, ignoring even Iraq which has contributed a lot in the field. Among those who acquired fame in this field, a few names only can be mentioned here due to the shortage of time at my disposal. I shall mention them in chronological order as far as possible, for they were all nearly contemporaries, living during the same period, for instance Jurji Zaydan who is mainly known for his historical novels may be mentionee first as he was born in 1861 and died in 1914. Next to him came Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti (b. 1876 – d. 1917); he was followed by Jubran Khalil Jubran (b. 1883 – d. 1931), and his contemporaries like Mikha'il Na'īmah. Weile Taymur brothers Muḥammad Taymur and Maḥmūd Taymur in whom Arabic short story-writing has reached its zenith come last.

Zurji Zaydan strictly speaking wrote no short story but he may be said to have created a taste for stories among his readers. As a matter of fact what is his credit is that he possessed a facile pen which he employed to write in all subjects presenting them in a very easy, intersting and readable style. If a little digression is allowed, Jurji Zayadan is no novelist of the modern time. His novels interpersed with historical facts, all monotonous. But since he was a very popular story-writer whose works were not only read all over the world but also were translated into different Eastern languages like Russin, Turkish even Urdu. In each of his novels there is hero and heroine and to be sure a rival and round their struggle, the story revolves. It seems that Jurji Zaydan drew inspiration from the great Scottish writer Sir Walter Scott whose historical novels Ivon Hoe,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Talisman etc. provided him with models. Though Jurji Zaydan failed to reach the height of that masterly narration which characterises the writings of Sir Walter Jurji Jaydan's language and style are characteristically simple; and hence they lack that grandeur which bestows a peculiar charm on the stories of Scott.

Mustafa Lutfi had received strictly a classical education consisting of religious studies of which the Quran and the Traditions form the basis. He was, therefore, naturally influenced in his writings by the language of those two and particularly that of the Quran. I will quote here sentences from al-Nazarat in which he sets sentences or verses from the Quran as a part of his own, but when he rewrites he is unconsciously quoting expressions from French, as he has moulded the French stories into Arabic, and thus some of foreign expressions had found their way into his writings.

١- فهل لك يا سيدى أن تحسن الى كما أحسن الله اليك؟ (اللقيطة ص ٨٧، بيروت)
٢- وأما سيئاته فتبقى من بعده الى يوم يبعثون. (سحر البيان ص ١٤٦، بيروت)
٣- وأصبح صاحب السلطان المطلق فى ذلك القصر يذل من يشاء ويعز من يشاء. (الاوصياء ص ١٣١، ايضا)
٤- وهل اعد عدته للوقوف بين يدى الله تعالى فى ذلك اليوم المشهود؟ (ايضا ص ١٣٦)
٥- وكلهم يعظون وينصحون، ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر (الدعوة ص ٥٢)
٦- وتطلبون جنة عرضها السموات والارض - (خطبة الحرب ص ١٨٣)

Mustafa Lutfi, as a matter of fact, was an essayist and at the same time an ardent social reformer, who wanted to purge the Egyptian society, of evils which had found their way into them through the European residents in the East, or broadly speaking the Muslim and that is why he made scathing attacks on the customs and habits brought by Western civilization which was now penetrating rapidly into the Muslim society all over the world and particularly in the Middle East which lies at the very door of the West, thus providing an opportunity of close contact with the Eastern peoples through the Western educated classes. Indeed in countries which lay at a great distance like Indonesia or India the influence of the West was felt to a lesser degree, for instance in India, because here although the British were in possession of the country but the Western influence failed to make an inroad into the Muslim society as Western education was limited to a very small section of the Muslim population, because of their poor economic condition, and above all, the British seclusion due to their racial pride and the experience which they had during the mutiny of 1857 against them served as a curb to mixing freely with the Indians. Unlike the Russians in Western Turkistan and the French in the Levante as well as in North Africa, as the Russians and the French aimed at absorbing the native population into their nationality i. e. russifying and gallicising them. Here in the Near East the

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

danger of being absorbed into nationality of the conquerors was greater as well as the adoption of the vices of the dominant race rather than the virtues. Hence the case of Mustafa Lutfi who severely condemned European civilization (vide the essay " Hawānīṭu'l-a'rāḍ ") — even when he writes a story he does so with the moral purpose attacking the social evils of the society (vide the stories 'al-Hawiyah', 'al-Hijāb') Mustafa Lutfi thus protests against the vices of the Eastern society but his main tsrget is the Western society and its vices.

Jubran Khalil Jubran's style is poetical, full of figures of speech. He composes poetry in prose, for his writings produce the same effect, create th same impression as would poetry and are so effective and attractive that it may be said as if instead of writing he painted. A few specimens from his story 'Marta Albaniyah' are given below to substantiate my statement :

كذا مرت الاعوام على مرتا المسكينة بين تلك الروابى والأودية البعيدة
وكانت تنمو بنمو الأغصان و تتولد فى قلبها العواطف على غير
معرفة منها مثلما يتولد العطر فى أعماق الزهرة، و تنتاب
الاحلام والهواجس مثلما تنتاب القطعان مجارى المياه ----٥
و بينما هى تنظر الى الزهور والأشجار و تشعر معها بألم فراق
الصيف سمعت وقع حوافر على حصباء الوادى، فالتفتت وإذا بفارس

يتقدم نحوها ببطأ . ولما اقترب من العين - وقد دلت ملامحه وملابسه على
ترف وكياسة - ترجل عن ظهر جواده، وحياها بلطف ما تعودته من رجل
قط، ثم سألها قائلا : قد تهت عن الطريق المؤدية الى الساحل،
فهل لك أن تهدينى ايتها الفتاة ؟ فأجابت ووقفت منتصبة كالغصن
على حافة العين : لست أدرى يا سيدى، ولكنى أذهب وأسأل ولبي فهو
يعلم. ----٥

Inspite of his poetical style and the use of figures of speech which in no way interfere with his success as a story-writer, he is as popular, perhaps more, than any one using a simpler language and style. What I mean to say is that his language and style, inspite of his poetical character, are simple and clear, appealing to masses and classes alike. As a clever writer he gives up unnecessary details going straight to the point, for Arabic story Marta Albaniyah he leaves up all the details that Marta eloped with the stranger whom she met, but he simply says :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

" في ذلك المساء رجعت البقرة الحلوب وحدها إلى الحظيرة، أما مارتا فلم ترجع "

And then in a very short sentence he thus explains : " The cows returned alone to the fold, as for Marta, she did not return ". Although Khalil was of opininn that the written Arabic (al-Lughatu'l-fuṣḥā) was like a dead body like the Latin of Medieval scholars which moved on the shoulders of the reactionaries, he had to make use of it to reach readers all over the Arab world. Here and there we come acroses lapses of language in his works which are very frequent now-a-days among the greatest writers of Arabic.

Jubrân is a revolutionary and rebel who has declared war against the antiquated social institutions and wants to uproot them for good. He uses his stories as a means of preaching his revolutionary ideas, for instance in his story "العبودية". In al'ubudiyah he describes a cruel custom of marrying young girls against their will to men much older than themselves.

Khalil Jubran, though better known as a story-writer, was also an essayist of high order. He has preached his revolution through his essays. However, his main instrument of propagating his ideas was his stories. A study of his story Marta Albaniyah is enough to show his indignation over the explotation of woman by man who considers her only as a means of satisfying his lust. In addition to his condemnation of men's brutality he condemns with equal force, the hypocrisy and the heartlessness of priests who refused to say the last prayers on the funeral of a poor woman who had been the victim of man's lust and then deserted by him to become a prostitute, although their Master and Redeemer Jesus had come to save the sinners. He is enraged because society does not condemn man but woman, the weaker party. This story is full of human touches which go straight into the depth of the readers' heart. Although Khalil Jubran died at the comparatively young age of forty eight, and others were yet to appear in the field who won greater fame, he has left an indelible mark on the literary history of the Arabic peoples.

Among the friends of Jubran Khalil and the members of his al-Rabitatu'l-qalamiyah, a society formed in New York for the reform of Arabic literature and bringing it in line with the spirit and the traditions of modern literature, was Mikhā'īl Nu'aymah. As he was a close associate of Khalil he followed him in his technique of story-writing.

He was born in 1889 in Biskanta and studied at a Russian school. He was greatly influenced by Khalil Jubran, as what prompted hin to story-writing was his study of the Broken Wings (الاجنحة المتكسرة) and the Rebellious

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Souls (الارواح المتمردة) which he greatly admired and of which he wrote a critical appreciation. It was his study of Khalil's short stories which inspired him with a desire to write short stories after his style. Besides Khalil Jubran he must have drawn inspiration from Russian short story writers like Tolstoy, Turgenes and Cheikhov, for as already mentioned he has received his education at a Russian school where he made such a thorough study of Russian language and literaure that he could even compose poetry in Russian. His poem "al-Nahru'l-munjamid" in Arabic is a wonderfully beautiful translation of a Russian poem. Although he was better known as a poet he wrote stories also which are of a high order.

We now come to Taymur brothers in whom the art of story-writing in Arabic found its highest expression and has not been surpassed so far as well as story-writing in Egypt reached its apex with the appearance of Taymur brothers, Muhammad and Mahmud. Unfortunately for Arabic literature Muhammad was snatched away by death while a young man. Both of them took Maupassant's stories as their prototype. Muhammad Taymur, the elder brother who was born in 1892 in Cairo and had studied law in Paris since 1912, but these studies had not been concluded when the outbreak of Ist World War obliged him to return to his native land where he devoted himself to literary activities for which he had shown an inclination since his early youth. He proved a highly successful story-writer, judged from the collection of his stories under the title of 'Ma tara'l-'uyūn', published in 1922 and 'Khawatiru qisasiyah' in 1927. Modern education and knowledge of the life in European countries had awakened the Egyptians to their own weaknesses. They felt that unless their social system were overhauled and their society laid on a basis insuring social justice and freeing the down-trodden masses from the tyranny of the upper classes; Egypt would remain a backward country. He did write short stories of which he has left a collection. He drew his inspiration from Maupassant, the famous French writer, and his favourite theme is the social evils of the Egyptian society to fight to which he devoted his gifted pen. We may form an idea of his theme by his story "ربّي لمن خلقت هذا النحير". His language and style are both simple as he aimed at conveying his reformist thoughts to the people at large. It may be mentioned that Muhammad Taymur was also keenly interested in drama which he has unfortunately, from our point of view, written in the spoken dialect of Egypt, and thus non-Egyptians are deprived of the pleasure and the benefit of his ideas, expressed in dramas. As dramas are usually written in spoken language that is why his written language is also very simple and is directly influenced by his language of the dramas.

What the death of Muhammad Taymur had interrupted, was completed by his younger brother Mahmud Taymur who is considered the most successful

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

story-writer of the Arab world. He was born in 16. 6. 1894. He had a mind to study Economics, but on account of his illness, was obligrd to give up his studies, taking thereafter to literature. Like his brother whom he venerated as his teacher he was too greatly influenced by Maupassant. Besides Maupassant he was also influenced by Russian writers, of course through translations, as he did not know Russian though he was well acquainted with English, French and German. His study of Russian writers led him to study the life of his own countrymen which he depicted in his short stories with the object of attracting the attention of his thoughtful countrymen to the sad plight of the poor peasants and the contempt of the rich for the poor.

He is a prolific writer and has left six volumes of short stories in 1925. His first story is الشيخ جمعة with which the writer made his debut in the literary world. It represents the life of a simple peasant, a representative type of his fellow peasants, simple, hard working, but victim of the exploitation of the landlords. This connection ends with " Fir'aunu'l-saghir ", published in 1936. In other Volume III he begins with " Shaikh 'Abīṭ " and in this story too he depicts the life of poor farmers, petty shop-keepers and other poor men whom people usually despise. He seems to be out to expose the hypocrisy and the feigned sympathy for the poor. A study of his stories shows us as clearly as broad day-light that he is a master of realism. He chooses a plot and handles it very skilfully, treating his subject in a masterly way and showing a deep knowledge of human psychology. Over and above his knowledge of men and things is simply wonderful.

Besides Mahmud Taimur, Taufig al-Hakim, Ibrahim Abdul Qadir al-Mazini have written short stories but they do not attain that excellence and keen observation which are characteristic of Mahmud Taimur.

During the second half of 20th century Arabic short story has taken giant stride and is now occupying a well established place in Arabic literature. The short stories of Arab authors whom I have mentioned are by no means inferior to those of their European masters whether French, English or Rnssian, dealing with social problems of their countries. Their depth of observation and the handling of their material present a high stage of development. As a matter of fact compared to novels they have reached a high level of perfection and hold a bright future before themselves.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

GUJARAT CULTURE SECTION

THREE ŚAKTI PĪṬHAS OF GUJARAT

By

V. T. PADMAJA

In Gujarat 'Śakti worship' is known from a long period of time. In this paper an attempt has been made to prove that Ambāji, Boucherāji and Kālikāmātā of Pāvāgaḍh are three different Śakti Pīṭhas of Gujarat. These Pīṭhas are studied on the basis of oral, literary, and archaeological evidence to trace their history and development.

Power to perform work, is termed as Śakti in Sanskrit. The power that supports, preserves and destroys the universe is conceived as a feminine divinity. She is variously named as Ambikā, Lakṣmī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, Tripurasundarī or Rājeśvarī depending on the emphasis laid on the different aspects of creation, preservation and destruction.

Places of worship of these Goddesses that became prominent came to be known as, Pīṭhas, Upapīṭhas and Sidbhapīṭhas.[1] The word Pīṭha means Āsana or seat.[2] It therefore indicates a special centre of worship of Devī.

Mythologically Pīṭhas are explained on the basis of the phenomenon of Dakṣayajñavidhvaṁsa. According to it Satī went to her father's house uninvited and there she had to face the insult showered on her husband, which resulted in her death. This is said to have enraged Śiva, who began to roam aimlessly with the dead body of his wife on his shoulders. This created anxiety among Gods. Viṣṇu with the *cakra* cut the corpse into many pieces and scattered the limbs all over India and all those places where the limbs fell became Śakti Pīṭhas or Devīsthānas. However, all the Devīsthānas are not necessarily the Pīṭhas. The mythical belief is that a Bhairava and Aṅgapratyaṅga are the two main characteristics of a Pīṭha while Devīsthānas may not have these characteristics. These centres which were not associated with Devī's Physical parts are known as Upapīṭhas. Some Devīsthānas are called Siddhapīṭhas where at least one Sādhaka had attained Siddhi.

1. Macdonell A. A., *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, ed. 1893, p. 305.
2. *Śabdakalpadruma*, Motilal Benarsidass, 1961, p. 159.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

In all religions there are mythical explanations about the origin of their important centres. The mortal remains of saints as existing in those places are commonly attributed for the importance of the area. Among the Buddhists it is commonly belived that mortal remains of the Buddha's nail, hair, ashes and teeth were distributed among different areas of India upon which chaityas were buiet and gained importance. Such beliefs make the centre an important one.

Purāṇas and Śākta Literature refer to the Śakti Pīṭhas. Hevajratantra[3] refers four PIṭhas. Later works increased the number of Pīṭhas perhaps because of the growing popularity of Mother Goddess worship. Kālikāpurāṇa[4] gives an account of seven Pīṭhas, Rudrayāmala[5] 10, Kubjikātantra 42, Jñānārṇavatantra 50, Tantrasāra 51 and PIṭhanirṇaya 51. Śivacarita supplies a list of 51 Pīṭhas and 26 Upapīṭhas.[6] Matsyapurāṇa[7] and Devībhāgavatapurāṇa[8] account for 108 Pīṭhas. Out of 108 Pīṭhas mentioned in Matsyapurāṇa[9] and Devībhāgavatapurāṇa[10] seven Pīṭhas can be identified as existing in the region of Gujarat. They are Mātā in Kāyāvarohaṇa, Dhṛti in Pindara, Dvani in Śankhodhara, Varārohā in Someśvara, Puṣkarāvatī in Prabhāsa, Rukmiṇīmātā in Dwārakā, Abhayamātā in Uṣṇatīrtha (Beyṭ Dwārakā). However, to correlate the literary evidences with the sites will require much archaeological work.

The common belief of the people of Gujarat is that Ambāji, Boucherāji, and Kālikāmātā at Pāvāgaḍh are the main Pīṭhas where the limbs of Satī had fallen. At Ambāji it is said that the breast of Satī has fallen, right hand at Boucherāji and Pādāṅguli at Pāvāgaḍh.[11] This belief gives religious sanctity to those places which are archaeologically studied here.

Ambāji is situated in the Danta Taluka of Banaskantha district in Gujarat. The granite outcrop of Gabbar with its domical shape resembles the breast. The physical correlation of forms might have influenced the people for developing the belief. However, references in Kālikāpurāṇa[12] and Pīṭhanirṇaya[13]

3. Sircar, D. C., *Śakti Pīṭhas*, University of Calcutta, 1948, p. 12.
4. Shastri, Bisvanarain (ed.) *Kālikāpurāṇa*, Ch. XVIII, V. 42–51, p. 99.
5. Bagchi, P. C., *Studies in the Tantras*, Part I, University of Calcutta, 1943, pp. 6–7.
6. Sircar, D. C., *Op. cit.*, pp. 19–21, 23–24.
7. Jivananda Vidyasagar Bhattacharya, *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. XIII, V. 26–64.
8. Ācharya Srīram Śarma, *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*, Khaṇḍa II, Ch. XII, V. 33–61.
9. *Matsyapurāṇa, op. cit.*, Ch. XIII, V. 38, 42–43, 48.
10. *Devībhāgavatapurāna, op. cit.*, Ch. XII, V. 47, 50–51, 56.
11. Mehta, N. D., *Śākta Sampradāya ane Siddhānto*, Gujarātma tēno Prachār ane Gujarāti Sāhitya ūpar asar, 1932, pp. 108–110.
12. *Kālikapurāṇa*, op. cit., Ch. XVIII V–43.
13. Sircar, D. C., *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

CC-0. Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

show that Satī's breast has fallen in Jalandhar in Punjab. A good survey of this *tīrtha* is necessary to look to the physical features of the area to identify features resembling Satī's breast.

Boucherāji is situated in the Chanasma Taluka of the Mehesana district. A similar controversy exists here also. Pīṭhanirṇaya mentions that Sati's hand had fallen at Bahula, which has all the qualities of a Pīṭha[14] viz., Bhairava and Aṅgapratyaṅga. Pīṭhanirṇaya has not mentioned as to left or right hand had fallen at Bahula. The belief that right hand had fallen at Boucherāji can be accepted on the ground that it can be the left hand that had fallen at Bahula. However, the people of the area believe that Satī's right hand has fallen at Boucherāji.

The third Pīṭha is said to be the Kālikāmātā of Pāvāgaḍh, situated in the Halol Taluka of Panchamahals district. It can be identified as Kālipīṭha mentioned in the list of Pīṭhanirṇaya. However, D. C. Sircar identifies Kālipīṭha as Kālighāṭa of Calcutta.[15] This view of D. C. Sircar can be argued upon to prove that both Kālipīṭha and Kālighāṭa cannot be accepted reasonably. Kālipīṭha and Kālighāṭa must be different and situated at different Localities. The Bhairava attached to Kālipīṭha is Lakulīśa. Lakulīśa sect was originated and developed in Gujarat at Kāyāvarohaṇa and it is located very near to Pāvāgaḍh. To believe the influence of Lakulīśa sect at far away from Calcutta is not too easy. It is easier to accept Lalulīśa influence at Pāvāgaḍh to form Kālipīṭha. The second point is that in the list of Pīṭhanirṇaya the author may not have intended to show that both Kālipīṭha aed Kālighāṭa are one and the same. From the above discussion it can be observed that Kālipīṭha is not at Calcutta. No other place with Kālipīṭha has been so far identified. The existence of this Pīṭha at Pāvāgaḍh is therefore more justified.

Temple worship is known as *saguṇa* method of worship. The presiding deity is believed to have life and all its functions. The oblations offered and festivals celebrated are meant to please a human character of the deity.

Temple rituals can broadly be divided into two main categories, the daily performances and occassional celebrations. In the early moorning the deity is awakened by chanting Vedic hymns and the *abhiṣeka* with *Pañcāmṛta* and water is performed and the adorations like kumkum, turmeric pastes are applied along with flowers and flower garlands. *Maṅgalārati* is performed in the early morning after the ceremonial worship. At noon that is offered as *Naivedya*. It

14. *Ibid*, p. 35.
15. *Ibid*, p. 35.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

is known as Rājabhoga. *Śayanānati* with milk alone as Bhoga is performed in the evening.

It is interesting to note that at all these three Śakti Pīṭhas *yantra* is worshipped. However the form of Yantra worshipped is not common. At Ambāji Visoyantra, at Boucherāji Bālatripurā-yantra and Kāliyantra at Kālikā-mātā of Pāvāgaḍh are being worshipped.

The idol is performed with all decorations above the *yantra* which appears to the worshipper as an idol fully decorated. It is known as Aṅgi. In the early morning the decorations are made in such a way as to make the Goddess appear like a maiden, at noon a fullfledged women and in the evening like an old lady. These forms represent the visible aspects of the day and life as well. The mornings are fresh and young, the noon is middle age and evening is the decaying stage of the day. The representations of the Aṅgi present phases of life; birth, growth and decay or kaumāra, yauvana and vārdhakya.

The decorations forming the Aṅgis are also different on each week day at Ambāji and Boucherāji. However there is no variation of Vāhana and form at Kālikāmātā of Pāvāgaḍh. To compare the Vāhanas decorated at Ambāji and Boucherāji, there seems to be some variations. They are as follows :

Day	*Ambāji*	*Boucherāji*	
Sunday	Tiger	Peacock	Bālatripurāsundari
Monday	Nandi	Nandi	Gaurī
Tuesday	Lion	Lion	Durgā
Wednesday	Airāvata	Tiger	Aṁbikā
Thursday	Garuḍa	Haṁsa	Brahmāṇī
Friday	Haṁsa	Peacock	Sarasvatī
Saturday	Elephant	Elephant	Indrāṇī

From the above table it can be seen that on Sunday Ambāji's Vāhana is a tiger while at Boucherāji it is a cock. It is because the original Vāhana of Ambāji is tiger and Boucherāji or Bālatripurāsundari's Vāhana is cock. Since Sunday is the starting day of the week these original Vāhanas identifying the nature of the deity are shown at first. It can be seen that Airāvata and Garuḍa are not shown as Vāhana at Boucherāji while at Ambāji cock and pecock are not shown at all.

The representation of Aṅgis with Vānana has more affinity to Saptamāṭṛkā worship. However to compare the Saptamāṭṛkā figurines Nandī with Māhéśvarī, elephant with Aindrī, Garuḍa with Vaiṣṇavī, Haṁsa with Brahmāṇī and peacock

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

with Kaumāri are seen to be used in these Pīṭhas. The other Vāhanas with figurines cannot be identified with Mātṛkas.

At Ambāji ghee is exclusively used in the temple for *jyoti*, cooking purpose etc. Inside the temple celebacy is to be practised otherwise the defaulter will face unhappiness. *Rajasvalās* are strictly prohibited inside the temple. It is a belief that the Ambāji's *triśūla* will oscillate if *rajasvalās* enter during day time and in the night *jyoti* will spark out until the lady gets out of the temple.

Among the occasional celebrations Navarātri is important in all the three Pīṭhas. During the year four Navarātris occur in the months of Āśvina, Caitra, Āṣāḍha and Māgha. Āśvina Navarātri is common to all these Piṭhas. At Boucherāji Caitra Navarātri is also celebrated. At Pāvāgaḍh Āśvina, Caitra and Māgha Navarātris are important.

Jawāras are sown on the first day of Navarātri near the Aṅgi. A kumbha or an earthern pot filled with pure water is placed in the centre of the Jawār sproutings. The Goddess is invoked and worshipped with 16 rites daily upto Navami. Different typss of naivedya is offered on each day. Garbha or Bhavai are peformed during nights. Havan or sacrifice is an inportant rite on the eighth day at the alter itself. Nine varieties of naivedya are offered at that time. Jawāras are removed in the morning of Dassera day, the tenth day of Navarātri and worshipped before immersing them in the nearby tank. Symbolic new flags are also hoisted on that day on the temple tower. At Boucherāji evidences show that a buffalo was being sacrificed on the 14th day of Āśvina, 50 years ago. At Pāvāgaḍh Caṇḍīpāṭha is recited for 9 days during Āśvina Navarātri. Saptaśatīpāṭha and Sahasracaṇḍiyajña is another rite performed in Māgha Navarātri at Pāvāgaḍh.

It is common to celebrate the birthday of the deity at Pāvāgaḍh and Ambāji. The 8th day of Caitra Navarātri is believed to be the birthday of Mahākāli of Pāvāgaḍh. The occassion is celebrated by the devotees with much enthusiasm. Pauṣa sud 15th is believed to be the birthday of Ambāji. The Pilgrims and the local devtees assemble on that day to arrange Annakūṭa in front of the deity. These pilgrims are exclusively those who had undertakn the vow to visit Ambaji on every fullmoon day of the preceding year. Besides fullmoon days of Bhādrapada, Āśvina and Kārtika are also celebrated at Ambāji.

Ambāji is a family deity of Nāgar Brahmins while three families of Audicya Brahmins of Siddhapur in Mehsana district jointly officiate as Bhattjis or main priests of this temple. After taking over the management of this temple by the government, learned Brahmins from other families are also now appointed here.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Either Audīcya or Śrimāli Brahmins perform the rites at Boucherāji.

Brahmins therefore hold high status in the society, because of their status conferred on them as spiritual heads socially. It is told that even non-Brahmin priests were appointed after 1859 A. D. to conduct the offering of flesh and liquor at Boucherāji. Presently worship is of sāttvika form and therefore non-Brahmin priests are not employed.

Bhils of the area enjoy special status both at Ambāji and Kālikāmātā of Pāvāgaḍh. They hold the right to take away the oblations offered by the worshippers to the deity.

The musicians and servants of Boucherāji are Kamaliyas, a sect of Muslims. They worship Boucherāji and bear a trident as o symbol of their faith in the Goddess.

It is told that Allauddin after capturing the temple area made forcible conversion of the inmates of the temple. They now remain as a sect within Islam and observe the routines of Islam except their worship at Boucherāji.

The paways or eunuchs are also in service of Boucherāji. The general belief is that these paways are the prostitutes with permute practices. They wear dresses of female with male turban.

As the Pīṭhas developed they became a centre of pilgrimage and therefore arrangements for their staying and other requirements were also developed in the vicinity of the centres. The area grew with commercial activities forming towns of economic importance.

The pilgrims often reach the temples for performance of Saṁskāras. At Ambāji " Muṇḍana ceremony " is common. It is belived that Yaśodā performed Kṛṣṇa's muṇḍana ceremony at Ambāji. The pilgrims reaching for oblations purchase articles of use and worship from the shops. People bid for the Sari worn by Ambāji for higher prices.

The patronage of kings and feudataries elevated the temple to a high position. Parmāras patronised Ambāji, the Solankies Boucherāji and the Chauhans Kālikāmātā. It is seen that the growth and development of these Piṭhas can be traced from 11th cent. onwards, mostly with the patronage of kings.

On the basis of the modelling and the stylised ornamentation of the sculptures found at Ambāji this Pīṭha can be dated to 6th–7th cent. A. D.

Śakti worship is deeply rooted in Gujarat. It can be said that the *tāntric* way of worship is in existence in all the Pīṭhas. Temple festivals like Navarātri is not only confined to the area of the temple but the celebrations are scattered far

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

and wide to every nook and corner. Garba is performed dvring Navarātri. Socially, Śakti worship has brought out oneness in the society. The faith of the people of Gujarat in Śakti worship has survived the onslaughts of Allauddin Khilji and other invaders. The devotion of Kamaliyas to Boucherāji is an instance that could be explained that Śakti cult had predominance over the alien faiths. In the process of the growth of Śakti centres surrounding areas have also been developed into commericial markets where number of people are engaged in the activities to provide fescilities to the pilgrims. In course of time these localities developed into small towns of social and commercial importance.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

STYLE OF JAIN OR HINDU ARCHITECTURE?

By

PANUBHAI BHATT

The ancient Hindu temple of the Mother Goddess 'Ambe Mātā' at Ambaji in North Gujarat attracts thousands of devotees each year from all parts of Gujarat and Rajasthan. The ancient shrine (dated approximately *circa* 16th century A. D.) is small, but the faith of the devotres in the 'śakti)' of Ambe Mātā is large. (The birth of a son, the death of a beloved one, pain, joy, sorrow, fear, fulfilment of desires ... they come with a myriad of hopes, confident in the śakti of their mā).

In fact, this Ambāji temple is one of most important pilgrimage spot for the devotees of Ambe Mātā. Presently ambitious plans are afoot for the *jīrṇoddhāra* (renovation, reconstruction) of this temple. The total estimated budget is almost two crores of rupees.

The monumental temple complex is to be constructed entirely in marble making it the first Hindu temple of its kind. However, it is unfortunate to note that few know or understand the principles and style that are the basis to a Hindu temple. Ignorance and sketchy knowledge of the governing prieciples of the evolution of the Hindu temple form has resulted in plans that are more in keeping with Jain philosophy and temple tradition, rather than the Hindu temple form.

A closer look at the evolution of the form of ancient religious monuments will help us to understand the essential difference in the Hindu and Jain temple tradition. In fact the basic elements of the Hindu temple also exist in Jain temples, or rather the basic elements of the Jain temples have been taken from the Hindu temple, the divergence growing out the basic differences in the two religions and the sectarian approach.

In the Hindu religion the temple centers around God the creator of the universe. The temple is an abode for God, the house of God. The idea was that the Gods descend from their heavenly abode 'swarga-loka' to 'mṛtyuloka' (the abode of mortals) to give blessings to their devotees. The temple was seen as a connection of the two 'lokas'-meetlng place between God and man, a union of the mortal and immortal.

The Jain temples on the other hand centre around the 'Tirthaṁkaras' mortal from 'mṛtyuloka', who have transcended their human form and become

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Incarnations of Gods. The Hindu Devamandira is a house of God whereas the Jain 'Derasar' Deva + Āśraya is an āśrayashelter for Gods and Mahāvīra and other Tīrthaṁkaras are the Siddhas.

The ancient Hindu temple form developed from the 4th century onwards, (the Gcpa temple near Jamnagar, 4th century A. D. is a fine example) right upto the 11th–12th century A. D. The Sun temple at Modhera (11th century A. D.) is a fine example of Hindu temple architecture at its prime. However, with the coming of the Sultans aun Babari emperors, the growth of Hindu temples slowly declined and died out, especially in Gujarat.

The Jain temples on the other hand developed from the 11th century A. D. onwards especially in the reign of the Islamic Sultans. Hence the 'Somapuras', the traditional architect community is more versed in the style and form of Jain temple architecture. The 12th century A. D. temple at Tāraṇgā is one of the best examples of a Jain temple architecture.

It is understandable that little is known about the basic planning and religious thinking of Hindu temples as there is no notable Hindu temple in Gujarat constructed since the 11th century A. D. Sun Temple at Modhera.

The Hindu temple is symbolic. Man earnestly desires to have God with him to help him, guide him and nurture him. From the abstract conceept of a supreme being crystallised the concrete form of an idol 'murti'. The Gods live in heaven and so are immortal (Amara). Temples represent the 'trilokas' the three worlds or the three plains of consciousness and matter, (Pātāla, Mṛtyuloka and Svarga) and also represent a measure of the refinement of the human soul.

The vertical axis of the temple represents the 'trilokas', whereas the horizonontal plain consists of different elements like the Garbhagṛha, Antarāla Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, Nṛtyamaṇḍapa. The Garbhagṛha is the religious area, the area in which the image of God is kept. It is closed from three sides and minimum light is allowed to penetrate inside. With the increase of the number of worshippers to the shrine, the addition of the Gūḍhamaṇḍapas became essential – the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa is a larger hall – the worship place. As time went on with the increase in festivities as well as other social activities the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa came into existence at the entrance of the temple, the place of entry.

The grid is a basis for the planning of this horizontal plain. The square as the basic unit and the triangle as the principle governing the layout was chiefly a matter of religious significance. The vertical area of the temple represents the three 'lokas' viz. 'svarga', 'mṛtyu' and 'pātāla'. The area below

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

the surface of the earth is Pātāla the place on earth is Mṛtyuloka and the home of God is svargaloka.

The vertical area of the temple is divided into four parts with specific measurements : (1) Jagatī the plinth, (2) Mandovara, the walls) – the best pavilion in which the Gods are housed, (3) Vitāna (sky) also a Chādya – roof and (4) Śikhara (dome). The Jagatī (the base of the temple) is made up of several layers (padmapatra); the lowest part of the earth represents birth from water and mud an aspiration for a higher world. Above the padmapatra is the Grasapatti, the Haṁsathara, the Gajathara the Aśvathara and the Narathara. These are represented by different motifs : the lotus, the crocodile, the Haṁsa, the the elephant, the horse, and finally man. The highest intelligent animal is represented in Narathara.

Above the Jagatī the Mandovara starts expressing svargaloka and hence the interior of the temples have columns decorated with Apsarās as well as the temple is expected to contain aspects of *Artha, Kāma Mokṣa* for dances and happiness. The roof of temple – the Vitāna is star-studded to represent the heavens. And finaly the Śikhara pointing skywards – (the Śikhara erected above the Garbhagṛha is the main Śikhara, and the other Śikharas erected above the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa and the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa are subsidiary Śikharas.

One of the essential difference between Jain and Hindu temples is in the design of Śikhara. The Jain temple Śikharas have Śārdūlas – (a series of animal-like forms) carved on them. These elements are generally absent on a Hindu temple Śikhara. Animals in Hindu philosophy are rather the vehicles of Gods and Goddesses and hence their *Vāhana* connot be placed above their heads, so to say. Instead the Hiudus have created the 'Vyālas' – an immortal animal-half. The inclusion of Śārdūlas on the 'Śikhara' of the new Ambaji temple is one of the anachronism in the planning and design of the new Ambe Mātā temple.

A study of the plans of the Hindu Sun temple at Modhera (11th century A. D.) and the Jain temple of Taraṅga will help us to understand the basic differences in form and design of the Jain and Hindu problems, and also help us to identify the problems in the planniag of the new Ambe Mātā temple.

The plan of the Hindu Sun temple at Modhera reveals the basie square grid of the Hindu temple – the Caturasra. The Hindu temples are based on perfectly proportioned grid of three squares in a serial. As shown in the plan square–1 is the Garbhagṛha, square–2 the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa and square–3 the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa. There is no other door to the temple making it the entry as well as the exit point. Whereas the plan of the Jain temple of Toraṇa reveals that it

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

is not based on the Caturasra grid, but rather has the Bhadraka grid – two overlapping diamonds.

The Sabhāmaṇḍapa has two chowkis – entry points on either side besides the main chowki at the temple entrance. This feature is specific only to Jain temples. Another interesting difference in the plan of the two temples is the size of the Garbhagṛha (the worship area) (1 and A in the plan of the Hindu Sun temple at Modhera, and the Torana Jain temple respectively).

The Jain temple Garbhagṛha is larger than the Sabhāmaṇḍapa when Jain temples have more icons than Hindu temples. A larger Garbhagṛha area also makes for a major difference in the form of the Hindu and Jain temple Śikharas. The Jain temple Śikharas have a big belly.

A further difference is the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa (the festivities area) which is never included in Jain temples, but forms the part of the Hindu temples complete. (The area marked–3 in the plan of the Hindu Sun Temple of Modhera).

The Nṛtyamaṇḍapa is not included in Jain temples as dancing was not practised in the Jain religon, whereas the Hindu religion encouraged dance, music and festivities.

The Hindu temple entrance is (usually) one chowki (entrance only) in order to allow minium light to enter the worsihp area and hence provided a dark and peaceful atomssphere to the devotees to encourage concentration and a blissful communion with the Gods.

It is important that the renovation and reconstruction of the new Ambe Mātā temple at Ambaji is done in keeping with the bəst of the Hindu temple tradition. Every small element of both the Jain and Hindu temple are not arbitrary but rather have a deep religious and spritual significance specific to that particular religion. The planners should undertake a serious detailed study of basic principles and design of the Hindu temple to make the Ambe Mata temple a true Hindu temple.

In the reconstruction plan for the new Ambe Mātā temple the following areas need reconsideration :

(i) The chowki (entrance) should not be at both sides of the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, rather there should be only one entrance to the temple.

(ii) The design of Śikhara, which is presently planned in the Jain temple form. The Śārdūlas (animals-forms) should be eliminated from the Ambe Mātā temple plan as they are specific to the Jain temple form.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(iii) The temple plan should be based on the Caturasra-an alignment of three squares – the Garbhagṛha the Gūḍhamaṇḍapa and the Nṛtyamaṇḍapa as in the Sun Temple at Modhera.

(iv) The design of the Amlaka and Kalaśa too need to be in keeping with the Hindu spirit.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

CHRONOLOGY OF UTTARAKHAṆḌA OF PADMAPURĀṆA

By

R. N. MEHTA and RASESH JAMINDAR

Introduction :

The conceptual realization of the importance of *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* could be traced in Indian tradition from the *Atharvaveda*. The twin words *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* are repeatedly used in our tradition and are accepted as a system of study in our educational pattern. Moreover, *Aitihya* is accepted by some of our schools of philosophy as a valid source of knowledge.

Problem :

However, from the present-day understanding of linear pattern of time, the *Purāṇa* literature presents two problems. One of them is the antiquity of the *Paurāṇic* concepts and their use in Indian epistemological system and the other is the placing a particular work in the three *liṅgas* of *Kāla* i. e. *Paratva*, *Aparatva* and *yugapat*, and correlate this trio with some accepted system of reckoning time from a fixed point. This fixed point in the English language is the beginning of Christian era. An effort to arrange Indian literature from this angle presents its own problems, because of the cyclic pattern of reckoning the time as well as the motion that the literary composition is more important than the consideration of the period of its composition or its author. Besides these ideas the continuity of our tradition and its system of maintaining it by amending the text by addition, substraction, alteration etc. have also contributed to the difficulties associated with chronological studies.

Previous work :

While writing on the *Purāṇas* in the *History of Indian Literature* M. Winternitz remarks : "It is quite impossible to say anything definite as to the date of *Padmapurāṇa*. It is obviously a loose compilation the parts of which belong to totatlly different periods and are probably many centuries apart... It remains the task of future research to extract this ancient nucleus". In the excellent treatise on *Purāṇa Vimarśa* Baladeva Upadhyaya notes that it is difficult to comment on the chronology, and notes that some parts are of 16th century A. D. Thus the problem of chronology of *Padmapurāṇa* is a vexed one with different facets. This paper discusses only one of them, that is related to *Sābhramatī Māhātmya*, of its *Uttarakhaṇḍa*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Aims and Method :

Under these conditions, the present paper aims at fixing the chronological parameter of the *Uttarakhṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* on the tripartite method of the study of the text, identification of the material basis of writing and analysis of the material relics by proved techniques of Archaeology. For using this method, *Uttarakhaṇḍa of Padmapurāṇa* proved useful for the area in the city of Ahmedabad.

Ahmedabad is being systematically studied for its history from various sources, and a search for them indicated that the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Padmapurāṇa* has a section on *Sābhramatī Māhātmya*. This *Māhātmya* deals with the *Tīrthas* in and around Ahmedabad.

In view of this fact, the data were collected from the published editions of Veṅkaṭeśvara Press and Gurugranthamālā. Both the texts are almost identical and therefore, it is thought that the present text of the *Padmapurāṇa* is represented by these editions. After the study of the text, the *tīrthas* noted in the environs of Ahmedabad were examined. Fortunately some *Tīrthas* were well known, but others were thrown in oblivion. A search of *Tīrthas* on the basis of the *Purāṇa* proved fruitful, so they were identified. Enough archaeological evidence existed at these sites, and it is used for chronological analysis. This method was successfully applied in similar work on *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa*, *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*.

Sābhramatī Māhātmya :

This *Māhātmya* is noted in the chapters 134–173 of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa*. This river is the present Sabarmati, In its chapter 137, 3–6 and 143–56, its confluence with different streams is noted. These rivers *Hiraṇyamatī*, *Hastimatī*, *Vetravatī* etc. are meeting the presentday Sabarmati, and hence, *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* discusses Sabarmati, the river that passes by Ahmedabad. This identification helps to locate the *Tīrthas* in and around Ahmedabad.

The *Tīrthas* in the environ of Ahmedabad are noted in chapters 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159. These *Tīrthas* are *Khaḍgadhāreśvara*, *Dugdheśvara*, *Candreśvara*, *Pippalāda*, *Piñcumandārka*, and *Koṭarākṣī*. They are discussed here.

Khaḍgadhāreśvara :

First *Tīrtha* on Sabarmati, in the environs of Ahmedabad is noted as *Khaḍgadhāreśvara*. According to this Purāṇa, *Khaḍgadhāra tīrtha* was untraceble. This specific remark is given in the first and fifty fourth *śloka* of the chapter 154.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

However, while narrating the *Māhātmya* notes the emancipation of a *Kirāta, Caṇḍa,* due to his search of a bird in the *Bilva* tree. This search which led to the falling of *Bilva-patra* on the *liṅga* at the base, suggests that the *Tīrtha* had vanished, leaving only a *Śivaliṅga* and the *Bilva*. Such phenomenon is not unknown. It is observed that after the destruction of the temple-site the flora continues to prosper.

This *tīrtha* exists on the left bank of Sabarmati in the Shahibag area, to the east of the green developed by Shahjehan. Here a few temples of the period from 18th century exist. In this group a demaged *ghaṭita* or *Mānuṣa liṅga* exists. This is an old *liṅga,* which bears mate testimony to the truth of a vanished *tīrtha.*

Very near this group, another group of temples known as *Bhīmanātha* exists. In this group besides old *mānuṣa liṅga* sculptures of Śaiva *dvārapālas* and part of *udgama* and *bharaṇī* of a temple of the Chalukyan age were traced.

This antiquity suggest the existence of a Śaiva centre from at least the 11th/12th century A. D. It was however destroyed as noted by the *Padma-purāṇa.* But it is silent on the revival of these *tīrthas.* Thus the relics here support the main thesis of the *purāṇa,* that there existed an old *tīrtha* in this area.

The story of Caṇḍa and his self-immolation by a sword might be taken as folk elements in the *Māhātmya,* or it might indicate the presence of Kirātas and Bhīls in this area. If the latter view be accepted then it has some historical basis, because the town of Asawal that preceded Ahmedabad began its career as a Bhīl settlement according to the local belief, that is incorporated in *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of *Merutuṅgācārya.*

Dugdheśvara :

The next *Tīrtha* noted in the *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* is a group of *Tīrtha* on the confluence of Sabarmati with a Nala, known as Candrabhāgā. Here the group of Dugdheśvara, Candreśvara and Pippalāda is noted. However, the *Purāṇa* noted that Candreśvara and Pippalāda are non-existant.

While narrating the *Māhātmya* of Dugdheśvara, the origin of the *liṅga* is ascribed to the curding of the milk of *Kāmadughā.* Here the story of Dadhīci drinking the weapons of gods and his giving up his body for collecting his bones by gods for forging their weapons is narrated for the *Māhātmya.*

Dugdheśvara, Dudheśvara or Dudhanāth exists in the village Vadaj, near the Sabarmati Āśram of Gandhiji. An examination of this area reveals

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

that Dugdheśvara is a damaged *Mānuṣa-liṅga*, housed in a renovated temple. Around this area *Kakṣāsana*, sculpture of dancer and other antiquities of about 12th century exists. These antiquities indicate that this *tīrtha* was in use when *Sābhramatī-māhātmya* incorporated in *Padmapurāṇa* was composed.

At Candreśvara new Tīrtha has been established but Pippalāda could not be traced as noted by the *Purāṇa*. Significantly at this place a number of *Satī* stones of a period after the 13th ceutury are existing and some were apparently buried by the floods of Sabarmati : This feature explains that one of the reason for disappearance of *tīrtha* would be natural floods. This might account for the disappearance of the tirthas in this area as noted by the *Purāṇa*.

The giving up of life by Dadhīci and his wife Suvarcā, might reflect the use of this area as a cremation ground. Moreover to account for the growth of Dugdheśvara, the world-play of Dugdha and Dadhi seem to have been mixed up by the *Purāṇakāra*. This description in chapters 155, 156, 157 reflects a condition both of a living *tīrtha* and destroyed ones.

Piñcumandārka Tīrtha :

Chapter 158 of the *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* describes a Piñcumandārka Tīrtha on the bank of Sabarmati. This *Tīrtha* also known as Nimbārka was sacred to Sūrya. This *tīrtha* was a little problematic as no temple of Sun exists today. However, a careful search revealed the presence of Sun images of different periods in the Raikhad area of Ahmedabad. One highly defaced sand stone image was fixed in the north eastern bastion of Gaekwads' Haveli. It is a two-armed sitting image. The other image of marble was located in *Pañcanātha Mahādeva* near Manekburj. This is a two-armed, standing image of Sūrya. Besides these several other images were discovered, Stylistically, they belong to a period of about 8th/9th to about 12th/13th centuries A. D. This discovery indicates that the *Piñcumandārka Tīrtha of Padmapurāṇa* existed in the Raikhad area.

Koṭarākśī :

In the chapter 159 a deity called *Koṭarākśī*, according to the *Purāṇa* was installed by Aniruddha and Kṛṣṇa on Sabarmati. This deity was traced in a *koṭara* or gully, near Caclico pumping station, in the *Saptarṣi Ārā* area.

Here on the southern side of a *koṭar* a marble daity, stylistically belonging to about 16th century was seen. Today this figure of Mahiṣamardini is in worship as Cāmuṇḍā. However, the location of this *tīrtha* in the *koṭara* in a position of an observation-post is an intersting situation that identifies the deity.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Here the large settlement of Daśanāmis and their *samādhīs* ranging from 17th century, and other remains reaching upto a period of circa 11th / 12th century, with Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava elements is a religious centre of some note. Here the deity on the *koṭara* is aptly named *Koṭarākśī* by the *Purāṇa*, keeping its eye on the long tradition of identification of *Koṭarā* with *Mahiṣamardinī*.

After this description, the *Purāṇa* notes the *tīrthas* at the confluence of *Sābhramatī* with other rivers downstream from Ahmedabad.

Conclusions

This survey of the *tīrthas* of *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* of *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Padmapurāṇa* indicates that some *tīrthas* noted in the text are known to-day. Some of those that are described have changed their names, while a few that were noted as dead are revived.

All these *tīrthas* indicate the materials that do not go to a period much earlier than the 11th century A. D. nor materials later than 16th century are found in worship in thsse *tīrthas*.

On the basis of the evidence of the revival of the *Tīrthas*, the lower limit of *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* could be fixed, that it is earlier than the 17th century A. D. The latest image noted in it could be ascribed to the 16 th century A. D. If this image has not replaced an earlier one, the antiquity of *Sābharmatī Māhātmya* could be dated to the 16th century. A. D. However, if the image be considered as a replacement, the archaeological relics in the area do-not go to a period that is earlier than the 11th century A. D.

The *Sābhramatī Māhātmya* that indicates the destruction of some *tīrthas*, suggests that it is later than, the destruction which could be dated to the 14th century A. D.

Thus from the combined evidence of the text and the archaeology of the Tīrthas, the present text of *Sabhramatī Māhātmya* belongs to a period between late 14th century A. D. to about 16th century A. D.

If this date of a part of *Padmapurāṇa* be considered, two important chronological facts become clear. One of it is that the present edition of *Padmapurāṇa* is the work of author or authors of 16th or 17th century A. D.

The second fact is the date of the information from the *Nāradīyapurāṇa*. While summarising the contents of *Padmapurāṇa*, it notes the *Sābhramatī Māhātmya*. Therefore, this part of the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* also could not be older than the present text of *Padmapurāṇa*.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation, Delhi.

These features indicate that *Purāṇas* have a long tradition reaching upto the period of the Vedas. In this tradition, different works were composed and were amended from time to time. In this process in 17th century the text of *Padma-*, *Nāradīya-* and *Skandapurāṇa* seem to have achieved its present form.

This effort indicates our strong Paurāṇic tradition and its activities. Detailed studies of *Purāṇas* on the basis of text and archaeology are needed to understand the confused stratigraphy of the *Purāṇas* and place them in chronological frame for modern scholarship.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

रसनिष्पत्तिप्रक्रिया

लेखक : हरिप्रसाद मेहता

नाट्यशास्त्रस्य प्रणेतुर्भरतस्यकालानन्तरं रसस्वरूप सर्वसम्मतं जातम्। तत्प्राक् रसविषये कतिचित् मतानि प्रसिद्धिं गतान्यासन् तानि प्रथमं समालोच्य विचारणीयानि विचार्यन्ते।

(१) तत्र विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणां संयोगात् समुदायात् रसनिष्पत्तिः रसपदव्यवहार इति सूत्राशयं मन्वानाः कतिपये विभावादयस्त्रयः समुदिता रस इति रसस्वरूपं निरूपयामासुः। एतानेवनिराकर्तुं काव्यप्रकाशचतुर्थोल्लासे 'न खलु विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणा एव रसः — अपि तु रसस्तैरित्यस्ति क्रमः — स तु लाघवान्न लक्ष्यते' इति प्रत्युक्तं श्रीमता मम्मटाचार्येण।

(२) बहवः पुनर्विभावादीनां संयोगात् सम्यग्योगात् चमत्काराद्रसनिष्पत्तिरिति सूत्रार्थं पश्यन्तो विभावादिषु यः प्रधानतया चमत्कारी स एव रस इति निरूपयन्ति स्म। इदमपि न विभावादयः एव रस इति पूर्वेणैव प्रत्युक्तमस्ति।

(३) केचित्तु "भाव्यमानो विभाव एव रसः" इति मन्यन्ते स्म।

(४) अन्ये भाव्यमानोऽनुभावस्तथा इति कथयन्ति स्म।

(५) तदितरे च सञ्चारी एव तादृशस्तथा परिणमतीत्याचक्षते स्म।

अन्तिमं मतत्रयमपीदमुत्सूत्रमिति प्रामाणिकाः प्राहुः। सर्वप्रथमं भरताचार्यमतं विचार्यते।

न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते। अतः स प्रथमं रसनिष्पत्तिं विचारयति। विभावानुभाव-व्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिरिति। भावो नाम चित्तवृत्तिविशेषः। वागङ्गसत्त्योपेतान् काव्यार्थान् भावयन्ति इति भावाः। नानाभावोपगता अपि स्थायिनो भावा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति। भावा वागङ्गसत्त्वो-पेताः सन्ति सामाजिकाश्च सुमनसः प्रेक्षकास्तानास्वादयन्ति हर्षादीश्चाधिगच्छन्ति। एते भावाः न नायकस्य न वा सामाजिकस्य किन्तु नटस्यैव। स्थायिभावा नानाभिनयव्यञ्जिता वागङ्गसत्त्वोपेताश्च भूत्वा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति। इत्थं रसो विभावादीनां स्थायिभावानाञ्च संश्लिष्टरूपः पदार्थः। तथा चोक्तं भरतेन दृश्यते भावेभ्यो रसानामभिनिर्वृत्तिर्न तु रसेभ्यो भावानामभिनिर्वृत्तिरिति। यद्यपि विभावा-दीनां स्थायिभावानाञ्च संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्ति भवति तथापि रसनिष्पत्तौ स्थायिभावस्य विशेषेण महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थानमस्ति यतो हि स रसतामेति। विभावादयस्तु तत्र संयोगप्रयोजनाः।

रसनिष्पत्यै विभावादीनां निश्चितरूपेण संयोजनमति आवश्यकम्। तस्य संयोजनस्य कर्ता नटः अथ च तस्य शिक्षाभ्यासादिः। निष्पत्तिस्वरूपं प्रपानकरसन्यायेन स्पष्टं भवति।

भरतो यथार्थवादी यथो हि तेन नटमभिलक्ष्यैव विचारः कृतः। सामाजिकस्य विचारोऽपि न कृतः। अतः चिन्त्यः।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिरिति भरतप्रणीतस्य सूत्रस्य व्याख्यातारो बहवः। प्राधान्येन मम्मटोक्ताश्चत्वारः पक्षाः तथा च पण्डितराजोक्तास्त्रयः पक्षाश्च सङ्क्षेपेण निर्दिश्यन्ते।

प्रथमं लोल्लटमतम्।

विभावादिभिः स्थायिनः संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः। तत्र विभावश्चित्तवृत्तेः स्थाय्यात्मिकाया उत्पत्तौ कारणम्। तेन स्थाय्येव विभानुभावादिभिरुपचितः रसः। मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादौ अनुकार्ये-ऽनुकर्तर्यपि चानुसन्धानबलात् इति अभिनवभारतीकाराः।

विभावैर्ललनोद्यानादिभिरालम्बनोद्दीपनकारणैः रत्यादिको भावो जनितः, अनुभावैः कटाक्ष-भुजक्षेपप्रभृतिभिः कार्यैः प्रतीतियोग्यः कृतः, व्यभिचारिभिर्निर्वेदादिभिः सहकारिभिरुपचितो मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्ये तद्रूपतानुसन्धानान्नर्तकेऽपि प्रतीयमानो रसः — इति काव्यप्रकाशकाराः। नटे तु लयरूपतानुसन्धानवशादारोप्यमाणः सामाजिकानां चमत्कारहेतुः — इति काव्यप्रदीपकाराः। तद्रूपतानुसन्धानाद्रामस्येव वेशविशेषवाग्विधायिनि नर्तके तत्कालं रामात्वाभिमानादिति विवरण-काराः। रामात्वारोपादिति सारबोधिनीकारोद्योतकाराः।

एतन्मतं मीमांसकानाम्। ते हि यागादौ इन्द्रार्थासु स्थूणासु 'अमी इन्द्राः' इत्याद्यारोपवत् अनुकर्तनि नटादौ रामादेरारोपः। स च शिक्षाभ्यासादिबलाच्चमत्करोति सामाजिकान् इति वर्णयन्ति।

इह संयोगः सम्बन्धः, नटे आरोप्यमाणो इत्यादी रसः, निष्पत्तिश्चारोपः।

अनुकार्ये रामादावेव रसनिष्पत्त्या सामाजिके रसनिष्पत्त्यावात् सामाजिकानां चमत्कारा-नापत्तिरित्यरुचिबीजम्।

श्रीशङ्ककमतम्।

विभावादिभिः सह स्थायिनः संयोगाद् गम्यगमकभावरूपात् सम्बन्धाद्रसस्य निष्पत्तिरिति। एतन्मते सम्यङ्-मिथ्या-संशय-सादृश्यरूपाभ्यो लोकप्रसिद्धाभ्यो विलक्षणया चित्रे तुरगोऽयमितिवत् रामोऽयमिति बुद्ध्या ग्राह्ये नटे काव्यानुसन्धानबलाच्छिक्षाभ्यासनिवर्तितस्वकार्यप्रकटनेन च नटेनैव च प्रकाशितैः कारणकार्यसहकारिभिः कृत्रिमैरपि तथाऽनभिमन्यमानैर्विभावादिशब्दव्यपदेश्यैः संयोगाद् गम्यगमकभावरूपात् अनुमीयमानोऽपि वस्तुसौन्दर्यबलाद्रसनीयत्वेनान्यानुमीयमानविलक्षणः स्थायित्वेन नटगतत्वेन च ज्ञायमानो रत्यादिर्भावस्तत्र असन्नपि सामाजिकानां वासनया चर्व्यमाणो रसः। अत्र संयोगसम्बन्धः व्याप्यव्यापकभावरूपः, अनुमेयो रत्यादी रसः, निष्पत्तिरनुमितिः। प्रत्यक्ष-ज्ञानं चमत्कारजनकं नानुमितिः इत्यरुचिबीजम्।

भट्टनायकमतम्।

न ताटस्थ्येन न आन्मगतत्वेन रसः प्रतीयते न उत्पद्यते नाभिव्यज्यते अपि तु काव्ये नाट्ये च अभिघातः द्वितीयेन विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण साधारणीक्रियमाणः स्थायी सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयसंविद् विश्रान्ति सतत्त्वेन भोगेन भुज्यते अर्थात् भोजकत्वनामक-व्यापारेण विषयीक्रियते।

शब्दस्याभिधारूपव्यापारवत् काव्यनाट्ययोस्तद्विलक्षणं भावकत्वभोजकत्वनामकं व्यापार-द्वयमतिरिक्तमस्ति। अभिधायकत्वं वाच्यविषयम्, भावकत्वं रसादिविषयम्, भोगकृत्त्वं सहृदय-

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

विषयम्। भट्टनायकदृष्ट्या रसस्य रूपद्वयम्, भावितं रूपं भोगीकृतं रूपञ्चेति। विशिष्टव्यक्तिगता अनुभूतिः भावः, वैशिष्ट्यमुक्ता अनुभूतिर्यदा भावकत्वव्यापारेण साधारणीकृता भवति तदा रसरूपा भवति, रसस्येदमेव भावितं स्वरूपम्, भाविते च रसे तस्य भोग इति लोचनकाराः। भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रसोऽनुभवस्मृत्यादिविलक्षणेन रजस्तमोनुवेद्यवैचित्र्यबलाद् द्रुतिविस्तारविकासलक्षणेन सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्तिलक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यते — इति अभिनवभारतीकाराः।

एवं निष्पत्तिर्नाम रसस्य भावितत्वम्। भावितत्वं नाम भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानत्वम्। निष्पत्तेः साधनं न विभावादिः किन्तु भावकत्वव्यापारः। विभावादीनां साधारणीकरणं तु भावकत्वव्यापारेणैव।

भट्टलोल्लटस्य मते शङ्कुकस्य च मते विभावादिः रसनिष्पत्तौ कारणम्।

अन्त्येन भोजकत्वव्यापारेण साधारणीकृतविभावादिसहकृतेन सा रतिः सहृदयैरास्वाद्यते। असत्या अपि रतेरास्वादोऽलौकिकत्वादुपपन्नः। रतेरास्वाद एव रसनिष्पत्तिः।

एतादृशव्यापारद्वयकल्पने प्रमाणाभावः साक्षात्कारस्य तथाविधे कल्पने प्रमाणाभावश्चेति अरुचेः कारणद्वयम्। व्यञ्जनास्थानीयं भोजकत्वमेव। केवलं भावकव्यापारस्वीकारो नवीनः। भावकत्वरूपाधिकव्यापारान्तरकल्पने दोषः।

श्री-अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यमतम्।

काव्ये नाट्ये च कारणादिपरिहारेण विभावनादिव्यापारवत्त्वादलौकिकविभावादिशब्दव्यवहार्यैः सम्बन्धविशेष स्वीकारपरिहारनियमानध्यवसायात् साधारण्येन प्रतीतैरभिव्यक्तः सामाजिकानां वासनात्मतया स्थितः स्थायी रत्यादिको नियतप्रमातृगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् तत्कालविगलितपरिमितप्रमातृभाववशोन्मिषित-वेद्यान्तरसम्पर्कशून्यापरिमितभावेन प्रमात्रासकलसहृदय-संवादभाजा साधारण्येन स्वीकार इवाभिन्नोऽपि गोचरीकृतश्चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणी विभावादिजीवितावधिः पानकरसेन चर्व्यमाणो ब्रह्मास्वादमिवानुभावयन् अलौकिकचमत्कारकारी शृंगारादिकोरसः।

संक्षेपेण स्थायिनां विभावादिभिः समं संयोगाद् व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावरूपात् सम्बन्धाद्रसस्य निष्पत्तिरभिव्यक्तिरिति सूत्रार्थः।

अभिव्यक्त एव च रत्यादी रसः। 'रसोऽभिव्यज्यते' इति व्यवहारस्तु स्थाय्यभिव्यक्त्युपचारात्। रसाः प्रतीयन्त इत्योदनं पचतीतिवद् व्यवहार इति लोचनकाराः।

पूर्वमते असत्या अपि रतेरास्वादः अत्र तु वासनया स्थिताया एवेत्यनयोर्भेदः।

अत्र सहृदयहृदयस्थिता रतिर्व्यञ्जनया अभिव्यक्ता सामाजिकानामास्वाद्यतामायाती त्येतादृशास्वाद एव रसनिष्पत्तिः।

स्थायिभावो वासनारूपो नित्य इत्यभिनवः, शङ्कुकमते स्थायिभावो नटेऽनुमेयः, वस्तुतस्तस्य नटेऽसत्त्वात्। स्थायिभावस्य सामाजिकगतत्वमनुभूतिगम्यत्वं सत्यत्वञ्चेत्यभिनवः। स्थयिभावस्यानुमानमात्रेणानन्दः शङ्कुकमते। स्थायिभावो रसतामेतीति शङ्कुकः, स्थायिविलक्षणो रसो जायते इत्यभिनवः। सर्वथा अभिनवमतं तर्कोपपन्नंपरमादरणीयञ्च।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

वेदान्तानुकूलतया प्रतिपादितं पण्डितराजमतम्।

भग्नावरणचिद्विशिष्टो रत्यादिः स्थायिभावो रस इति मतस्य साधारणीकृतचैतन्यविषयीभूत-रत्यादिस्थायिभाव एव रस इति स्पष्टार्थः। 'रत्याद्यवच्छिन्ना भग्नावरणा चिदेव रसः' इति पण्डित-राजोक्तं श्रुत्यनुकूलव्याख्यानम्। एषा अभिव्यक्तिवादस्य वेदान्तानुकूला व्याख्या। मतद्वयेऽपि रसस्य नित्यत्वं स्वप्रकाशत्वम् सिद्धम्।

चर्वणा तु चिद्गतावरणभङ्गः, स च चैतन्यावरणाज्ञानध्वंस एव। अतो वासनारूपो रत्या-दिस्थायिभावश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषरूपः स्वतः प्रकाशमानेन वस्तुतो विद्यमानेन आत्मानन्देन सह यथा अनुभूयते तथा रस इति पण्डितराजोक्तं यथार्थमेव। रत्याद्यवच्छिन्नात्मानन्दरूपान्तःकरणवृत्तिश्चेतना एव चर्वणा इत्यनुकूलोऽर्थः।

ननु भावकत्वव्यापारमन्तरेणाज्ञानावरणनिरासो दुर्घट इति चेत् न, यतः भावनैवभावक-त्वम्। सा च सहृदयस्य स्वीयसहृदयतासहकारेण कोव्यार्थविषयिणी पूर्वोत्पन्नैव यिभावादीनां साधा-रणीकरणं प्रमातुरावरणभङ्गञ्च कर्तुमीशीतेति न तदर्थं भावनातिरिक्तव्यापारान्तरकल्पनावश्यकी।

रसगङ्गाधरे परकीयं मतद्वयमुपस्थापितमस्ति। दिङ्मात्रेणात्र तदप्युपस्थाप्यते। तद् यथा —

केचन नव्याः "काव्यनाट्ययोः प्रकाशितेषु विभावादिषु व्यञ्जनाव्यापारेण तत्तद्रतिमत्ता-ज्ञानं भवति, ततश्च सहृयतोल्लासितस्य भावनाविशेषरूपस्य दोषस्य महिम्ना कल्पितदुष्यन्तत्वावच्छा-दिते स्वात्मनि अज्ञानावच्छिन्ने शुक्तिकाशकल इव रजतखण्डः समुत्पद्यमानोऽनिर्वचनीयः साक्षिभास्य-शकुन्तलादिविषयकरत्यादिरेव रस इत्याहुः

एतन्मते व्यञ्जनाव्यापारो दोषविशेषोऽनिर्वचनीयख्यातिश्चेति पदार्थत्रयम्। एतदपि चिन्त्यम्। सिद्धान्तदृष्ट्या गौरवग्रस्तमेव व्यञ्जनाव्यापारस्यैव सकलभरसहत्वात्। वासनातिरस्कारः साधारणीकरणखण्डनञ्चेत्युभयमपि केषामपि न सम्मतमतोऽनादरणीयमेव।

परे तु व्यञ्जनाव्यापारस्यानिर्वचनीयख्यातेश्चानभ्युपगमेऽपि प्रागुक्तदोषमहिम्ना स्वात्मनि दुष्यन्तादितादात्म्यावगाही शकुन्तलादिविषयकरत्यभेदबाधो मानसः काव्यार्थभावनाजन्मा विलक्षण-विषयताशाली रसः।

एतन्मतावलम्बिभिः त्रिविधोऽपि बोधो रसपदार्थतया अभ्युपेतः। एषु त्रिषु बोधेषु विषयै-क्येऽपि विनिगमनाविरहात् उद्देश्यविधेयभावभेदाद् बोधभेदः।

बोधत्रयं यथा -- (१) अहं दुष्यन्तः शकुन्तलाविषयकरतिमान् (२) शकुन्तलाविषय-करतिमद्दुष्यन्तोऽहम् (३) दुष्यन्तः शकुन्तलाविषयकरतिमांश्चाहम्।

अस्मिन् मते संयोग इत्यस्य विभावादिसामग्रीज्ञानम्, निष्पत्तेरर्थो विलक्षणमानसप्रत्यक्ष-प्रतीत्युत्पत्तिः अतो रसो भ्रमरूपः, अतो नानन्दमयः, न प्रामाणिकश्च अतः सर्वथा हेयः।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

कविकुलगुरोः कानिचन सूक्तानि

लेखक : बटुकनाथशास्त्री खिस्ते

दिव्यवाग्वल्लरीवृन्दकुसुमामोदवृद्धये।
मधुमासं नमस्यामि कालिदासात्मनोदितम्॥

महाकवेर्वाग्देवतानिःश्वसितकल्पवाग्वैभवस्य कालिदासस्य कृपयः साहित्यशास्त्रनिर्माण सूत्ररेखायमाणाः सन्तीति कस्को न जानाति। समीक्षकशिखामणिभिराचार्यैः स्वशेमुषीमनुतृत्य स्वप्रबन्धेषु तत्तदुदाहारणतया परिगृह्यमाणानि सूक्तिरत्नानि रस-भाव-गुणालङ्कारस्फारचमत्कार-मभिव्यञ्जयितुं प्रभवन्तीति स्फुटमेव।

परमत्रैका जिज्ञासा समुपतिष्ठते — प्रायशः पूर्वाचार्योपात्तान्येवोदाहरणानि तत्परवर्तिनः समीक्षकास्तामेव सरणिमनुसृत्य व्याचक्षते। नूतनोदाहरणसङ्ग्रहे तु कश्चिदेव मनीषी पदमाधातुं धिवं धत्ते। येषु व्यक्तिविवेककारो महिमभट्ट एव नूतनानि स्थलान्यवलम्ब्य किंचिदालोचयामास।

एवं स्थिते प्रसिद्धस्थलान्यपहाय यदि कानिचिदितराण्यपि स्थलान्यन्तर्वीक्षणविधया परीक्ष्यन्ते तदाऽपि महाकवेरल्पाक्षरेष्वपि कियदर्थगौरवं ध्वनिचमत्कारः अलङ्कारविस्तारश्चेत्यनुभव-पथमुपेयात्। अनया दृशा विद्वन्मनोविनोदमात्रमुद्दिश्य लघुतरे निबन्धेऽस्मिन् कानिचिदपरामृष्टानि पद्यान्यालोच्यन्ते तदीयौचित्यानौचित्यविषये विविद्वांस एव प्रमाणम्।

आदौ तावदिदं रघुवंशस्थं पद्यम् —

"पृक्तस्तुषारैर्गिरिनिर्झराणामनोकहाकम्पितपुष्पगन्धी।
तमातपक्लान्तमनातपत्रमाचारपूतं पवनःसि षेवे॥"

वसिष्ठधेनुमनुयान्तं राजानं दिलीपं पवनोऽसेवतेति वाक्यार्थः। तत्र पवनस्य द्वाभ्यां विशेषणाभ्यां गुणवत्ता सूच्यते। शैत्य-मान्द्य-सौगन्ध्यानि त्रयो गुणाः पवनस्य क्रमशोऽत्र प्रदर्शिताः, जलकणसंपर्कात् शैत्यं, वृक्षाणाभीषत्कम्पनान्मान्द्यं, पुष्पगन्धवत्तया च सौरभ्यं प्रतिपादितम्। व्रतार्थं परित्यक्तच्छत्रो राजा घर्मेण क्लान्तश्चेति पवनकर्तृकसेवाया औचित्यमपि सूचितम्। तत्राप्याचारपूतत्वं गुरुभक्तिस्तदादेशानुसारं गोसेवारूपमाचरणं चेति सुतरां सेव्यतायाः पुष्टिः संपादितेति साभिप्रायै-र्विशेषणैः परिकरालङ्कारेण परिपुष्टौ विभूषितश्च वाक्यार्थः।

तत्राऽपि पवनोऽप्यसेवतेति "अपि" शब्दगर्भोऽर्थः प्रतीतिपथमवतरन् अर्थापत्त्यलङ्कार-माक्षिपति। पवनदिलीपयोः कर्तृकर्मभावेन निर्देशात् तत्सदृशः सेव्यसेवकवृत्तान्तोऽप्रस्तुतः परिस्फुर-तीति समासोक्तिरपि प्रतीयते।

धेनोः सर्वदेवमयत्वात्तद्विषयिणी रतिः पूर्वोक्तैरलङ्कारैः परिपुष्टा सहृदयहृदयमनुप्रविश-तीति वेदितव्यम्।

अन्यकविप्रणीतेषु काव्येषु यद्यप्येते भावाः सुलभाः परमत्र यथा प्रसादपुरस्कृतो वाक्यार्थः स्वदते, न तथाऽन्यत्रेति नास्ति सन्देहः। एवं तत्रैव प्रकरणे पद्यान्तरम् —

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

"सञ्चारपूतानि दिगन्तराणि कृत्वा दिनान्ते निलयाय गन्तुम्।
प्रचक्रमे पल्लवरागताम्रा प्रभा पतङ्गस्य मुनेश्च धेनुः॥

पद्येस्मिन् सायंसमये सूर्यप्रभा नन्दिनी च स्वनिलयाभिमुखं प्रातिष्ठतेति वाक्यार्थः।

पल्लवरागवदाताम्रवर्णता समाना द्वयोरपि। दिगन्तराणां सञ्चारेण पवित्रीकरणमपि समानमेव।

अर्थश्लेषबलादुभयत्र समानो विशेषणानामन्वयः।

नानार्थप्रतिभासो नात्र बलादारोपितः, किन्तु स्वभावत एव संपद्यते।

प्रकृतोभयार्थविषयिणी तुल्ययोगिताऽत्रालङ्कारः। यद्यप्युमागर्भगता प्रतीयते, सा तुल्ययोगिता निष्पादकतयाऽप्रधानमेव। परं-पुनः पुनरनुसन्धीयते वाक्यार्थस्तदा सन्ध्या-धेन्वोरन्योन्यनिरूपित उपमानोपमेयभावो बलादिव स्वरूपमुन्मीलयन् "सन्ध्येव धेनुर्धेनुरिव सन्ध्येति" उपमेयोपमालङ्कारः पदमाधत्ते इत्यनुभवैकसंवेद्यम्।

बाणभट्टेन कादम्बर्यामक्षरशः सोऽयं भावः संगृहीत इति द्रष्टव्यं सहृदयैः। तदेत्सहजगत्या वाक्यार्थनिवेशकौशलं महाकवेः।

एवमन्यत्र रघोर्विजययात्रावसरे पद्यमेतत् --

प्रतापोऽग्रे ततः शब्दः परागस्तदनन्तरम्।
ययौ पश्चाद्रथादीति चतुःस्कन्धेव सा चमूः॥

अत्र काचन नूतना कवेः सरणिः। राज्ञां तावत् चतुर्विधंसेनाङ्गम् — "हस्त्यश्वरथपादातं सेनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुर्विधम्" इति प्रसिद्धेः। तां लोकप्रसिद्धिमपहाय रघोरलोकसामान्यं प्रभावमुपदिदर्शयिषुः कविरन्यथेवोत्प्रेक्षते तद यथा —

रघोः प्रयाणावसरे प्रथमतः प्रतापश्चलति, ततःशब्दस्ततरच परागो धूलिः पश्चाच्च रथादीनि सेनाङ्गानीति क्रमप्रदर्शनात् चक्रवर्तित्वमासूत्रितम्। स प्रतापः प्रभावश्च यत्तेजः कोषदण्डजम्? इत्युक्तलक्षणो राज्ञः प्रताप एव पुरोयायी इतः यत्प्रभावाद्वशीभूता जना ईषदप्यनादरं कर्तुं न प्रभवन्ति। चतुर्व्यूहेवेति नूतनचतुर्व्यूहरूपत्वसम्भावनया कविकल्पितार्थोत्प्रेक्षणादलङ्कारः सुतरां सुश्लिष्टः प्रतीयते। तादृशचमूकर्तृकविजयस्यावश्यं भावित्वरूपं वस्तु च व्यज्येत इति अर्थशक्तिमूलोलङ्काराद् वस्तुध्वनिः।

रघुवंशे पञ्चमसर्गे प्रभातवर्णने प्रसिद्धमदः पद्यम् —

"निद्रावशेन भवताप्यनवेक्ष्यमाणा
पर्युत्सुकत्वमबला निशि खण्डितेव।
लक्ष्मीर्विनोदयति तेन दिगन्तलम्बी
सोऽपित्वदाननरुचिं विजहाति चन्द्रः॥"

अजस्य प्रातः प्रबोधनावसरे बन्दिनाभियमुक्तिः। लक्ष्मीः शोभा राजलक्ष्मीश्च। प्रातश्चन्द्रबिम्बस्य विच्छायत्वं भवतीति तत्र कल्पयति कविः कमपि नूतनमर्थम् --

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

निद्रापरवशतया लिङ्गसाम्यान्नायिकान्तरानुरक्ततयेत्यपरोऽर्थः। भवता अजेन अनवेक्षमाणा अविचारयन्ती मूढेति तदर्थः। "अनवेक्ष्यमाणा" इति पाठ एव समीचीनः। अनवलोक्यमाना समुपेक्षितेति यावत् लक्ष्मीः शोभा राजलक्ष्मीर्वा खण्डिता काचिदबलेव निशि येन पर्युत्सुकत्वं विनोदयति विरहापनोदाय विनोदनं कालयापनं करोति दिगन्तलम्बी स चन्द्रोऽपि त्वदाननरुचिं त्वन्मुखशोभां विजहाति परित्यजति। अत्र लिङ्गसाम्यान्निशायाः प्रतिनायिकात्वं लक्ष्म्याश्च नायिकात्वं प्रतिपाद्यते। एवं सत्यपि सामग्रीसौकर्ये कालिदासेन "अबला निशि खण्डितेव" इति वाक्यं सन्निवेशयता समासोक्तिसौन्दर्यं खण्डितमिति व्यक्तिविवेककारः पर्यालोचयति, तत्रेदं विचारणीयम् — "निद्रावशेन" इति पदं लोकप्रसिद्ध्या निद्रामात्रार्थबोधकं न पुनः प्रतिनायिकात्वं सद्यः प्रबोधयितुं क्षमते इति तदर्थः स्फुटमबलासाम्यमवादि कविना। लोकव्यवहाररूढस्य पदस्य व्यङ्ग्यावगमने तथा सामर्थ्याभावात्। यद्यत्र "अबला निशि खण्डितेव" इति पङ्क्तिरपसार्येत, तदा सर्वथा गूढव्यङ्ग्यभूतोर्थः सपदि सहृदयग्राह्यो न भवेत् इति तदुपादानं पद्यार्थपरिपोषकतया सङ्गच्छते। "निद्रावशेन" इति पदे भाषाव्यवहारप्रसिद्ध्या सुप्तिमात्रं प्रतीयते इति पूर्वमेवोक्तम्। न च निद्रालक्ष्म्योः परस्परविरोधः प्रतीयेत। लक्ष्मीशब्दोप्यत्र राजलक्ष्मी-शोभयोः साधारण्येन प्रयुक्त इति नायिकाप्रतिनायिकाव्यवहारस्फुटीकरणाय अबलासाम्यं शब्दवाच्यं न दोषाय। व्यङ्ग्यार्थविषये कामिनीस्तनकलशन्यायेन गूढागूढं चमत्कुरुते इति प्रसिद्धमेव। एतावता न कवेरशक्तिरियं प्रत्युत वस्तुसन्निवेशकौशलमेव स्फुटीभवतीति ज्ञेयम्।

महाकविरयं कोमलान्तःकरणः प्रणयकथोपनिबन्धने सर्वातिशायिकौशलः सत्यपि रसान्तरप्रसङ्गे प्रणयकथासूत्रयोजनया काव्यार्थं कथमनुबध्नातीति अजविलापसमाप्तिपद्यादवगम्यते। तथाहि —

तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरभवे जह्नुकन्यासरय्वो-
र्देहत्यागादमरगणनालेख्यमासाद्य सद्यः।
पूर्वाकाराधिकतररुचा सङ्गतः कान्तयाऽसौ
लीलागारेष्वरमत पुनर्नन्दनाभ्यन्तरेषु॥

इन्दुमत्यामुपरतायां दीर्णान्तःकरणः प्रायोपवेशनद्वारा तनुं जिहासुरजो जह्नुकन्यासरय्वोः पुण्ये सङ्गमे ममज्जेति सन्दर्भः। परमत्र "देहत्यागादमरगणनालेख्यमासाद्यसद्यः" इति वाक्येन सत्वरमेव देवगणमध्यवर्तित्वमुपकल्प्य तं प्रणयिन्या च संगमय्य महाकविरविच्छेदेन शृङ्गारसाम्राज्यं प्रतिष्ठापयति। न च समीक्षकाणां काचिदरुचिर्मध्ये बाधकतयाऽनुभूयते।

अभिनवभारत्यामभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यैरत्र विषये "भगवत्प्रसादपवित्रवाचा महाकविना तथा रसोपनिबन्धः कृत" इत्युक्तम्।

इत्थमेव कुमारसम्भवे मदनदाहानन्तरं दुःखिता रतिर्भृशं विललाप। देहत्यागोदितां रतिमाकाशभवा सरस्वती ततो न्यवर्तयत्। तत्राऽपि अविच्छेदेन शृङ्गाररसप्रसङ्गमुपकल्पयितुं संनह्यति कविः —

तदिदं परिरक्ष शोभने भवितव्यप्रियसङ्गमं वपुः।
रविपीतजला तपात्यये पुनरोघेन हि युज्यते नदी॥

इत्यादिपद्यैः प्रियसंगमावाप्तिः सुतरामाशास्यते। महाकवेरस्य यथा सर्वत्र निरङ्कुशं प्रातिभं चक्षुः, तथा राजनीतावपि दृश्यते, तत्र पद्यमेकमुदाहरणं यथा —

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

अथ समाववृते कुसुमैर्नवैस्तमिव सेवितुमेकनराधिपम्।
यमकुबेरजलेश्वरवज्रिणां समधुरं मधुरञ्चितविक्रमम्।।

यौवराज्याधिरूढे दशरथे वसन्तावतारप्रसङ्गे पद्यमिदम्।

अर्थः – यमकुबेरजलेश्वरवग्रिणां समार्धभारः प्रजापालनरूपो यस्य तं अञ्चितविक्रमं पूजित-पराक्रमं एकनराधिपं एको मुख्यो धराधिपः सम्राट् तम्। सेवितुमिव मधुर्वसन्तः नवैः कुसुमो-पायनपाणिरित्याशयः समाववृते समुपतस्थौ।

अत्र कविना यमकुबेरजलेश्वरवज्रिणां व्युत्क्रमेण उपादानात् कश्चिदर्थः सङ्केतितः — प्रथमं धर्मराजस्य दण्डधारकत्वात् दण्डस्य प्राधान्यम्। ततोधनछदस्य ग्रहणात्कोषसंपत्तिः। वरुणस्य पाशायुधतया प्रजानियमनम्। ततः परं वज्रिणो देवराजस्य साम्राज्यस्थैर्यमिति राज्यशासनविधौ अभ्यर्हितः क्रमः समुपात्तः।

अतः परं परं प्रति पूर्वपूर्वस्य हेतुताऽपि प्रतीयत एव "दण्डभयात् कृत्स्नो लोको स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यवतिष्ठते" इति प्राचीनसिद्धान्तात् दण्डस्य प्राथम्यम्। दण्डस्थैर्ये च समर्जितस्य राजग्राह्यस्य वा कोषस्य रक्षणं सम्भाव्यते। दण्डकोषयोः सम्यग्व्यवस्थायामेव प्रजापरिपालनं निष्प्रत्यूहमिति नियमपाशैः प्रजानियमनम्। एवं क्रियमाणे सम्राजो विभूतिः प्रभावश्च स्थिरो भवतीति वज्रिणो ग्रहणम्।

किञ्च समधुरं इत्यपि विशेषणं साभिप्रायमाभाति। कालिदासस्यान्तःकरणे काचन भारत-वर्षस्य राज्यप्रणाली कृतपदा तथा दृश्यते — यत् भारतवर्षे मध्ये केन्द्रस्थितो नरपतिः शासको भवतु। चतुर्धा देशं विभज्य तत्तत्प्रदेशशासनमुपकल्पनीयम्। दिक्पालतुल्याः प्रान्ताधिपा मध्यस्थं सम्राजमनुगच्छेयुः। केन्द्र-प्रदेशयोस्तुल्य-बलतया परस्परोकारकत्वे क्वचिदपि काऽपि हानिर्न भवेत्। अपेक्षितवस्तूनामन्योन्यप्रदानात्समाना जननिर्वाहपद्धतिः श्रेयस्करी स्यात्। यथान्यत्राप्यनेन कविना निर्दिष्टम्।

दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सस्याय मघवा दिवम्,
सम्पद्विनिमयेनोभौ दधतुर्भुवनद्वयम्॥ इति

इत्थं केन्द्र-प्रदेशयोः सम्पद्विनियमेन सौराज्यं सम्भवतीति कवेराशयः। एवंविधायां व्यव-स्थायामेव "सम्राट्" अञ्चितविक्रमः पूजितपराक्रमो भवति। तस्य प्रभावः सर्वत्र वर्धते। तेनैव हेतुना बहिर्द्वीपेभ्यो राजदूताः सोपायनपाणयः समागच्छन्तीति कुसुमोपायनपाणेर्वसन्तस्याभ्यागमनेन प्रतिपाद्यते। "समाववृत्ते" इति क्रियायापि तथाविधानां दूतानां पुनः पुनरागमनमभिद्योतितं भवति।

एवमयं दिङ्मात्रेण कश्चन विचारलेशः प्रस्तुतः। अनया रीत्या कालिदासूक्तानां प्रातिस्वकं परीक्षणं क्रियते चेन्महदर्थगौरवं भारतीयसिद्धान्तानामुपोद्बलनं च समासादितं भवेदित्यलमधिकेन।

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix A

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS

(1) THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Senate Hall, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, at 6 p. m. on November 5, 1985. The following members were present :

A. M. Ghatage (in the chair), Brahma Mitra Awasthi, R. C. Dwivedi, N. A. Faruqi, A. N. Jani, S. D. Joshi, Sushama Kulashreshtha, Jayamant Mishra, Vidhata Mishra, E. A. Soloman, and R. N. Dandekar.

The following business was transacted at the meeting :

(1) Condolence

Resolution No. 1 : Resolved that the Executive Committee places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad deaths of Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor C. Sivaramamurti, Professor D. C. Sircar, and Professor V. V. Mirashi, who were past General Presidents of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(2) Minutes of the business meetings held at Jaipur on the occasion of the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Resolution No. 2 : Resolved that the minutes of the business meetings of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Jaipur on the occasion of the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, be confirmed.

(3) Audited Statements of Accounts for the years 1982, 1983 and 1984.

Resolution No. 3 : Resolved that the audited Statements of Accounts for the years 1982, 1983, and 1984 be adopted.

(4) Appointment of Auditors

Resolution No. 4 : Resolved that M/S Patki and Soman, Poona, be appointed as auditors for the years 1985 and 1986 and that they be paid a remuneration of Rs. 300/- per year.

(5) Amendment to Rules and Byelaws :

Resolution No. 5 : Resolved that the following amendment to Rules and byelaws of the All-India Oriental Conference, as proposed by the General

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Secretary, be approved and forwarded to the Council for acceptance Rule 7. (a) (iii): Read: (The Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, *or* any other person nominated by the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, shall be Additional Secretary, in case he is not already elected either as General Secretary or Joint Secretary).

(6) Publication of the Conference Proceedings and Volume 4 of the Index of Papers.

Resolution No. 6: Resolved that the publication of the Volume of the Proceedings of the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Jaipur, and Volume 4 of the Index of Papers be noted.

Resolved further that the best thanks of the All-India Oriental Conference be conveyed to Professor K. V. Sarma, Editor, and Professor Veda Vyas, Patron-Publisher, of Vol. 4 of the Index of Papers.

(7) Award of the various prizes

Resolutoin No. 7: Resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to decide the award of (1) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize, (2) The Muni Punyavijayaji Prize, (3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize, and (4) Prof. C. Sivaramamurti Sambhavana Prize in the light of the reports of the referees and in consultation with the relevant Sectional Presidents.

(8) Arrangements for the award of the Dr. V. Raghavan Prize at the next session.

Resalution No. 8: Resolved that Dr. V. Raghavan Prize for the next session be assigned to Classical Sanskrit Section.

(9) Co-optation on the Council of the members recommended by the Local Committee.

Resolution No. 9: Resolved that it be recommended to the Council that the following ten persons, whose names have been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted on the Council (as per Rule 10, b, i):

(1) K. S. Shastri
(2) Dalsukhbhai Malavania
(3) Pravin Parikh
(4) S. G. Kantawala
(5) A. D. Shastri
(6) Balkrishna Pancholi
(7) Bhagavati Prasad Pandya
(8) C. L. Shastri
(9) Suresh Dave
(10) K. R. Chandra.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(10) Letter from Dr. V. Subramoniam, Thanjavur, regarding election of Presidents.

The general Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter dated 28th January 1984 from Professor V. I. Subramoniam, Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Thanjavur. After some discussion the following resolution was adopted:

Resolution No. 10: Resolved that the contents of the letter be duly taken note of.

(11) Letter from Shri D. R. Shrimali, Pondichery regarding correspond in Sanskrit and to use Sanskrit-customary words.

The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter dated 14th November 1984 from Shri D. R. Shrimali, Pondichery regarding correspondence in Sanskrit and to use Sanskrit-customary words. After some discussion the following resolution was adopted.

Resolution No. 11: Resloved that the letter be recorded.

(12) Appointment of additional Sectional Presidents:

Resolution No. 12: Resolved that the following Sectional Presidents be appointed:

1. Vedic Section	:	(A) S. A. Dange
		(B) S. G. Kantawala
2. Classical Sanskrit	:	(A) Vedakumari Ghai
		(B) G. B. Palsule
		(C) N. P. Unni
3. Islamic Studies and Arabic and Persian Studies (to be combined)	:	Abdul Ali
4. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	:	A. N. Jani

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. M. GHATAGE
Chairman

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(2) INAUGURAL SESSION

The Inaugural Session of the 32nd All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Open Air Theatre, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, at 10 a. m. on November 6, 1985.

(1) The Session opened with prayers.

(2) The Local Secretary read out some of the messages wishing the Session all success.

(3) The Vice-Chancellor, Professor K. S. Shastri, welcomed the Governor of Gujarat, Shri B. K. Nehru, and the Members of the Conference.

(4) The Governor formally inaugurated the Session.

(5) The General President, Professor A. M. Ghatage, delivered the Presidential address.

(6) A resolution of condolence touching the deaths of the following scholars was passed, the whole gathering standing :

(a) *Past Presidents of the All-India Oriental Conference* :

T. M. P. Mahadevan
C. Sivaramamurti
D. C. Sircar
V. V. Mirashi

(b) *Other Scholars* :

Angarika Govinda Lama
Bishwanath Bhattacharya
Brough, John
Chitrav, Siddheshwarashastri
Esteller, Adolf
Filliozat, Jean
Gopalacharya, Mahuli
Joshi, Lalmani
Khare, G. H.
Lamotte, E.
Limaye, V. P.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Nahata, Agarchand

Parikh, Rasiklal

Rinpoche, Ling

Shastri, J. L.

Shivaram Krishna Shastri K. A.

Tewari, U. N.

Tucci, Giuseppe

Turner, Sir Ralph

Venkat, Subramonia Iyer, S.

Verma, Siddheshvar

Waldschmidt, E.

(7) The General Secretary made some announcements regarding the division of sections and additional Section Presidents, nominations for the New Executive Committee and Section Presidentships, the meeting of the Council, and the Pandit Parisad. He announced the award of the All-India Oriental Conference Prize (donated by the Indian Books Centre, Delhi,) to Professor P. Shriramachandrudu for his book, "Contribution of Paṇḍitarāja to Sanskrit Poetics". He also announced the publication of (1) The Proceedings of the 31st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Jaipur in 1982 and (2) Volume 4 of the Index of Papers presented at the All-India Oriental Conference Sessions 23–31. He conveyed the best thanks of the All-India Oriental Conference to Professor K. V. Sarma, Editor, and Professor Veda Vyas, Sponsor of the publication, of the Index.

(8) Thereafter, seeking the indulgence of the gathering to make a personal reference, the General Secretary, Professor R. N. Dandekar, said that he had taken the liberty of dedicating the fourth volume of his *Vedic Bibliography* to the All-India Oriental Conference. He read out the following dedicatory note :

"To the All-India Oriental Conference, which is the representative forum of the orientalists in India and which I have had the privilege of serving as General Secretary for the last so many years".

On Professor Dandekar's request, the Governor, in a symbolical gesture, presented the volume to the General President of the Conference.

(9) The Local Secretary made some announcements regarding the conduct of the Session.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(10) The Governor then addressed the gathering.

(11) The Joint Local Secretary proposed a comprehensive vote of thanks.

(12) The Inaugural Session terminated with the National Anthem.

(3) THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Senate Hall, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, at 11-45 a.m. on November 7, 1985.

Professor A. M. Ghatage was in the Chair.

(1) It was sesolved that, as recommended by the Executive Committee, the following ten persons, whose names had been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted as members of the Council (as per 10, b, i) :

(1)	K. S. Shastri	(2)	Dalsukhbhai Malvania
(3)	Pravin Parikh	(4)	S. G. Kantawala
(5)	A. D. Shastri	(6)	Balkrishna Pancholi
(7)	Bhagavati Prasad Pandya	(8)	C. L. Shastri
(9)	Suresh Dave	(10)	K. R. Chandra.

(2) It was resolved that the following amendment to Rules and Byelaws of the All-India Oriental Conference, as recommended by the Executive Committee, be adopted :

Rule 7. (a) (iii) : Read : (The Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, *or* any other person nominated by the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, shall be Additional Secretary, in case he is not already elected either as General Secretary or Joint Secretary) ;

(3) The Council then proceeded to elect eighteen members of the New Executive Committee. The Chairman nominated Professor A. V. Bhandari and Professor Kantibhai I. Patel as scrutineers.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

The following was the result of the election to the New Executive Committee. (The number of votes secured is given against each name) :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

1.	Dandekar, R. N.	...	225
2.	Dwivedi, R. C.	...	163
3.	Solomon, E. A.	...	134
4.	Jani, A. N.	...	127
5.	Mishra, Jayamant	...	119
6.	Shukla, Ramakant	...	110
7.	Sharma, Rama Murti	...	104
8.	Mishra, K. K.	...	99
9.	Lalye, P. G.	...	98
10.	Shukla, Chandrakant	...	94
11.	Awasthi, Brahmamitra	...	91
12.	Dange, S. A.	...	91
13.	Joshi, S. D.	...	91
14.	Mishra, Vidhata	...	87
15.	Trivedi, Rajendra	...	85
16.	Chaturvedi, B. M.	...	82
17.	Kantawala, S. G.	...	79
18.	Kulashreshtha, Sushama	...	79

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. M. GHATAGE
Chairman

(4) NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Senate Hall, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, at 10. 40 a. m. on November 8, 1985.

The following members were present :

Brahmamitra Awasthi, B. M. Chaturvedi, S. A. Dange, R. C. Dwivedi, S. D. Joshi, A. N. Jani, S. G. Kantawala, Sushama Kulashreshtha, P. G. Lalye, Jayamant Mishra, K. K. Mishra, Vidhata Mishra, Rama Murti Sharma, Chandrakant Shukhla, Ramakant Shukla, Rajendra Trivedi, E. A. Solomon, and R. N. Dandekar.

Professor Brahmamitra Awasthi was voted to the Chair.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

The following business was transacted at the meeting.

(1) Election of Office-Bearers :

Resolution No. 1 : " Resolved that Professor T. R. V. Murti, Varanasi, be and is hereby elected General President of the All-India Orental Conference ".

" Resolved further that, if for any reason, Professor Murti is unable to accept the General Presidentship, Professor V. I. Subromanian, Tanjore, be regarded as having been elected General President of the All-India Oriental Conference ".

Resolution No. 2 : " Resolved that Professor P. D. Agnihotri, Bhopal, be and is hereby elected Vice-President of the All-India Oriental Conference ".

Resolution No. 3 : " Resolved that Professor S. D. Joshi, Poona, be and is hereby elected General Secoetary of the All-India Oriental Conference ".

Resolution No. 4 : " Resolved that Professor E. A. Solomon, Ahmedabad, be and is hereby elected Joint Secretary of the All-India Oriental Conference ".

Resolution No. 5 : " Resolved that Prof. S. A. Dange be and is hereby elected Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(2) Co-optation on the Executive Committee :

Resolution No. 6 : " Resolved that the following persons be and are hereby co-opted as members of the Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of Office-Bearers :

Professor K. V. Sarma, Adyar
Professor H. P. Malledevaru, Mysore
Professor Abdullatif A. Al-Hindi, Allahabad

(The full Executive Committee will now be as follows) :

(1) Office-Bearers :

1. General President : Prof. T. R. V. Murti,
2. Vice-President : Prof. P. D. Agnihotri,
3. General Secretary : Prof. S. D. Joshi,
4. Joint Secretary : Prof, E. A. Solomon,
5. Treasurer : Prof. S. A. Dange,

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(2) Other members of the Executive Committee :

1. Prof. R. N. Dandekar
2. Prof. R. C. Dwivedi
3. Prof. A. N. Jani
4. Prof. Jayamant Mishra
5. Prof. Ramakant Shukla
6. Prof. Rama Murti Sharma
7. Prof. K. K. Mishra
8. Prof. Chandrakant Shukla
9. Prof. P. G. Lalye
10. Prof. Vidhata Mishra
11. Prof. Rajendra Trivedi
12. Prof. B. M. Chaturvedi
13. Prof. Brahmamitra Awasthi
14. Prof. S. G. Kantawala
15. Prof. Sushama Kulashreshtha
16. Prof. K. V. Sarma
17. Prof. H. P. Malledevaru
18. Prof. Abdullatif A. Al-Hindi

(3) Trustees :

1. Professor Gaurinath Sastri
2. Professor G. V. Devasthali
3. Professor E. R. Sree Krishna Sarma

(3) Venue of the next session :

The General Secretary reported that invitations to the All-India Oriental Conference for its next session were received from :

(1) Gurukul Kangri University, Haridwar

(2) Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

After due deliberation, the following resolution was passed :

Resolution No. 7 : " Resolved that the invitation of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, to the All-India Oriental Conference to hold its thirty-third session at Calcutta; under its auspices, be thankfully accepted ".

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

" Resolved further that the General Secretary be authorised to fix up the dates, etc., of the Session in connection with authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(4) Award of Prizes :

Resalutian No. 8 : " Resolved that prizes be awarded as shown below :

(1) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize : Dr. Uma S. Deshpande, Baroda, for ' Bhagavadgītā and Brahmasūtra : A critique "

(2) Muni Punyavijayaji Prize : Dr. Y. S. Shastri, Ahmedabad for " Refutaiotn of Advaita Vedānta in Major Jain Works "

(3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize : Dr. Neelima Narayan Mone, Pune, for " A Jain View of Kīcaka Episode "

(4) Prof. C. Sivaramamurti Saṁbhāvanā Prize for Pandit Parisad : Pt. Peri Suryanarayan Sastri, Sriramnagar, for " Sphoṭasvarūpam "

(5) Special Resolution :

The following resolution was unanimously passed by the Executive Committee :

Resolution No. 9 : " We, the members of the All-India Oriental Conference, hereby record our profound sense of gratitude and admiration for the long and distinguished services rendered to the Conference by Professor R. N. Dandekar, which were stretched over a period of forty-three years, in his capacity as the General Secretary of the Conference. During the period of his General Secretaryship, the All-India Oriental Conference was verily indentified with his illustrious name and personality.

Professor Dandekar had along been the strong integrating and enlightening force behind all the activities of the Conference, and it is sheerly owing to his continued mature guidance received over this period that the Conference could not only expand its sphere in various directions but could also bring sustained life and vigour in its activities. In spite of the fact that Professor Dandekar will now formally cease to be its General Secretary, the Conference has every hope and belief that he will continue to be the moving spirit behind its deliberations in the years to come. The Conference wishes him a long, healthy, and active academic career.

शं नः क्षेमे शमु योगे नो अस्तु
यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

It was decided that this resolution be forwarded to the General Body of the All-India Oriental Conference for its acceptance at the Concluding Session.

(6) Election of Section Presidents of the 33rd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference :

A Joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the past and present Presidents of the various sections was then held to elect Sectional Presidents for the 33rd Session. Professor Damodar Shastri and Dr. F. Nariman were appointed scrutineers.

The following was the result of the election :

1.	Vedic	...	Kavthekar, P. N.
2.	Iranian	...	Nariman, F.
3.	Classical Sanskrit	...	Mishra, Jayamant
4.	Islamic Studies	...	Ali, Abdul
5.	Arabic & Persian	...	Faruqi, N. A.
6.	Pali & Buddhism (Including Tibetology)	...	Mishra, Vidhata
7.	Prakrit & Jainism	...	Lalye, P. G.
8.	History	...	Acharya, N. N.
9.	Archaeology	...	Mehta, R. N.
10.	Indian Linguistics	...	Mishra, K. K.
11.	Dravidic Studies	...	Suprasannacharya, K.
12.	Philosophy and Religion	...	Dwivedi, R. C.
13.	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	...	Kulashreshtha, Sushama
14.	South-East Asian Studies	...	Shrama, Rama Murti
15.	West-Asian Studies	...	Haqq, F.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

BRAHMA MITRA AWASTHI
Chaiman

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

(5) CONCLUDING SESSION

The Concluding Session of the 32nd All-India Oriental Conference was held in the Senate Hall, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, at 3 p. m. on November 8, 1985.

(1) The Session opened with prayers and a Sanskrit Song sung by Dr Rama Kant Shukla, New Delhi.

(2) The Vice-Chancellor, Professor K. S. Shastri, welcomed the gethering.

(3) The General Secretary announced the election of the new office-bearers of the Conference and the Section Presidents of the next Session of the Conference. He further announced that the 33rd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference would be held at Calcutta under the auspices of the Asiatic Society some time by the end of 1986.

(4) The General Secretary announced the award of the following prizes :

(1) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize : Dr. Uma S. Deshpande, Baroda, for " Bhagavadgītā and Brahmasūtra : A critique "

(2) Muni Punyavijayaji Prize : Dr. Y. S. Shastri, Ahmedabad, for " Refutation of Advaita Vedānta in Major Jain Works "

(3) Shri D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize : Dr. Neelima Narayan Mone, Pune, for " A Jaina View of Kīcaka Episode "

(4) Prof. C. Sivaramamurti Saṁbhāvanā Prize for Pandit Parisad : Pt. Peri Suryanarayan Sastri, Sriramnagar, for " Sphoṭasvarūpam "

(5) The General Secretary read out the following resolution received from the Religion and Philosophy Section ;

" Resolved that the Central Govenment, the University Grants Commission, and other relevant authorities be requested to take immediate steps for the implementation of the scheme submitted by the Government of Kerala for the establishment of Śrī Śaṅkara Central Sanskrit University at Kaladi, in Kerala, the birth place of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya ".

It was decided to forward the resolution to the relevant authorities.

(6) Thereafter, in an emotionally tense but solemn atmosphere, the General Body unanimously passed the following resolution :

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

"We, the members of the All-India Oriental Conference, hereby record our profound sense of gratitude and admiration for the long and distinguished services rendered to the Conference by Professor R. N. Dandekar, which were stretched over a period of forty-three years, in his capacity as the General Secretary of the Conference. During the period of his Geneeal Secretaryship, the All-India Oriental Conference was identified with his illustrious name and personality.

Professor Dandekar had along been the strong integrating and enlightening force behind all the activities of the Conference, and it is sheerly owing to his continued mature guidance received over this period that the Conference could not only expand its sphere in various directions but could also bring sustained life and vigour in its activities. In spite of the fact that Professor Dandekar will now formally cease to be its General Secretary, the Conference has every hope and belief that he will continue to be the moving spirit behind its deliberations in the years to come. The Conference wishes him a long, healthy, and active academic career.

शं नः क्षेमे शमु योगे नो अस्तु
यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः

Professor R. N. Dandekar made a suitable reply.

(7) Shri Hasmukhbhai Patel, Minister of State for Education, Gujarat State, delivered the Valedictory Address.

(8) The General President, Professor A. M. Ghatage, made a few concluding remarks.

(9) On beholf of the members of All-India Oriental Conference, the following persons spoke :

Pandit Mularaja Sastri

Dr. Gilbert Pollet

Professor A. Al-Hindi

(10) Dr. Bhagavati Prasad Pandya recited a few Sanskrit stanzas about the Session.

(11) The Joint Local Secretary spoke on behalf of the Local Committee and proposed a vote of thanks.

(12) The Concluding Session terminated with the National Anthem.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
To BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT		
Cash on Hand	273-09	
In C/A with State Bank of India Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-411004	587-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Poona-411005	30,421-33	
In fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Long Term Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	12,000-00	45,281-90
To INTEREST		
i) On S/B Account	1,432-96	
ii) On L/T Deposit (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	200-00	
iii) On L/T Deposit (Rs. 12, 000 /-).	1,200-00	2832-96
To MEMBERSHIP FEES		
i) Life-Membership		1,406-00
To SHARE IN MEMBERSHIP FEES FROM LOCAL SECRETARY, 31ST SESSION : JAIPUR		
i) Life-Membership	9,550-00	
ii) Full Membership	26,120-00	35,670-00
	Total C. F. Rs.	85,190-86

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

the year ended 31st December 1982

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA & OUTSIDE		1,143-05
BY PRINTING EXPENSES		
i) Santiniketan Volume	2,225-70	
ii) Jaipur Session Volume	324-00	
iii) Miscellaneous : (including Bulletin 1st and Preliminary Work of Index Volume IV of AIOC Sessions, Summaries etc.	2,365-00	4,914-70
BY REMUNERATION TO ACCOUNTANT		100-00
BY REMUNERATION TO CLERKS		1,440-00
BY PEON'S PAY		275-00
BY STATIONERY		776-95
BY MISCELLANAEOUS		720-00
AMOUNT SPENT FOR PANDIT PARISHAD : JAIPUR SESSION	23,712-00	
BY UNSPENT BALANCE FROM PANDIT PARISHAD GRANT, JAIPUR SESSION, RETURNED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, (EDUCATION DEPARTMENT)	1,288-00	25,000-00
BY PRIZES FOR THE BEST PAPERS SUBMITTED AND READ IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS :		
i) Muni Punyavijâyaji Prize	300-00	
i) D. K. Jain O. R. Institute Prize	300-00	
iii) Dr. V. Raghavan Prize	300-00	900-00
	Total C. F. Rs.	35,269-70

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F. Rs.	85,190-86
TO AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM L. D. INSTITUTE, AHMEDABAD, FOR MUNI PUNYAVIJAYAJI PRIZE	300-00	
TO AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM D. K. JAIN O. R. INSTITUTE, ARRAH, FOR D. K. JAIN O. R. INSTITUTE PRIZE	300-00	600-00
TO AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM INDIAN BOOK CENTRE. NEW DELHI, FOR IBC BOOK AWARD FOR BEST BOOK PUBLISHED IN THE YEARS 1980 & 1981 (WITH ADMINISTRATION CHARGES)		1,210-00
TO GRANT RECEIVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, FOR PANDIT PARISHAD : JAIPUR SESSION	:	25,000-00
TO 2/3rd OF F FROM BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, FROM SALE OF AIOC VOLUMES FOR THE YEAR 1981-82		3,601-00
	Total Rs.	1,15,601-86

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-411030
Date : 12 Nov. 1984

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Statement of Accounts

the year ended 31st December 1982 (Contd.)

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F. Rs.	35,269-70
By Indian Book Centre Indological Book Award for the Best Book Published in the Years 1980 & 1981		1,100-00
By Auditor's Honorarium for the Years: 1980 & 1981		200-00
By Travelling Allowance		2,188-00
By Balance at Close		
Cash on Hand	127-09	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-411004	387-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	62,329-59	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In fixed Long Term Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	12,000-00	76,844-16
	Total Rs.	1,15,601-86

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

Poona-411004

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT		
Cash on Hand	127-09	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-411004	387-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	62,329-59	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Long Term Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	12,000-00	76,844-16
TO INTEREST		
i) On S/B Account	1,694-17	
ii) On L/T Deposit (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	200-00	
iii) On L/T Deposit (Rs. 12, 000/-)	1,200-00	3,094-17
TO MEMBERSHIP FEES		
i) Life-Membership		650-00
	Total C. F. Rs.	80,588-33

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Statement of Accounts

the year ended 31st December 1983

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA & OUTSIDE		578-25
BY PRINTING EXPENSES		
i) Santiniketan Volume (Complete)	18,354-00	
ii) Jaipur Session Volume (Paper)	13,030-00	31,384-00
BY REMUNERATION TO ACCOUNTANT		100-00
BY REMUNERATION TO CLERKS		1,490-00
BY PEON'S PAY		275-00
BY STATIONERY		722-40
BY MISCELLANEOUS		1,041-50
BY MEMBERSHIP FEES FOR INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR ORIENTAL AND ASIAN STUDIES, PARIS FOR THE YEARS: 1983 & 1984		1,032-75
BY BALANCE AT CLOSE		
Cash on Hand	212-94	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-411004	387-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	33,932-26	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar, Branch, Poona-411005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Long Term Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411005	12,000-00	48,532-68
	Total C. F. Rs.	85,156-58

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F. Rs.	80,588-33
TO AMOUNTS RECEIVED AS PRIZES AND AWARDS FROM		
i) L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad for Muni Punyavijayaji Prize	300-00	
ii) D. K. Jain Oriental Research Institute for Prakrit and Jainism Section	300-00	
iii) Indian Book Centre, New Delhi for IBC Book award for Best Indological Book, published in the Years 1982 and 1983 (including with office Expenses)	1,210-00	1,810-00
TO 2/3rd OF F FROM BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, FROM SALE OF AIOC VOLUMES FOR THE YEAR 1982-83		2,758-25
	Total Rs.	85,156-58

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona 411030
Dated : 12 Nov. 1984

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Statement of Accounts

the year ended 31st December 1983 (Contd.)

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F. Rs.	85,156-58
Total Rs.		84,156-58

Poona 411004

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT		
Cash on Hand	212-94	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona 411004	387-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona 411015	33,932-26	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona 411005 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Long Term Deposit with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona 411005	12,000-00	48,532-68
TO INTEREST		
i) On S/B Account	1,536-86	
ii) On Long Term Deposit (Rs. 2,000/- Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	200-00	
iii) On Long Term Deposit (Rs. 12,000/-)	1,200-00	2,936-86
	Total C. F. Rs.	**51,469-54**

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Statement of Accounts

the year ended 31st December 1984

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA AND OUTSIDE		
i) For Chandigarh Session (Cancelled)	628-45	
ii) For Ahmedabad Session (Postponed)	1,347-60	1,976-05
BY PRINTING EXPENSES		
i) Jaipur Session Volume		7,536-00
BY REMUNRATION TO ACCOUNTANT		100-00
BY REMUNERATION TO CLERKS		1,455-00
BY PEONS' PAY		235-00
BY STATIONERY (For Chandigarh and Amhedabad Sessions)		1,166-05
BY MISCELLNEAOUS (")		1,087-50
BY AUDITOR'S HONORARIUM FOR THE YEARS 1982 & 1983		200-00
BY TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE		448-00
BY BALANCE AT CLOSE		
i) Cash on Hand (with the Head Office)	494-74	
ii) Cash on Hand (with the Local Secretary 32nd Seesion of AIOC, Ahmedabad : as Actual Money are with her)	3,761-00	
Total C. F. Rs.	4,255-74	14,203-60

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Appendix B

Receipts & Payments Accounts for

Receipts	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F. Rs.	51,469-54
To Membership Fees		
Life Membership Fees :		
i) Received by Head Office		2,400-00
ii) Received by Local Secretary, 32nd Session of AIOC, Ahmedabad		3,761-00
By Grant Received from the Government of India, New Delhi for Pandit Parishad, Ahmedabad Session		25,000-00
By 2/3rd of F from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, from Sale of AIOC Volumes for the Year 1983-84		2,730-15
By Miscellaneous		354-40
	Total Rs.	85,715-09

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona 411030
9th September, 1985.

Patki & Soman
Chartered Accauntants

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Statement of Accounts

the year ended 31 December 1984 (Contd.)

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
B. F. Rs.	4,255-74	14,203-60
By BALANCE AT CLOSE (contd.)		
In C/A with State Bank of India, Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-411004	385-48	
In S/B A/C with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411016	52,870-27	
In Fixed Deposit with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411016 (Dr. V. Raghavan Prize)	2,000-00	
In Fixed Long Term Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Shivajinagar Branch, Poona-411016	12,000-10	71,511-49
Total Rs.		85,715-09

Poona 411004
Dated : 1-4-1985

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

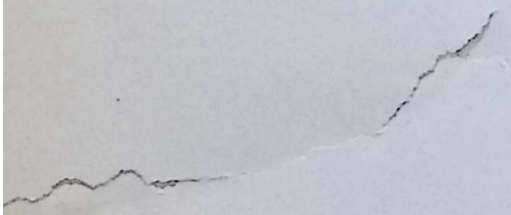
In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.



Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi

In Public Domain. Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust Foundation Delhi.

Padma Shri Rama Kant Shukla Collection at Deva Vani Parishad, Uttam Nagar New Delhi